



## TO THE RIGHT VALE- ROVS AND WORTHY KNIGHT

SIR HORACIO VERE, COLLONEL  
OF AN ENGLISH REGIMENT  
vnder the States in the Low  
Countries.

**B**Eing through lingring sicknes con-  
strained to leaue the warres, I thought  
it not fit to melt my time in idlenes,  
but to vndergoe some exercise of the  
minde, sith strength failed in my bo-  
dy: and for me I thought nothing  
more fit then to write of warres (vn-  
able to follow them) that it might appeare to the world my  
thoughts had not forsaken Armes, though Armes had cassered  
me. Debating with my selfe, I at last resolued, that to translate  
the liues of Emperors was the truest subiect and most honora-  
ble; full of vertue and valour, the changes of times, the chaun-  
ces of wars, the instabilitie of fortune, the force of magnanimi-  
tie, and reward of honor. Hauing with no little paines finished  
what I aimed at, there came more paines into my head, studying  
to whom I should dedicate my labours; for I assured my selfe  
that treating of valour and vertue, it must be to one that had  
both. I needed not to haue past the Seas into Flaunders for a  
Patrone of my paines, knowing that in England there are so  
many of such worthy memory, such exquisit knowledge both for  
counsell and execution, for experience and successe, for disci-  
pline and deserts, as in no age our Iland heretofore hath offered,  
(though in all ages famous :) but it suted with my conceite ra-  
ther

## THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

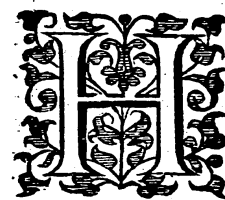
ther to finde out some that were in present action; to the end that Captaines and Gentlemen after their worthy seruices done by day, might with reading of honorable deedes recreate themselves at night; and seeing the reward of others courage, redouble their owne in hope (although not to come to be Emperors) yet to clime to honors in their life, and leaue to posteritie that which cannot die (though they shall) fame, memorable, and immortall. Nailed (if I may so say) to this opinion, it was easie for me in the Low-countries (without doubt or dispute with my selfe) to finde your selfe as the fittest there, both in regard of your honorable seruices, and vertuous disposition: (what I speake is so farre from flattery, that enuie can alleage nothing to the contrarie) besides when I call to minde the honorable seruices of your auinecestors, many yeeres famous for the warres: then the liuing patterne of a perfect Chieftaine, your renowned brother (whom for honors sake I name) Sir FRANCIS VERE Knight, Lord Gouvernour of the Briell, whom the Low-countries haue found both wise and valorous, and the Spaniards no lesse; (though they wished it had not been so much:) then againe was I enforced to continew in my proposed purpose. To single out your seuerall seruices, the manner, the valour, and the successe, were to tell that to the world which it knoweth alreadie. If this in me seeme presumption, excuse it, because it proceedeth from the honor I beare you. If your vertues entertaine my labours: my labour when will easily cleere my errors. So praying to the Almighty to second all your honorable attempts with happier successe, I rest wholly in what I shall be able.

Euern ready to doe you seruice,  
humbly at commaund

W. TRAHERON.



## THE PREFACE TO THE READER.



Having determined, yea and sometime promised, following my courie alreadie begun, to write something for the common good of my country, as in satisfaction and account for the time which I haue spent in reading: after many considerations had to that purpose, no kind of writing seemed more fit for me, neither did so much please and satisfie me, as to take in hand some great and notable historie. Truly I had reason and sufficient ground to do so, for that indeede no kinde of literature can be written, which may be beneficiall to so many, and be generally acceptable and pleasing to all; neither that hath bin so much extolled and commended by wise and great men, as Historie. ARISTOTLE affirmeth it to be profitable for Councels, Senates, and Assemblies, of whose opinion was the good Emperour SEVERUS, who so often as he had occasion to treat and consult of any important matter concerning the wars, called to counsell and was chiefly aduised by wise men, and such as were well read in ancient Histories. ZENO the Prince of the Stoick Philosophers being demanded by what meanes a man might be made both happie and wise, answered, that he should conuerse with the dead: which is as much as if he should haue said, let him by reading histories vnderstand and know the acts of the ancient. As for CICERO, (before whose iudgement I know not whose to preferre) he discoursing of historie, calleth it the record of times, the light of the truth, the Mistris of mans life, the life of memorie, the messenger of antiquitie. Others call it the ground and foundation of the truth: others, the image of humane life: including in few words great praises and mysteries, and yet true and certaine, if we attentiuely note and consider them. For to the first, it is cleere and manifest that historie is the light of the truth, and a record of ages and generations, such that the things which in time are consumed and brought to nothing, are thereby kept and preserved, yea and it maketh them (whether they will or no) to liue and remaine in mans memorie: and it doth in such manner represent things past, that it maketh it seeme vnto vs that we see and attaine to those times, as though that such things had happened in the time wherein we liue. If glorie and renowne be so great a good as SALOMON and all the Sages doe extoll the same to be; and if naturally all men desire to perpetuate their name and memorie, tell me what would become thereof if Histories were not? Truly it had been but as the winde, which passing by is felt, but cannot be kept nor detained. What speech or remembrance had we now had of the great acts of the Greeke, and the Romanes, and of other people and nations, if Histories had not been? How had I knowne the clemencie

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of CÆSAR, the magnanimitie and largesse of ALEXANDER, the bountie and iustice of TRAIANE, or the vertues and excellencies of these and such other great and noble personages to imitate and extoll them, if not by these meanes? Truly all that is past had bin but as a dreame, which waking, a man hath forgotten, and cannot recite. And our forepassed fathers had not onely bin deprived of their fame and renowne, but innumerable great acts had bin left vndone, but that the emulation of glorie and renowne made them to be vndertaken: for it is certaine, that the Trophies of MILCIADES stirred vp THEMISTOCLES, and the historie that HOMER wrote of ACLILLES, ALEXANDER the Great; and of him, IVLIVS CÆSAR; and so of others other men to perourme great and noble exploits. The matter resteth not here, that Historie is onely a record and preseruer of humane vertues: but hath also bin very necessarie for the conseruation of diuine matters; for it hath preserued in memorie the liues, martyrdomes, and godly examples of the Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, and the greatest part of our holy law and sacred Scripture is historie, being the ground and foundation wherupon standeth all the rest of the building. If not, I pray tell me (passing ouer the rest in silence) what else is the holie Gospell, but an historic and a true relation?

To returne to policie and humane conuersation, what were it, if the Chronicles and memorie of matters past were wanting? For without them the noble and antiquitie of houses and linages could not be knowne and continued, and as little the right and title to estates; neither should we haue knowne the beginning and originall of people, Kingdomes and Nations, neither the lawes to gouerne them, could haue bin preserued: and in all things would haue bin disorder and confusion, as we see to be amongst those Nations which want the same. So that truly and with much reason it is said, that Historie is the schoolemistresse and director of mans life, sith that besides what is already set downe, it is very necessarie and expedient for all estates, qualities, and ages: for to simple young men it giueth the wisdom of ancient old men, and maketh them expert without hauing had experience: for as saith CICERO, for a man not to know what passed before his time is to be euer a child. So that iustly it may be said, that historie maketh men expert, wise, and circumspect: for by examples and demonstrations of matters past, it giueth a rule and direction to determine of matters present (yea and what is more and seeming impossible) that a man may before hand diuine and vnderstand the issue and successe of his actions and attempts: for knowing the beginning and the middle, he may coniecture them to haue the like issue and euent as such other like actions haue had: for as SALOMON saith, sith there is no new thing vnder heauen, and that all that is hath bin, and that which is to come shall be as what is past, it appeareth plainly vnto vs, that he that hath vnderstood, scene, and well considered it, may well perceiue what will follow. And as I say, this fruite and profit is common to all sorts of men: for Kings and Princes in Histories may finde others whom they may imitate, and with whom they may emulate and contend in vertues and excellencies: and other wicked ones, whose fashions and conditions they may shew and abhorre, and by whose ends and fame they may take example: Captaines, aduice, policies, acts of fortitude and magnanimitie, which they may vse and make profit of: and seeing the errors and daungers, may know how to auoide them. Gouernours and Magistrates, lawes, customes, and manner of government, which they may hold for a rule. Finally, there is not any kind of people, but out of Historie may draw a rule and example vnder which they may liue wisely and vertuously, and warning to beware

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beware of the contrarie. For the true historie leaueth no vertue without commendation, neither vice without reprehension, and to al indifferently giuing their due place and worth; is a testimonie against the wicked, a reward to the iust, and a treasure and depository of heroicall vertues and noble acts. Of all other Artes and Sciences, each of them hath a marke and white whereat to aime: historie comprehendeth the whole, and is the practise and example of the rest. Great and excellent are other Arts and Sciences, but men are most commonly drawne thereto through the couetous desire they haue thereby to attaine to riches and honours: onely historie is read for the loue of it selfe, no other thing is therein expected, but to know which is the true guerdon. Historie of it selfe may liue without the Sciences, and so can none of them without it, for it hath been the preseruation and storehouse of them all, and so consequently by this account ought to be preferred before them all. Principally for the vse of historie letters were found out, to the end to leaue to those that were to come, a memorie of what was past: and as other Artes and Sciences were written, it was but to leaue an historie of them. So as the matter being well weighed, we may say that all that is written, seeing it is written for a memorie and to be kept in remembrance, is but historie. Another excellencie (besides what is already said) hath historie aboue all other Artes; for all the Sciences are not generally pleasing to all men; sundrie please sundrie humours: but historie to all wits is indifferently acceptable. The Philosophers sometime haue been driuen out of Rome, and in like manner the Masters in Rhetorike and Art Oratorie, for the dislike the people haue had of them: and in a long time Phisicke was not admitted. The Mathematicians and Astrologians haue sometimes been banished from thence also, and some nations haue not allowed of certaine Arts, neither do they yet at this day embrace them: but the Histories and Annales of times past, neuer hath there been any man but hath loued and desired them, and respected those which haue been the authors thereof. Yea the reading of histories is so delightfull, that we willingly giue eare to fables and tales for the sympathie they hold with true histories. Of all the excellent Kings and Captaines that haue been in the world, I haue not read of any but were delighted with reading the Chronicles, out of which they drew no lesse rule and discipline for what they were to vndertake, then from the exercise and vse of what they did: yea of LVCIVS LVCVLLIVS we reade, that reading made him wise and excellent Captaine. And great men in time past made so great account of histories, that they not onely spent much time in reading them, but did euen glorie, and made no lesse account to write histories, then to atchieue matters worthie to be written: some of which, the histories they wrote made them little lesse excellent and renowned, then the battailes they fought: as amongst the Greekes were HERODOTVS, THUCIDIDES and TIMOTHEVS: and amongst the Latines, MARCVS PORCIVS CATO, QVINTVS FABIVS, ASINIVS POLLIO, and the great CÆSARS CATVS IVLIVS, and his nephew OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS, and some others of the one and other nation. Finally, the benefits and excellencies of historie are such and so many, that as an endlesse piece of work I will leaue to wade any further there: let this little that I haue recounted serue for an Index of the much that is to be said, which hath induced me in our vulgar tongue to bring to light this historie which is no common matter, but of all the Romane Emperours, wherein all their liues and acts in a meane, betweene fastidious tediousnes, and sterill breuitie, are into one volume briefly digested. And although it be a bold attempt, yet I hold the will and desire there-

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to commendable; which is, that through my endeavour, what in the Latine tongue lieth secret and hidden from those which vnderstand not the same, may in our vulgar language be found out; and that therein wee may attaine to those benefits which before I haue recited. This is one of the chiefeft reasons whereby I was encouraged to take it in hand, together with what **PLINI** the Orator saith, that Historie howsoeuer it be written, yet is pleasing, for that naturally men are inclined to desire to know new things, as are those which are past to them that haue not knowne them. And although I cannot polish this Historie with other beautifying ornaments, yet will I endeavour to write truly; contenting my selfe with what **CATVLLVS** saith concerning **CICERO**; that he of necessitie needeth not to be an Oratour that writeth an Historie; it shall suffice if he be not a lier. And the same **CICERO** in the person of **ANTHONY** saith, that the Greekes in the beginning wrote onely bare naked Annales, and so **MARCVS CATO**, **PI- S O**, and other Romane Historiographers. The other lawes and conditions of Hi- storie, in the computation of times, in the description and names of countries, to- gether with the perspicuitie, sentences, counsels and the rest concerning the im- bellishing and perfection thereof, is according to the haste and breuitie it beho- ued me to vse, and as was requisite for the abridgement of so great a matter: and as the weakenes of my wit, and the plainnesse of my stile could attaine vnto. The faults escaped in the whole worke, which cannot be but many, in requitall of my paines taken to please his humour in reading what before he knew not, I in charitie entreate the reader with patience to beare withall, promising to be thankfull to him that shall doe me that fauour.



## A TABLE OF THE NAMES OF ALL THE ROMANE EMPERORS.

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	<i>Charles the second</i>	547	<b>G</b>
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	<i>Commodus Antonius</i>	175	<i>Henry the first</i> 569
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## THE LIFE OF IULIUS CÆSAR, FOUNDER OF THE EMPIRE AND MONARCHIE OF ROME.



### THE ARGUMENT.

**I**ulius Caesar was of a most noble family, and returning to Rome from the Pretorship in Spaine with great renouwe, making friendship with Marcus Crassus and Gneius Pompey, which were the mightiest Citizens in Rome, and pacifying the controuersie betweene them, he obtained the Consulship: which he executed with such granitie and reputation, that his fellow-Consul would not endure to be with him, but retired. Afterwards giuing his daughter Iulia in marriage to Pompey, he went into France, which he subdued, and overcame the Germanes. He went afterwards also into Britannie, and by force of armes subdued it to the Romane Empire. Iulia afterwards dying, and Marcus Crassus being slaine by the Parthians, mortall discord arose betweene Caesar and Pompey: the occasion whereof was, for that the second five yeares of Caesars government of France being expired, it was propounded by Pompeyes partakers that a successor should be sent him: and Caesar desiring that his command in the French Warres might be prolonged, and that in his absence he might demand the Consulship, which being denied him, he made another demand, which was, that he would giue over his armes in Fraunce upon condition, that Pompey should doe the like by his in Spaine. Which being also denied, and being inioyned to leaue his armie, he passed the river Rubicon (limits assigned him which he was not to passe) and taking the Citie of Ariminum, he went

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went with such furie directly towards Rome, that Pompey abandoned Italy; and beseeching him in the end overthrew him in Pharsalia: whereupon Pompey for refuge repaying to Ptolomy King of Egypt, was in a small barge by that Kings direction, slaine by the hands of Septimius and Achilla, whose head being caused to be presented by Ptolomy, Caesar wept. Afterwards bending his force against Ptolomy; and overcoming him, he passed into Egypt, and tamed the pride of the Egyptians. Thence he went into Africa, pursuing the remainder of Pompeies faction, all which he overcame; and Cato being in Utica, for not to fall into Caesars hands, slue himselfe. Caesar returning to Rome triumphed, and afterwards going into Spaine (after a most fierce battaile, wherein he was likely to have been lost) he overthrew Sextus Pompeius, eldest sonne of the great Pompey: and returning to Rome, he tooke upon him the Dictatorship: where finally, Decius, Marcus Brutus, Gaius Cassius, Gaius Casca, Atilius Cimber, Quintus Ligarius, Marcus Spurcius, Cornelius Cinna, with many other principall Romanes conspiring against him, he was slaine in the Senat, being of the age of 56. yeares, upon the fifteenth day of March, with three and twentie wounds. Many prodigious signes of his death appearing both before and afterwards, which lessed his passage against the Parthians, and many other high attempts, which he purposed to have undertaken.



eginning to write the Histories, and Liues of the Roman Emperours, Monarches of the earth and worldly dominion; or to say better, to bring them to a compendiousnes and breuitie, a worke in truth very great and troublesome, and which requireth a farre riper wit, and greater eloquence then mine: I hold it not for the least of the difficulties thereof, but rather for one of the greatest, to proue IULIVS CÆSAR to be the first, of whom it behooueth me to treat: For although that

he were Dictator, and was not called Emperour in the signification of Soueraigne Lord, as his successors have been euer since; yet he was the beginning and originall of this Monarchie, and from whom all the succeeding Emperours haue gloried to take the name of CÆSARS, and to be called his successors. The acts and deedes of this man were such, so many, and so great, and bookes and Histories are so full thereof, that it seemeth as hard a matter for me to reduce them to any breuitie, as to write and recite the same: And therefore out of abundance and matter so copious, I will chuse that which (in my iudgement) maketh most to my purpose, and to the subiect and end of this worke, handling it with some expedition and breuitie; although that it being the beginning and foundation of this edifice, it shall be very requisite to dilate and treat more at large thereof, then of those things which follow. In all other matters concerning this incomparable man, I referre the reader to the infinit number of Bookes, wherein CÆSAR is remembered and extolled, and to the notice and knowledge (which is commonly held) of his excellencies and acts.

Among the great attempts which may be recounted of IULIVS CÆSAR (in my opinion) the greatest of all, and which maketh me most to wonder is, how he durst, and had the heart, first to thinke and imagine, and afterwards to attempt, and in the end to goe through with making himselfe Lord of the people and Common-wealth of Rome (which was Ladies and Ruler of the most and best parts of the whole world) and of so much, as in fifteen hundred yeeres before, had been able to subdue and conquer: for so long was the time and somewhat more, from the foundation of Rome vntill that IULIVS CÆSAR possessed that Common-wealth: whereof two hundred and fortie yeeres were vnder Kings, and the rest vnder Consuls chosen by the people, which governed it; sauing some few yeeres in which the Tribunes and Decemviri ruled. Indeepe a very short

All Caesars successors, haue taken from him the name of Caesars.

Caesars greatest attempts.

short space to conquer and subdue so great an Empire, as that which the Romanes enioyed when CÆSAR reduced it from free and common, to the dominion of one: which, without all doubt, was the greatest of all that euer haue been in the world or man hath obtained, as well for continuance of time as for greatnes and power, which is approoued and affirmed by all authors and true Histories. For leauing apart the other Kingdomes and Common-wealths now at this present, which are not to be named in this discourse, and examining the greatest and most famous which before it were called the Monarchies of the world; which were the Assyrians, the Persians, and Macedonians; it will appeare that the Roman Empire farre excelled them all. For that of the Assyrians and Babylonians (which was the most auncient of all the Monarchies) in a thousand two hundred and fortie yeeres, which it lasted (as Saint AVGVSTINE reciteth) neuer extended it selfe out of Asia, neither attained to hold any part in Africa, or Europe; neither did the Medes, whose raigne ARBATVS established by the death and destruction of SARDANAPALVS King of the Assyrians, defeating that first Monarchie: then the Persians, which subuerted the Medes by the hand of the mightie CYRVS, which is reckoned for the second Monarchie, notwithstanding that they made some incursions and entrie into Europe, as vnder XERXES and others, and in Asia obtained greater power then any of their predecessors: yet in the end it lasted but two hundred and odd yeeres, and were overcome and subdued (DARIVS being their King) by ALEXANDER the great King of Macedonia, whose kingdom we cannot deny to be greater then any of the forenamed: for he held a great part of Europe, and subdued (in a manner) all Asia, and is accounted for the third Monarchie. But this was but like a flash of lightening, burning whatsoeuer stood before it, whose fire was soone extinguished: for ALEXANDER dying, his power ended; and there was a diuision, and diuers kingdomes were erected thereof. But the dominion and Empire of the Romanes, which is the fourth Monarchie, notably excelled them all, both in time, in greatnes, and in power: In time; for there are few lesse then two thousand and three hundred yeeres since Rome was builded, and the Empire lasteth vntill this day, vnder the name of *Romane*: whereof in a thousand and three hundred yeeres, it alwayes encreased; and afterwards it neuer left to bee the most high and preminent dominion of all others. Then in greatnes and power; for it is certaine, that putting together all that euer all the rest enioyed, it will hardly amount vnto the one halfe of that which the Romanes possessed. For besides that which their Emperours enlarged, as hereafter shall appeare, before that IULIVS CÆSAR enioyed it, they had conquered the greatest and best parts of all the world: for in Europe they held all the prouinces of *Italie*, and *Gallia Cisalphina* which wee call *Lumbardie*, *Istria* and *Illyria*, now called *Slauonia*, and vpwads to the riuier *Danubius*; and subdued all *Greece* either by force or friendship, as the Common-wealths and dominions of *Athens*, *Lacedemonia*, *Thebes*, *Corinth*, *Peloponnesus* which is now called *Morca*, and all the other prouinces thereof. The kingdomes of *Macedonia* and *Epire* now called *Albania*, together with *Thracia*: they had also the *Isles of Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, and *Creta* now called *Candia*, *Cyros*, *Rhodes*, and *Eubaea* which is now *Negropont*, with an infinit number of *Islands* in the Mediterranean Sea. They possessed also the kingdomes of *Spaine*, although with greater difficultie and resistance then any of the rest; and the *Gallias* which are the kingdomes of *Fraunce* and all the prouinces thereof, with that part of *Almaine* on this side of the *Rhine*, called the *Lowes*, or *Gallia Belgica*; although this by the hand of CÆSAR himselfe,

Dionys. Halicarnassensis cap. 1. Strabo cap. 6. Appian in the first of his triumphes.

Quint. Angustine in his booke de ciuitate dei, Iustin in his 43. booke, Titus Livius, Plinie, Solinus, in their comparisons, of other monarchies with the Romanes.

Of the greatnes of the Empire, and Monarchie of Rome.

Gallia Cisalphina, Lumbardie, Illyricum, Esclauonia, Peloponnesus, Morcia.

Creta, Candia, Negropont.

Spaine, Gallia, France.

Britannie,  
England and  
Scotland.

Syria,  
Soria.

The Romans  
all other forces  
failing, were  
ouerthrowne  
by themselves.

The beginning  
of the ciuill  
warres be-  
tweene Cæsar  
and Pompey.

The emulation  
betweene  
Pompey and  
Marcus Cras-  
sus.

himselfe, as hereafter shall be declared; and in like manner *Britannie* which containeth *England* and *Scotland*. They likewise held in *Africa* (being a third part of the world) all that which was or is fruitfull and habitable thereof, after the subuersion of the proud *Carthage*: then in *Asia*, they subdued the greatest and best prouinces, and made them their vassals and tributaries, among which was *Syria* now called *Soria*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestina*, *Iudæa*, and the holy citie of *Ierusalem*: in *Asia* the lesse, they held the prouinces of *Pamphilia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Cilicia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Bithynia* by the will and testament of *Nicomedes* their King. The Kings of *Egypt* and *Cappadocia* were their friends and allies: in *Armenia*, in *Colchos*, and in other prouinces they set and established Kings at their pleasure; and from *Albania* and *Iberia* they receiued hostages and tributs, wherein they had subdued, taken and slaine a great number of Kings and excellent great captaines: Finally they were Lords of so many prouinces and countries, that it were an endlesse labour to recite them all; they were then so mightie that no force or power whatsoever (but their owne) was able to offend them. And it afterward hapned that discord and ambition, entring into this Common-wealth which was so free and puissant, seeing that forraigne forces were not sufficient, with their owne forces and armes they subdued and captiuated themselves, which grew through the discord and controuersie betweene the great *POMPEY* and *I V L I V S C Æ S A R*, two the most famous and most mightie men in *Rome*, although that at that season there were many principall and great men: But the ground of this controuersie tooke roote before, to wit, from the two factions, and ciuill warres betweene *SYLLA* and *MARIUS*; wherein *MARIUS* being ouercome and slaine, *SYLLA* made himselfe Dictator and seased vpon *Rome*; neuertheless before his death, he deposed himselfe from his Dictatorship and left it at libertie: *POMPEY* was of *SYLLA* his faction and had done great exploits in his behalfe; and *CÆSAR* followed *MARIUS*, although then he were very young, to whom he was of kinne and affinity. This was the roote from whence grew betweene them the ciuill warres, before which passed some matters very necessarie to be remembered: first, to the end that the causes and occasions which happened may be the better vnderstood, and afterwards the proceffe and successe thereof, which briefly recounted, passed in this manner.

These matters concerning *SYLLA* being passed, and *GNEIUS POMPEIUS*, and *MARCUS CRASSVS* remaining, by means thereof in great reputation: for they both followed that faction, and afterwards either of them desirous to haue the preheminance in command and gouernment, there was a continuall emulation and competitorship betweene them, which at the death of *SYLLA* tooke beginning. *MARCUS CRASSVS* made himselfe very mightie, besides his great wisdom, linage, eloquence, and victories which he had obtained, principally by means of his abundant riches, which he had gathered, being of greater value then any other mans of his time. *POMPEY* likewise obtained great honour, reputation and power, besides that which he inherited from *SYLLA*, by reason of his great victories and adventures in Armes, in the time of *SYLLA* and afterwards both by sea and land in *Africa*, in *Spain* and in *Asia*, which were such and so many, that I dare not report them. The acts of these two great men being so highly extolled, and the controuersies betweene them encreasing (as betweene the heads of factions) although that at that same time, *CATO*, *CICERO*, and *LENTVLVS*, and others were very principall men: It happened that *I V L I V S C Æ S A R* at this time came to *Rome* from *Spain* where

he

he had been Pretor, whose credit and estimation was now very great: but his thoughts were much higher and greater, for many causes, aswell for his great linage, being by his fathers side a Patritian and very ancient, and by his mother he came of the *Romane* Kings which descended from *ENEAS* of *Troy*; as also for his great frindes and kindred, together with his singular wit and eloquence, and by means of the authoritie wherewith he had obtained and administred the magistracies and dignities which he had held, to wit, the Questorship of *Spain*, the Tribunate of the Souldiers, the office of *Ædile*, the high priesthood, the office of Pretor; and by means of his victories obtained in *Spain* against the *Galleges* and *Lusitanians*, adding hereto his other merits and graces of his person. Besides this, he was very liberall, very wise, and learned in arts and sciences, very expert and actiue in Armes, both on foote and horsebacke, very strong and valiant; and before that he was a Captaine, he had made maruellous prooffe of his person in the warres of *Asia*, vnder *MARCUS TERMO* Pretor, and *SERVIIVS* the Proconsul, and had obtained the Ciuicall crowne. He was also of a very good constitution of body, tall, faire, comely, and strongly limmed, and could well endure trauell, for which and many other causes, he was much esteemed; but not so, as that in place or authoritie he could in *Rome* compare with *MARCUS CRASSVS* or with *POMPEY*: for they were deeply rooted and of long continuance.

*CÆSAR* with these qualities being come to *Rome*, with a presumption and conceite (although in secret) to commaund more then all the rest, either of these two, *CRASSVS* and *POMPEY*, desired his friendship, the one against the other. But *CÆSAR* very wise and valorous would follow neither faction, because he would not make himselfe subiect or an abettor to either partie, but rather shewing himselfe neutrall, sought means to make them friends, imagining that rather then he should encline to either partie they both would willingly yeeld to what should he require: which policie as *PLVTARCH* affirmeth, was comprehended by *MARCUS CATO* onely. The peace betweene them was made, and concluded by his means, both of them remaining bound vnto him for the same; and as the one held the other in suspition, so for feare to lose him, they both sought to pleasure him; and by this mean he made himselfe equall with either of them both, and the power which two held before, was now deuided betweene three, and in the end he alone commaunded all. This league being concluded, *CÆSAR* demanded the Consulship which was the highest ordinarie dignitie, and was made Consul: which office he executed with such authoritie, that his fellow in office bare no sway with him, but rather (all the time that it lasted) liued retired, and kept his house. And *CÆSAR* the better to confirme himselfe in the power which he had obtained, and to clime to the height of his desires, procured *POMPEY* to marrie his daughter *I V L I A*, and himselfe married the daughter of *LVCIVS PRISO*, who was to succede him in the Consulship, which being accomplished, he chose the *Gallias* for his prouince, which is now the kingdome of *France*, whither he went with an Armie, where what he performed, what Battails and victories he there won, what Countries and Nations he subdued, what bold attempts, what counsels, what greatnes of minde and fortitude he vsed, in little lesse then tenne years that this warre lasted, are not possibly by me (which am to vse breuities, and to touch matters but superficially) to be expressed and declared. He himselfe left most excellent and true commentaries thereof, approoued afterwards by his very enemies themselves: *PLVTARCH* also and *SVEYONIVS TRANCVLLVS*, *AFIANVS*, *ALEXANDRINVS*, *LVCAN*, *PAVLVS*

The linage,  
gifts and ex-  
cellencies of  
Iulius Cæsar.

The league be-  
tweene Iulius  
Cæsar, Crassus,  
and Pompey.

Plutarch in his  
life.  
Suetonius in  
his first booke.  
Apian in his  
third booke.  
Lucan in his  
first.

Paulus Oroſius  
in his ſixth.  
Eutropius in  
his ſixth.  
Lucius Florus  
in his third.  
Himſelfe in his  
103. of his  
Epitomes.

OROSIVS, LVCIVS FLORVS, EVTROPIVS, and many other authors write thereof, to which I referre the reader. In this warre he wanne ſuch eſtimation and name of a Captaine, that he was held for the beſt of his time, or before him: for he conquered and ſubdued all *France* from the *Pyrenean* mountaines, vnto the *Alpes*, and all the reſt vnto the *Rhine*; before which, he ſubdued and overcame the valiant Helueticus, and Tigurins, now called Swiſſers, which as *PLVTARCH* affirmeth, were 300000. men, whereof 190000. were trained and exerciſed to the warres. He ſubdued the Germanes and *ARIOVIſTVS* their Captaine, which came downe into *France*, and draue them out from thence: he tamed and overcame the Belgians, the Ambians, the Neruians, and other moſt warlike Nations of the Gallies: he ſhed more blood then euer was ſhed in any warre in the world; and paſſing the riuer *Rhine* with a Bridge made of timber, he overcame the Germanes, and brought certaine other countries vnder the yoke of the Romanes; and finding no more reſiſtance in that Prouince, he paſſed with his people into the Iſle of *Britannie*, now called *England* and *Scotland*, which was inhabited with a moſt warlike Nation, and till then vnknowne by any trafficke or other commerce, and by force of Armes compelled them to become ſubiects to the Citie of *Rome*.

All the time that theſe warres endured, wherein *IVLIVS CÆSAR* gat great ſpoyle and riches, he neuer left to procure friendſhip in *Rome*, and in all other partes, by letters and gifts, and of Kings and Cities in *Aſia*, in *Grecia*, and other countries, with aide of people which he ſent them: and this ſometime without the leaue or authoritie of the Senate, which he might ſafely doe, ſo long as he continued in league and friendſhip with *POMPEY* and *MARCVS CRASSVS*. He alſo made himſelfe much eſteemed and beloued of men of warre, giuing them penſions, and double payes, beſtowing vpon them other honours and fauours: by which meanes, before that *POMPEY* was aware thereof, *CÆSARS* power and authoritie grew to be ſo great, that he began to be afraid thereof, when he was not able to reſiſt the ſame. And the loue and friendſhip betweene theſe two, began to waxe colde, and to become ſuſpect: for the pledges and bands which ſuſtained the ſame, began to faile; the firſt was the death of *CÆSARS* daughter, who was *POMPEYES* wife, which was a great linke and chaine of this friendſhip. The ſecond was the death of *MARCVS CRASSVS*, the third man of this companie, whom the Parthians ſlew in *Aſia*, whither he went to make warres (as ſome write) more for the deſire of priuate gaine, then of glorie or fame, whoſe authoritie alſo continued the concord. Theſe principall cauſes wherein their amitie conſiſted ceaſing, and being remooued; there enſued diſcord, and ciuill warre betweene them, which was the greateſt and moſt generall that euer was in the world: for therein were employed and had a hand, all the Senators and martiall men of *Rome*, with all their friends and ſubiects, Kings and cities of the one part or the other. There were eleuen legions of the one ſide, and eightene of the other, all Romanes and Italian Souldiers being the whole power of *Rome*, ſides the aydes and companies of other prouinces. It was waged in *Italie*, in *France*, in *Spain*, in *Epire*, in *Theſſalia*, in *Egypt*, in *Aſia*, and in *Africa*, by themſelues and their captaines; and laſtly, after ſiue yeares continuance, it ended in *Spain*. Some authors ſet downe the occaſion of this ciuill warre, who although they ſay ſeueral things, yet the truth is, that the cauſes thereof were enuie, ambition, deſire to commaund, and vaine glorie, wherewith they both were infected. *POMPEY* began to haue *CÆSARS* power in ſuſpition;

The cauſe and  
occasions of the  
warres be-  
tweene Caſar  
and Pompey.

ſuſpition; it grieved *CÆSAR* to ſee *POMPEYES* authoritie and dignitie. *POMPEY* would endure no equall, nor *CÆSAR* ſuperiour, as though that in the Roman Empire there had not been ſufficient and enough for two men, and ſo either of them ſought the others ruine, ſeeking to haue it wholly to himſelfe. Whether *POMPEY* intended to make himſelfe a tyrant, and abſolute, it is incertaine: but it plainly appeareth that he would not that *CÆSAR* ſhould mount to that degree wherein he was. Some ſay that *CÆSAR* was conſtrained (through feare) to take Armes, to auoyde ſuppreſſion, and not to be condemned; for *CATO* had threatned to accuſe him for leauing his Prouince: others charge him that he had euer procured and praſtized to vſurpe the dominion of *Rome*; and that his, and *POMPEYES* powers conſidered, it ſeemed a fitte match. *CICERO* ſaith of him, that hee euer had a verſe of *EVRIPIDES* in his mouth, wherein he ſaid: That if lawes and equitie were to be infringed, it was to be done to the end to rule and commaund onely; and that *CÆSAR* being accuſtomed to commaund, could not liue without an armie: for my part, I ſuppoſe that the cauſes were thoſe already alleadged.

In the laſt yeare of the ſecond ſiue yeares of the captainſhip of the prouinces which *CÆSAR* held, *LENTIVS* and *MARCELLVS* being Conſuls, it was concluded in the Senate, that there ſhould be a ſucceſſor ſent to *CÆSAR*, and that he ſhould giue ouer his Armie and gouernment: and that if he deſired the Conſulſhip, as he had written, he ſhould (to that end) come to *Rome* in perſon. *CÆSAR* deſired continuance of the Captainſhip and charge which he held, or that he might demaund the Conſulſhip being abſent, and before that he left his Armie: where-to *POMPEY* would not agree, becauſe it was againſt the lawes, which determined that the Conſulſhip could not be demaunded by any man being abſent, little remembring that he was made Conſul before he was of lawfull age, and other dignities which by fauour (with diſpenſation of the lawes) he had obtained. But this is commonly the condition of moſt men, that to themſelues, that ſeemeth lawfull and tolerable, which they reprove in others. This being then denyed to *IULIVS CÆSAR*, he yeilded to leaue his Armie, and to come priuate to *Rome*, ſo as *POMPEY* ſhould likewise giue ouer his Armie which he held in *Spain*. There paſſed many treaties and conſultations about this matter, *MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO* ſought meanes to conclude a peace, and to bring them to agreement: which *POMPEY* had not reſuſed, but thoſe of his faction were ſo haucie and proud (as they were the greateſt and beſt men of *Rome*) ſo that notwithstanding that *CÆSAR* dealt mildly and iuſtified himſelfe, yet they gaue no place thereto. And the Senates reſolution was, that *CÆSAR* ſhould giue ouer his Armie within a certaine time prefixed, and that he ſhould not therewith paſſe the riuer *Rubicon* (which was the bound of his prouince, declaring him for an enemy to *Rome*) if he did the contrarie. And *LVCIVS ANTONIVS*, and *QVINTVS CVRIVS*, Tribunes of the people contradicting this determination in the behalfe of *CÆSAR*, were ill handled, and thruſt out of the Senate, who fled from *Rome*, and tooke their way towards *CÆSAR*; which holpe him much more thoroughly to gaine the goodwill of men of warre, forasmuch as the office of the Tribunes, was held for ſacred and not to be touched. *CÆSAR* knowing what paſſed, and ſeeing himſelfe voyde of hope of peace, departed from *Rauenna*, whither he came but with ſiue thouſand foote, and three hundred horſe onely which he had with him, ſending commandement to his Legions to march with all ſpeed and to come to ioine with him. Comming with his people

Men commonly  
iudge that law-  
full in them-  
ſelues which  
they condemne  
in others.

The determi-  
nation of the  
Senate.

to the Riuer *Rubicon*, which was the furthest of his limits; which passing he was to lose all hope of agreement. Some affirme, that he stayed there a great while, thinking and considering with himselfe how great a matter it was to passe that Riuer, and the euils which would ensue thereof. *PLVTARCH* writeth, that he discoursed thereof with *ASINIVS POLLIO*, and with other his friends which came thither with him: and *SVETONIVS* saith, that turning his face towards the Riuer, he said to them: Yet is it in our power to returne, but if we passe this Riuer, we must make way with our weapons. And as *APIANVS ALEXANDRINVS* reporteth, he also said, The truth is, that if I forbear to passe the Riuer, it will be the beginning of euill, and my disgrace; and if I passe, it will be to all mortall men in generall. These words being spoken, standing a litle while in a doubt, with a furious determination and a loud voyce, he said, The lot is cast, and with that word he gaue his horse the rayne, and began to march, and to passe the Riuer, all his people following him: and so was the ciuill warre determined, and begun with the seruitude of *Rome*, and the beginning of the Empire and Monarchie, which is as much as, the raigne and dominion of one, which briefly I will declare.

Cæsars val-  
rious determi-  
nation.

Who so desireth to see it handled more at large, let him reade *APIANVS ALEXANDRINVS* in his second booke of the ciuill warres, *SVETONIVS* in the life of *CÆSAR*, and *PLVTARCH* in the same life, and in the liues of *POMPEY*, and of *CATO* and *CICERO*; and Saint *AVGVSTINE* in his third booke *de ciuitate dei*, and the same *IULIVS CÆSAR* in three bookes which hee wrote thereof in his commentaries, and in the rest of *HYRCIVS*, *LVCIVS FLORVS* in the fourth booke of his Histories, and in the Abreuiats of *TITVS LIVIVS*, *PAVLVS OROSIVS*, *EVTROPIVS* in the sixth of his Histories, and *LVCAN* in his tenne bookes, and *PLINIE* in his last *de viris Illustribus*, and the same *PLINIE* and *VALERIVS MAXIMVS* and other Authors which treat thereof, and of *CÆSAR*'s other actions.

The beginning  
of the ciuill  
warres.

*IULIVS CÆSAR* hauing passed the Riuer *Rubicon*, as is afore declared, as saith *SVETONIVS*, drew his Armie together, and hauing brought thither the Tribunes in such vile and base attire as they came from *Rome*, he made a speech to his people, iustifying his cause and requiring their ayde and fauour, and being by them answered to his liking, he departed presently from thence, & was the next morning by break of day, before *Arimino*, and sealed vpon that Citie; and holding his way, did the like by all townes and castles as he passed. *CÆSAR*'s terrible determination being knowne in *Rome*; *POMPEY*, the whole Senate and people of *Rome*, were therewith much troubled, so as it should be a long matter to recite and set downe what they did, and what prouision they made: The truth is, that *POMPEY* found himselfe much deceiued, for he neuer beleued, that *CÆSAR* would haue aduentured so farre, or that he should haue wanted means to haue resisted him. But it happened otherwise vnto him, for although that to him was committed by the Consuls, and Senate the charge of leuying of Souldiers, and the calling thither of his legions, and that there were Capitaines sent to diuers Cities of *Italie* (whereby *CÆSAR* was to passe) for the defence thereof, all sufficed not against the furie and force, wherewith he came, and the newes daily encreasing, *POMPEY* and all the Senate abandoned *Rome*: for *POMPEY* went to *Capua*, and from thence to *Brundisium* now called *Brindisi*, a place by the Sea side in the confines of *Italie* towards *Grecia*, in the mouth of the Venetian Sea; whither he sent for the Consuls to passe thence to *Dyrrachium* now called *Durazzo*, a place also

the SL and  
bandoned  
Rome.  
Brundisium,  
Brindes.  
Dyrrachium,  
Durazzo.

by

by the Sea side in the prouince of *Macedonia*, a great part whereof is now called *Albania*, there to raise the greatest power that they should be able; being out of hope as then to be able to resist *CÆSAR* in *Italie*, who had already sealed on the Citie of *Corfinio*, which *DOMITIVS* held with thirtie of *POMPEY*'s Cohorts; which being taken by *CÆSAR*, he pardoned all those which he found therein, and entreated the gouernour very friendly, and gaue him leaue to depart whither he would, who went presently to *POMPEY*: which truly was an act of great magnanimitie and clemencie, which *CÆSAR* maruellously vsed in all his actions, and chiefly in the victories which he obtained in these ciuill warres, wherewith (in my opinion) he wan no lesse honour, then by his victories.

clemencie and  
magnanimitie.

*CÆSAR* hauing brought *DOMITIVS* his people to his deuotion, he passed forwards, and vnderstanding that *POMPEY* and the Consuls gathered head in *Brundisium*, with the greatest iourneys that he was able to make, he marched towards them with his legions: But *POMPEY* had sufficiently fortified himselfe for his defence, hauing made the Consuls and the most part of the people to embarke themselves and passe to the Citie of *Dyrrachium* afore said, where the Consuls attended his coming. And *CÆSAR* so remaining in *Italie*, without resistance, being very carefull what counsell he should take; for although that he would haue followed *POMPEY*, yet he had no prouision of shipping thereto, and by reason that it was winter, shipping could not come so soone as was requisite, which he well considered, and how much it imported him not to leaue any enemie behinde him, which might cause any alteration in *France* or *Italie*, in his absence; he determined therefore to deferre the pursute of *POMPEY*, and to take his way towards *Spaine*, which held for *POMPEY*, who had therein his excellent legions, and two Capitaines, which were *PETREIVS* and *AFRANIVS*. *SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS* saith, that when he had resolved thereupon, he said to his friends, Let vs first goe against the Armie which is without a Capitaine; and afterwards let vs returne against the Capitaine that hath neuer an Armie: for these Capitaines, *PETREIVS* and *AFRANIVS*, were not held for very politike, or expert in the warres. And to the contrarie, *POMPEY* was most wise and a very valiant Capitaine: but the people which he had with him, were newly leuiued and of small experience.

Returning from *Brundisium*, in sixtie dayes without bloodshed or battaile, *CÆSAR* became Lord of all *Italie*; and coming to *Rome*, they were in incredible feare, remembring the cruelties committed in the time of *SYLLA*: But *CÆSAR* vsing his naturall clemencie, did hurt no man of any degree high or low, but rather called to the Senate those Senators which remained, and which came with him, whom with very good words he comforted and encouraged: and laying the whole fault vpon *POMPEY*, accusing him of all things present, he sought by all means to iustifie his owne cause, and declared how much he did then, and euē had desired peace, and therewith requested that messengers might be sent to *POMPEY* to procure the same: and making himselfe to be presently chosen Consul, he opened the *Romane* treasure, notwithstanding that *METELLVS* one of the Tribunes of the people was desirous and went about to haue hindered and letted the same, and that he should not haue done it. The treasure which he tooke from thence, he gaue and deuoted among his people, which as *PLINIE* in his three and thirtieth booke reporteth, was very great, which *LVCAN* also affirmeth. These things being ended, and *CÆSAR* desirous to goe from *Rome* into *Spaine* (like a wise and excellent Capitaine) first tooke order aswell for the ciuill

Cæsar sealed on  
Rome and all  
Italie.

Cæsar Consul  
by force.

ciuill gouernment, as for the warres; and making choise of the legions which were to goe with him, he left part of his people in *Brundisium* and *Otranto*, and in other strong places vpon the Sea side, to keepe POMPEY from landing if he sought to returne into *Italie*. He also nominated HORTENSIVS and DOLABELLA, for his Captaines, to make prouision of shipping to be brought to the port of *Brundisium*, there to be in a readines against his returne from his iourney. QUINTVS VALERIVS he sent with a legion to *Sardinia*, against MARCVS COTTA which held the same for POMPEY: To *Sicilia* he sent CVRIVS against MARCVS CATO, with direction that hauing taken the same, he should passe ouer into *Africa*: LEPIDVS he left in the Citie of *Rome* as Prefect thereof, and MARCVS ANTONIVS for gouernour and Captaine of all *Italie*; and determining to leaue LICINIVS CRASSVS in *France*, with his accustomed celeritie, he went on his iourney, and found no resistance, neither in *Italie*, nor in *France*, but onely in the Citie of *Marselles*, which held for POMPEY: which rather (in my opinion) more like bold and aduenturous friends, then wise men, would not receiue nor lodge him in their Citie, but put themselues in Armes against him for their defence. CÆSAR comming thither besieged the Citie, and to auoyde losse of time, left there DECIVS BRVTVS and CAIVS TREBONIVS with sufficient forces, which continued the siege and performed great matters; and himselfe followed his way into *Spaine*, where his comming was alreadie knowne, and AFRANIVS and PETREIVS attended him, with the ayde of their friends, and foure Romane legions; betweene which and CÆSAR the warres continued many dayes, and that chiefly nere the Citie of *Lerida*. In the beginning CÆSAR was in great danger and much distressed, as well through want of victualles, as by reason of the winter being come, which annoyed him with riuers and waters; before and after the which, there passed many great skirmishes and conflicts betweene the two armies, and other chaunces and aduentures, too long to be recounted. Finally, CÆSAR knew how to warre in such sort, that without giuing oportunitie to come to a battaile, he brought his aduersaries to such extremitie and distresse, that perishing with hunger they came to a composition: which was that to the legions (who now were able neither to offend nor defend) should be graunted libertie to depart and to goe whither they would; which was performed accordingly, and PETREIVS and AFRANIVS went to POMPEY, and part of the legions which would not abide with CÆSAR, had leaue to doe as they listed: CÆSAR still persueuing in his clemencie and gentlenes.

This being ended, and sommer being come (to the end not to leaue any thing in *Spaine* to be subdued) he passed forwards, and came into the prouince of *Betica*, now called *Andaluzia*, with part of his forces, leauing commaundement with the Armie, to march whither he had appointed, and there to stay for him, because that MARCVS VARRO being POMPEIES Lieutenant in that prouince held it for him, with one legion of good Souldiers; but daring not to oppose himselfe against CÆSAR, he peaceably deliuered vp vnto him both the countrie and the legion, and so all was plain before him and at his commaund. Thence he went to *Coruna*, where he called a parliament, and an assemblie of all estates of that prouince, wherein among other things which there were treated of, highly commending the Cordoueses and Seuillians which had taken his part (as himselfe writeth) he marched forwards and visiting the prouince, he came to the Isle and citie of *Cales*, and prouiding these certaine things, he tooke the

Cæsars going  
into Spaine a-  
gainst Petreius  
and Afranius.

Cæsar subdued  
all Spaine.

the ships and galleys which MARCVS VARRO there had left, and such other more as hee could get, and embarked himselfe therein. And leauing QUINTVS CASSIVS with foure legions in that prouince, he tooke his passage by sea to *Tarragona*, sending commaundement by land to his legions to march thither: where being arriued, and in few daies, prouiding and taking order for that prouince, he departed with his armie towards *Narbona*, and from thence to *Marselles*, which yeilded vnto him, after that in the siege and assaults, it had endured many calamities. And CÆSAR nothing respecting the small regard and ingratitude of that citie, but the antiquitie and fame thereof, would not permit any hurt to be done to the citizens and inhabitants; but leauing a sufficient garrison to guard the same, commaunding his legions by appointed iourneys, to march towards *Italie*, himselfe with a necessarie guard for his person and others in his companie, tooke passage for *Rome*; all things succeeding prosperously with him, although that some of his Captaines had ill successe. For CAIVS ANTONIVS, whom (we said) he left with DOLABELLA for Captaine of his Nauie, was ouerthrowne and taken prisoner in the gulfe of *Venice*, by OCTAVIVS POMPEIES Lieutenant; and DOLABELLA was likewise overcome nere to the Ile of *Corcyra*, now called *Corfu*: *Corcyra*, and CVRIVS, which (according to CÆSARS commaundement) went into *Africa* with two legions, hauing in the beginning good successe, was afterward ouerthrowne, and the most part of his people slaine by POMPEIES friend, IVBA King of *Mauritania*, which is now the kingdome of *Fez*.

CÆSAR being come to *Rome* and made Dictator (as PLVTARCH & APPIANVS testifie) new Consuls were chosen, and he being one of them deposed himselfe from his Dictatorship, and so chaunging and prouiding Pretors for the Prouinces at his pleasure, sending MARCVS LEPIDVS into *Spaine*, and AVLVS ALBINVS into *Sicilia*, SEXTVS PEDVCEIVS into *Sardinia*, and DECIVS BRVTVS into *France*: and taking such further order as he thought good, he departed from *Rome* in the moneth of December towards *Brundisium*, whither he commanded all his forces to march, there to take passage for the prouince of *Macedonia*, the greatest part whereof (as I said) is now called *Albania*, where he knew that POMPEY staid with his armies. Who all one whole yeere, which CÆSAR spent in his iourney into *Spaine*, busied himselfe in prouiding a Nauie to returne into *Italie*, and to gather treasure and to leue souldiers for that purpose, and had prepared and made a wonderfull great prouision of all things: For there came to him, ships, money, and men, from many kingdomes, prouinces and cities of *Asia*, and *Græcia*, from *Syria*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cilicia*, *Phœnicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Pamphilia*, *Armenia*, the lesse, *Egypt*, *Græcia*, *Thessalia*, *Boëtia*, *Achaia*, *Epire*, *Athens*, *Lacedæmonia*, and the Iles of *Creta*, *Rhodes*, and many other parts and countries: there came also to his aide in person, the Kings DEUSTARVS, and ARTIOBARZANES. Of which people and of those which he brought with him from *Italie*, POMPEY had a great armie by land, and an exceeding great number of ships and galleys by Sea, which I doe not set downe, by reason of the diuersitie of opinions, betweene authors in the number of his people, and of CÆSARS: for certaine, they were very mightie armies, but the greatest number were of POMPEIES side. Who in agining (because that it was in the hart of winter) that CÆSAR should not be able and haue time commodiously to passe the Seas, and hauing (as indeed he had) aduertisement that CÆSAR was in *Rome*, he diuided and lodged his people in *Macedonia* and *Thessalia*, retiring himselfe from the Sea, commaunding and charging his Captaines by Sea (of which MARCVS BIBVLVS was chiefe) that they should guard

The taking of  
Marselles and  
Cæsars re-  
turne to Rome.

Pompeies peo-  
ple and prou-  
sion.

and

Oportunitie lost  
is seldom recovered.

Cæsars passage  
to Grecia  
against Pompey.

and defend the coast. But CÆSAR knowing that in the speedie execution, consisted the principall point of his victorie, and that occasion which is let slippe is feldome recoverd; being departed from Rome and arriued at *Brundisium* (as we haue before said) notwithstanding that all his legions were not yet come, yet he embarked aboarde those shippes which he had there in readinesse, so many men as they could containe, which were seuen legions of chosen men (as he himselfe recordeth) and sent commaundement to those which were comming, to make hast, to the end that they should ioine with the rest which there remained, which he would speedily send for. And so he departed from *Brundisium* now called *Brindes*, in the beginning of the moneth of Ianuarie, and crossing the Seas with prosperous weather, the third day after he arriued in the coast of *Macedonia*, before that POMPEY had any intelligence of his embarking: and setting his people on shore in the despite of POMPEIES Captaines, he commaunded the shippes and gallies presently to returne to *Brundisium* to fetch the rest of his armie, which he had there left, and commaunded to come. And the warres beginning, he presently seased vpon the cities of *Apollonia*, which is now called *Bellona*, and *Erico*, driuing from thence LVCIVS TORQVATVS and LVCIVS STRABERIVS which held the same for POMPEY: who so soone as he was aduertised of CÆSARS comming, with the greatest speede possible, sending for his troupes (such as were neere at hand) he marched towards *Dyrrachium* where lay all his victuall, munition, and prouision for the warres, doubting that CÆSAR would come to surpriseth the same, as in truth he did.

POMPEY being come, their Campes were lodged within few forlongs the one of the other, and a riuer running betweene them; there passed many aduentures, skirmishes, and also some treaties of peace, which CÆSAR offered, which were not accepted by POMPEY, so much he assured himselfe of his power: and CÆSAR daily expecting the comming of his other legions, which stayed longer then he thought they ought to haue done; without the which, he thought it no wisdome to come to a battaile; and being much grieued and very carefull for the same, he determined in person with three seruants only, secretly to embarke himselfe in a Brigandine, and to passe that streight of the sea, to fetch them, thinking to be able to performe the same without being mist; and putting it in execution accordingly, he passed downe the riuer to the Sea, which he found so troubled and tempestuous, that the Maister of the Brigandine (not knowing whom he carried) nor daring to passe any further, would haue returned. Then CÆSAR discouering his face, as it is reported, said, be not afraid friend; for thou carriest with thee CÆSAR and all his fortune: the Maister herewith encouraged, strived to hold on his voyage, but at length, the force of the tempest was so great and the season so contrarie, that (notwithstanding CÆSARS courageous words) they were constrained to returne, vnable to passe any further forwards: which being vnderstood in his Armie, they much wondred, grieued, and murmured thereat, praising him more for a valiant Knight, then a wise Captaine; and so VALERIVS MAXIMVS recounteth it for a rash aduenture, which in my opinion was the occasion why IVLIVS CÆSAR recordeth it not in his Commentaries.

This being past, within a few dayes after, ANTONIVS arriued with foure of those legions which were left behinde in *Italy*, presently returning the shippes backe againe for the rest, and (after some aduentures which hapned) ioining with CÆSARS Armie, and all things set in good order, and the like being done on POMPEIES side; there passed some things betweene them, which for breuitie

The rash ad-  
uenture of  
Cesar.

uitie I omit, vntill that neere to the citie of *Dyrrachium*, whither CÆSAR went with a determination to haue surpriseth the same, and POMPEY to relieue it. The two Armies lodged themselves in the fields, the one so neere to the other, that there were daily skirmishes and slaughters of men of either partie, vntill that one day a skirmish waxing hot, and rescue comming from either Armie, it came to a battaile: wherein the matter was handled in such sort, that CÆSARS troupes began to flie, and could not be made to stand, vntill they came to their campe which they had fortified, and yet some abandoned the same and durst not defend it. But POMPEY, either for that (as some thinke) he imagined their flight to be fained, or that there was some deceit or ambush, or that he supposed that there was no more to be done, and that CÆSAR might easily haue been ouerthrowne, did not prosecute the victorie, neither followed the charge, but rather caused a retreat to be sounded, without assailing his enemies camp: Whither when CÆSAR came, he tooke such order as was most conuenient, as he, who was no lesse couragious and politike in time of aduersitie, then of prosperitie; and it is reported that he said to his friends, Truly this day had ended our warres, if our enemies had had a Captaine, which had knowne how to haue ouercome: This day IVLIVS CÆSAR lost a great part of his people, among which, were foure hundred Romane Knights, and tenne Tribunes, and two and thirtie Centurions, and his enemies tooke from him two and thirtie ensignes. This battaile ended, POMPEY sent the newes thereof to diuers parts of the world, holding himselfe for victorious. And IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing punished some of his Captaines, and ensigne bearers, notwithstanding that all his whole Armie displeased and ashamed of their late losse, againe desired the battaile: yet he would not then fight with his Armie being timorous, against those which were in heart and victorious; but rather tooke a new course, and sending his sick and hurt men to the citie of *Apollonia*, departed by night with the greatest silence that could be, from the place where he was, and tooke his way towards *Thessalia*, with intent to refresh and encourage his Armie, and to draw his enemy further from the Sea coast, where his chiefe force lay, and where his campe was fortified and victualled; or at the least, to goe to meete and ouerthrowe SCIPIO, whom he well knew, came to ioine with POMPEY.

POMPEY seeing CÆSARS departure, after that he had followed him some few dayes, tooke counsell, and as APPIANVS testifieth, was determined (leauing so sufficient a naue at Sea, as CÆSAR should not be able to make any benefit thereof) to passe into *Italy*, and to recover the same, with *France* and *Spaine*, and then afterwards to returne against CÆSAR, but being oppressed and ouerruled by the Romane Lords which came with him, he altered his determination, and presently departed to pursue CÆSAR, who made a stay in the fieldes of *Pharsalia* which are in *Thessalia*, and made his retreat with such discretion and in so good order, that in all occasions that were offered, he had euer the better, vntill that at length he saw his people so furious and of such force and courage, that it seemed to him very requisite to fight: and therefore cared not any more to refuse the battaile, but rather daily presented the same to POMPEY. Who knowing (as indeede it was true) that CÆSAR began to want many necessaries, and that his armie began to weaken and diminish, he deferred the same and would not fight, and as a wise and an experienced Captaine, as he was, would haue prolonged the warre, defeating his enemy without putting his owne state in hazard: and although that POMPEY were of this opinion, yet so much did the voices, opinions and

A battaile be-  
tweene Cesar  
and Pompey  
neere to Dyrra-  
chium.

and murmurings of those which were with him preuaile, (as LVCAN, PLVTARCH, and the same CÆSAR himselfe report) that they made him yeeld to giue the battaile, euen contrarie to his owne opinion and will, as he did: wherein met and ioyned of the one side and of the other all the flower and force of Rome, and although that CÆSARS forces were fewer in number (for all writers affirme, that POMPEIES' armies were twice as great) yet CÆSARS were more actiue and better trained. How many there were of the one side and of the other, I cannot certifie; the authors doe so much differ among themselues therein: APPIANVS setteth downe the diuers opinions which are thereof, some raise the number to three hundred thousand men, whereof LVCIVS FLORVS is one: others to three score and tenne thousand: and some set downe somewhat lesse, among which is PLVTARCH, who saith that POMPEY brought to this battaile 45000. men, whereof 7000. were on horsebacke, and I V L I V S C Æ S A R two and twentie thousand a foote, and of horse men few more then one thousand. But APPIANVS vnderstandeth, that this lesser number of these armies, was to be vnderstoode of Romanes, which were the force and hope of both these capitaines: for it is not likely, that of all nations, there should be so small a number in a warre so long prepsed and preparing, and in my opinion, this is most likely to be true. But howsoeuer it was, this battaile was betweene the best capitaines and best souldiers, as well for experience, as for force and valour, that euer were in the world; and yet being so, it was not much fought, neither did it long continue: So strange and variable are the aduentures which happen in warres and battailes: for where there seemeth to be the greatest force and assurance, oftentimes is found the greatest weaknes; and that which is least feared, doth sometimes annoy most.

Either of these two capitaines, hauing resolued to giue battaile, ordred his battalions and squadrons, as to him seemed most expedient, making their speeches and orations to their people; and the accustomed signe being giuen, the battaile presently began on either side: in the beginning whereof POMPEIES horsemen, (wherein he reposed his greatest hope) which were all of the Romane Nobilitie, and of the order of Knighthoode, and alwayes euerie where had the better; began to come where CÆSARS Cauallery was, and forced them to forsake the field. Which CÆSAR perceiuing, losing nothing by oversight, made a signe to a battalion, which for that purpose he had left apart from the other squadrons, to charge POMPEIES Cauallerie; which charged them with such force and furie, striking them according to CÆSARS direction, no where but in the face, which POMPEIES horsemen either vnable or vnwilling to endure, began to retire, in such sort that from that part whence POMPEY thought to haue obtained the victorie, from thence sprang the beginning of his perdition. For notwithstanding that they had already charged, and the other battalions continued still fighting, and that they maintained the same with great resolution; yet seeing that POMPEIES Cauallerie fled, and that CÆSARS came to charge them afresh, they all did the like in such manner, that in short space the victorie plainly appeared for CÆSAR, and POMPEY leauing all hope to preuaile, fled to his campe, leauing the field and victorie to his enemies. Who letting slippe no occasion, seeing that he found no resistance in the field, assembled his forces together to assaile POMPEIES campe, which with small difficultie he entred: which POMPEY perceiuing, leauing his ensignes and robes of generall, and putting on other apparrell vpon the first horse that he could get, with foure on horsebacke

Pompey fought  
contrarie to his  
owne opinion.

The battaile of  
Pharsalia,  
wherein Pom-  
pey was over-  
come by Cæsar.

backe only, which accompanied him, which (as VELLEIVS PATERCVLVVS saith) were his sonne SEXTVS POMPEIVS, and the two LENTVLL, and FAVONIVS of the Pretorian order: he fled so fast as he could, and neuer staid vntill he came to the citie of Larisa, where ioyning with some thirtie other horse, which fled, without any stay he continued his flight, vntill he came vnto the shore side of the Egean sea; where finding a certaine Merchants ship of Rome, he embarked himselfe therein, and sailed to the Ile of Lesbos, which is in that sea, which now is called Archipelago, to the citie of Mytilene. For in that citie were his wife and familie, which he tooke with him, and gathering together such ships and men as he was able, he departed from thence, very doubtful, and without any determination whither to goe. Some counsailed him to saile into Africa, for that King IVRA was his friend and very mightie. Others were of opinion that he should retire himselfe to the Parthians: finally, he resolued to goe into Egypt, for the friendship which he held with King PTOLOMEY, father of that PTOLOMEY then raigning; and did so. Hauing first touched in the prouince of Cilicia in Asia, and in the Ile of Cyprus, and sayling to Egypt, and arriuing at the citie of Alexandria, he had such an end as we will presently declare.

I V L I V S C Æ S A R hauing obtained so great a victorie, as is aforesaid, vsed therein his accustomed clemencie, not suffering any Romane to be either slaine or hurtafter the battaile was ended, and pardoning al those which were taken therein, or found in the Campe; among which was MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO. And although that in the battaile were slaine of POMPEIES side fiftene thousand men, and of the conquerors lesse then two thousand, as the same CÆSAR writeth: yet vnderstanding which way POMPEY fled, to the end to giue him no place or meanes to returne and repaire himselfe, without losing any time, he pursued him with the lightest and swiftest of his armie. And comming to the seafide, bringing to his obedience in his way all the cities whereby he passed, and gathering together such shippes and galleys as he then could, and with those which CASSIVS had deliuered vnto him, who was receiued to his grace and seruice, he therein shipped such troupes as he was able, and passed into Asia the lesse; where being aduertised that POMPEY had been in Cyprus, he presumed that he tooke his way towards Egypt. For which cause hee tooke the same course, taking with him two whole legions of old souldiers onely; and arriuing in safetie at Alexandria in Egypt (where wee said that POMPEY had lately taken port) he vnderstood that POMPEY was arriued there: who presuming of the benefits and good entertainment which this King PTOLOMEYs father had receiued in his house, he sent to request PTOLOMEY to harbour and assist him. But as with men which are fallen and decayed, few men hold faith and friendship, and in their aduersities the benefits and good turnes receiued from them are commonly forgotten: so the King sent him his promise to performe what he required: and comming vpon safe conduct, in a small boate towards the shore, he was murdered before that he came to the land, by the Kings commandement, by the hands of one called SEPTIMIUS, and another called ACHILLES, thinking by meanes hereof to winne CÆSARS friendship, which was done by the perswasion and counsell of FOTIVS an Eunuch, who was of great authoritie in the Court, and by whom the King was much ruled. He vnderstood also that CORNELIA POMPEIES wife, and his sonne SEXTVS POMPEIVS were fled from that port in the same ship, wherein they came. CÆSAR being landed and receiued into the citie, they presently brought him, for a present, the great POMPEIES head, which he would not see:

Pompeies  
flight.

The clemencie  
of Cæsar.

Cæsar pursued  
Pompey.  
The death of  
Pompey.

Septimius.

Cæsar wept  
for the death of  
Pompey.

and his ring and seale of Armes being presented vnto him, he wept a great while for pitie, considering the end and successe of the great aduentures and prosperities of POMPEY, who with such honour and fame had three times triumphed, and been so many more times Consul in Rome, and had commanded the same, and had been the most principall man therein for so many yeeres, and had obtained so many victories and dignities.

When I V L I V S C Æ S A R landed in *Egypt*, he found the countrey infested with ciuill warres, and great discord between the yong King P T O L O M Y and his sister the faire C L E O P A T R A, about the diuision and inheritance of that kingdome; wherein I V L I V S C Æ S A R (as a Romane Consul) tooke vpon him to entermeddle. For which cause (as C Æ S A R himselfe writeth) or because that their guiltie conscience, for the treacherous murder of POMPEY made them to feare (as P L Y T A R C H affirmeth) the before named F O T I N V S, which had been the practiser of this murder, and A C H I L A which had been the actor thereof, both which were in great authoritie in the Court and with the King, imagining that C Æ S A R enclined to fauour C L E O P A T R A S faction, amassed and sent for the armie which the King had neere the citie, consisting of 20000. good men, purposing to doe by I V L I V S C Æ S A R as they had done by POMPEY; and so within few daies there began betweene C Æ S A R and the small forces which he brought with him, both within the citie, and in the harbour, betweene the ships and galleys, the most cruel warre and fight that he euer had, which I cannot distinctly set downe, for the many aduentures that passed therein. But let this suffice, that I V L I V S C Æ S A R fought therein many times in his owne person, both within the citie, whereof his enemies held the greatest part, and also in the harbour with his ships, and was sometime in such peril and danger, that he was driuen to leape out of the boate wherein he was, into the water, and by swimming to escape into one of his galleys. But at length his forces and aide being come from *Asia* and other parts, he at the end of nine moneths (for so long lasted these warres) remained victorious, as in all others he had been, and the yong King P T O L O M Y was slaine in a fight. In this warre C Æ S A R did such exploits, and shewed such valour and wisdom, that for the same onely he did well deserue the fame and renowne of a most excellent Captaine.

Cæsar's warre  
in Egypt.

The death of  
Ptolomy king  
of Egypt.

Cleopatra  
Queene of  
Egypt.

C Æ S A R hauing tamed the pride of the Egyptians, and put to death the murderers of POMPEY, and established C L E O P A T R A for Queene and gouernour of that kingdome, whom the while that he remained there, he held for his friend, and she by him conceiued and had a sonne called C Æ S A R I O; all things being established: he departed from *Egypt* towards *Asia*, traouelling through *Syria* now *Soria*, by reason that he was giuen to vnderstand that while he was buied in the warres of *Egypt*, the King P H A R N A C E S, sonne of the mightie King M I T H R I D A T E S, thinking it now a fit time (seeing the ciuill discord betweene the Romanes) to recouer that which his father had lost: And hauing ouerthrowne D O M I T I V S, whom C Æ S A R had sent to gouerne those parts, and also had taken by force of armes, the prouinces of *Bithynia* and *Cappadonia*, expelling thence the King A R I O B A R Z A N E S, a friend and subiect to Rome, and had began to doe the like in *Armenia* the lesse, which King D E I O T A R V S had made subiect to the Romanes: I V L I V S C Æ S A R comming with his armie sooner then King P H A R N A C E S imagined, although that with his he had expected him, hauing intelligence of his approach, within few daies they came to a battaile, in which (not without great resistance) the King was ouerthrowne and put to flight, with great slaughter of his people,

Cæsar's victorie  
against Pharnaces  
king of Pontus.

people, from which he escaped by flight. Great was the ioy that C Æ S A R conceiued of this victorie, for the great desire that he had to returne to Rome, where he knew that many scandales and insolencies were committed, by reason of his absence: he knew also that POMPEY'S eldest sonne had seised on a great part of *Spaine*, and had raised great power of those which MARCVS V A R R O had there left, and of his fathers troupes: he also vnderstood that in *Africa* many principall Romanes, which had escaped from the battaile at *Pharfalia*, were gathered together, whereof MARCVS C A T O was the chiefe, who is called V T I C E N S I S, (because that in *Vtica* he slew himselfe) and S C I P I O POMPEY'S father in law, and that these went thither with a great part of the galleys & ships of POMPEY'S Nauie, and with the greatest power they were able to leuie, ioyning with I V B A King of *Mauritania*, they had subdued all that countrey, and had a great armie in readines against C Æ S A R, hauing chosen S C I P I O for their Captaine, because that C A T O would not take that charge vpon him, and for that, the name of S C I P I O was very fortunate in *Africa*. C Æ S A R hauing intelligence of all these things, within few daies with great celeritie and diligence, he recouered all that which P H A R N A C E S had vsurped, and chasing him out of *Pontus*, he recouered all those countries forwards, and leauing C E L I V S M I N V C I V S for Captaine with two legions to guard that prouince, pacifying the contentions and controuersies in the rest, rewarding the Kings and Tetrarches which had continued firme in league and amitie with Rome, without any longer abroad he departed from *Asia*, and in short space passing into *Italie* came to Rome, within little more then a yecere after that he departed from thence; a short time in truth, for the perourmance of so great matters and so long a iourney.

Within few daies after his comming to Rome, he made himselfe to bee chosen the third time Consul, and reforming (the best that he could in so short a time) all disorders in Rome, being griued and not able to endure that his enemies should possesse *Africa*, with great expedition he prepared all things necessarie, and from Rome tooke his way thitherward, commaunding his forces to follow him. First he went into *Sicilia*, and there shipped himselfe, and thence passed into *Africa*: and notwithstanding that, neither his Nauie nor Armie arriued with him, trusting in the valour and goodnes of his people, and his owne good fortune, he tooke land with those small forces which he brought with him, neere vnto the citie of *Adrumetum* in the prouince of *Africa*; and from thence marched to another citie called *Leptis*, where hee was receiued: and after some conflicts which passed, his legions being come, and certaine troupes both on foote and horsebacke, he began the warre, which lasted foure moneths, viz. from the beginning of Ianuarie till the end of Aprill, beginning first against P E T R E I V S and L A B I E N V S: afterwards it was continued against S C I P I O and King I V B A, which assisted the contrary faction with 8000. men, the one halfe whereof were horsemen, whereof the prouince of *Africa* did then, and to this day doth abound, among all which were leuiued against C Æ S A R eight legions of footmen and 20000. horse. In this warre were many encounters, skirmishes and battailes, which H Y R C I V S in his Commentaries, P L Y T A R C H, L V C A N, L V C I V S F L O R V S & others write of at large, in which C Æ S A R was in great daunger: but at the last with his force and good fortune, he ouercame them all in a great battaile; wherein, of the enemies, were slaine tenne thousand men, and C Æ S A R remained master of the field, and in few daies after of all the land: and S C I P I O and all the principall Captaines which were his aduersaries, died sundrie deaths within few daies; and king I V B A

Cæsar's warre  
in Africa against  
Scipio.

Hyrkins lib. 5.  
Appian lib. 2.  
Lucan lib. 3.  
Lucius Florus  
lib. 4.  
Tytus Livius  
lib. 134.  
Plutarch in his  
lines.

by

The strange  
death of King  
Iuba and Afranius.

by flight escaping from the battaile, and finding no place of refuge, in despaire, he and AFRANIUS determined to die fighting, the one against the other, vntill they were both slaine, in which combate King IUBA being of greater strength then AFRANIUS, slew him; and afterwards commaunded a slaue of his owne, to kill himselfe, and so he died desperately.

Cato Vticensis  
slew himselfe.  
S. Augustine in  
his booke de ci-  
uitate dei. 1.  
Scipio slew  
and drowned  
himselfe.  
Lactantius Fir-  
mianus, Aulus  
Gellius in his  
twelfth booke.  
Cicero in the 3.  
of his offices.  
Valerius  
Maximus.  
cap. 3.  
Cæsars tri-  
umphes.

Veni, vidi,  
vici.

Cæsar would  
not triumph for  
his victorie a-  
gainst Pompey.

The good MARCVS CATO which was in the citie of *Vtica*, knowing that CÆSAR marched thitherwards, and notwithstanding that he knew that he would not put him to death, but had rather a desire to pardon him, and to doe him honor; yet to the end that he would receiue neither life nor honor from his enemje, he killed himselfe: in whose deaht passed many notable things, recorded by many authors both christian and heathen. SCIPIO who had been generall in this warre escaped from the battaile by flight, and shipping himselfe in certaine galleyes wherein he fled, was met withall, by CÆSARS nanie; and he to the end that he would not be taken, giuing himselfe certaine woundes, cast himselfe into the Sea, and so was drowned. CÆSAR hauing obtained so great and so entiera victorie, spending some few dayes in ordering the prouinces of *Africa*, confisking and reducing the kingdome and countrie of King IUBA into a prouince, came to the citie of *Vtica*, where he embarked himselfe the third day of Iune, and came to the Isle of *Sardinia*, wherein he stayed some few dayes, and arriued at *Rome* the five and twentieth day of Iulie. At his comming (as SVETONIVS, APPIANVS, and PLVTARCH record) there were graunted vnto him foure triumphes, the first triumph was for his conquest and victories in *France*, where were set the portraiture of the riuers of *Rodanus* and the *Rhine*, wrought in golde: and in the second triumph of *Egypt*, and of King PTOLOMEY, were set the riuers of *Nilus* and the *Pharus* of *Alexandria* burning. The third triumph was of the prouince of *Pontus* and of King PHARNACES, wherein for the speede wherewith he prosecuted the victorie, was placed a brieft writing which signified as much; which was, *veni, vidi, vici*, which is to say, I came, I saw, I ouercame. The fourth triumph was of the prouince of *Africa*, wherein was placed King IUBA his sonne, as a captiue, and in this triumph (as SVETONIVS writeth) were giuen iewels and armes to OCTAVIVS CÆSARS Nephew, which afterwards was Emperor, as we will declare hereafter, notwithstanding that he was not present in those warres by reason of his small age: for he was not then fully sixteene yeares olde. As for the battaile which CÆSAR wanne against POMPEY, he would not triumph thereof, because it was against Citizens of *Rome*.

These triumphes being ended, giuing great rewards to his souldiers, and entertaining the Romane people, with feasts, gifts and other very great larges, he caused himselfe to be chosen the fourth time Consul: and to the end that there should be no place in the world wherein he would not be obeyed, he resolved to goe into *Spaine*, where he vnderstoode that GNEVS POMPEIVS (POMPEIVS sonne) with the remainder of the armie which had escaped out of *Africa*, was gone to ioyne with his brother SEXTVS POMPEIVS, who already was there, as I haue said, and was in possession of a great part of *Spaine*, with the cities of *Seuill* and *Cordona*, and many other in that coast, and many Spaniards were come to their ayde. CÆSAR departing, carried with him his most experienced and chosen souldiers, and made so good speede that within few dayes he arriued in *Spaine*, and in this iourney (as SVETONIVS and VALERIUS PATERCVLVVS recorde) his Nephew OCTAVIVS followed him.

CÆSAR being entred *Spaine*, came into the prouince of *Betica*, which is *Andalusia*,

*Andalusia*, where SEXTVS POMPEIVS and his brother GNEVS POMPEIVS were with such legions and people as they had gathered together, and so there began betweene them a cruell and bloudie warre. The ende whereof was, that neere to the citie of *Munda*, CÆSAR and GNEVS POMPEIVS, (for SEXTVS POMPEIVS was in *Cordona*) ioyned battaile; which was one of the most obstinate and cruell, that euer was in the world. For CÆSAR being the most excellent captaine, and the people which he brought with him, the most valiant souldiers and accustomed to ouercome; the resolution and courage of POMPEY and his people was such, and they fought in such manner, that CÆSARS esquadrons began to giue ground and were readie to forsake the field, and at the very poynt to haue been wholly ouerthrowne. And the matter came to this issue, that (as SVETONIVS and EVTROPIVS doe write) CÆSAR was about to haue killed himselfe, because he would not see himselfe ouercome: and that he tooke a target from one of his souldiers and rushed in among his enemies, saying with a loud voyce (as PLVTARCH reporteth) If you be not ashamed, leaue me and deliuer me into the hands of these boyes: for this shall bee the last day of my life and of your honour. With which words, and his example, his people tooke heart in such manner, that recovering the ground which they had lost, the battaile became equall, which as APPIANVS affirmeth, lasted the most part of one whole day, without shewing any signe of victorie, sometime seeming to encline to one partie, and sometime to the other, vntill that at length CÆSAR and his people did so great matters, that the euening being come his enemies became faint, and began to flie, and the victorie was apparantly CÆSARS: and there dyed of his enemies about 30000. men in this fight, and of CÆSARS part, were slaine a thousand principall men and of account, besides many other of lesser estimation. CÆSAR esteemed this victorie so much, and so gloried in the daunger wherein he had been, that after the victorie he vsed to say, that onely that day he fought for his life, and in all other battailes euer for honour and victorie. He then remaining maister of the field, his aduersarie POMPEY, who in nothing had failed of the office of a valiant and good captaine (after that he saw no other hope) escaped by flight, and wandring through many places was afterwards taken and slaine by CÆSARS friends, whose head was brought vnto him; the like hapned vnto TABIENVS. His second brother SEXTVS POMPEIVS fled from *Cordona*, and in the end forsooke *Spaine*: hereafter more mention shall be made of him. IULIVS CÆSAR recovered the cities of *Seuill* and *Cordona*, and all the rest, and disposing of all things in *Spaine* at his pleasure, returned to *Rome*, and entered therein, in triumph for the warres in *Spaine*, which was his fifth and last triumph: in this place LVCIUS FLORVS and PATERCVLVVS make mention of all his triumphes.

CÆSAR came to be the most mightie, the most redoubted, and most highly esteemed man that euer had been in the world, hauing subdued and conquered the greatest part thereof, with armie and by force of armes, in as little time, as it might seeme, that another man might be able to trauaile those countries by reasonable iourneys; all which being in obedience and subiection vnto him, he made himselfe perpetuall Dictator of *Rome*; and so without contradiction he finished the making of himselfe Soueraigne Lord and Monarch of the Romane Empire, within little lesse then five yeares after that he began the same. And this was the original and beginning of the Romane Emperours: for IULIVS CÆSAR would not be called King: for the name of King was abhorred, and odious to the Romanes about all things in the world, after that the Kings were chased from *Rome*.

Cæsars going  
into Spaine a-  
gainst Pompeies  
sonnes.  
Betica, Andalusia.

Cæsars cruell  
battaile and  
victorie against  
Pompies sons.

Cæsars triumph  
for his victories  
in Spaine.

The beginning  
of the Romane  
Empire.

The original  
of the name of  
Emperour.

*Rome*, but contenting himselfe to be called perpetuall Dictator and also Emperor, although not with a name of such dignitie, as his successors haue done since, but as by a name which signified that hee had been a conquerour in battailes in the warres, which in this sense was giuen to the Romane Captaines, when they had obtained any notable victorie: but after I V L I V S C Æ S A R, all his successors tooke that name, and gloried to be called Emperours, which was sacred for the most high title and dignitie in the world.

I V L I V S C Æ S A R hauing obtained the dominion which he so much desired, shewed in all things great clemencie and magnanimitie, honotring and rewarding his friends, and easily forgiuing and very cheerefully pardoning all those which had bin his aduersaries; and so he not onely pardoned B R U T U S and C A S S I U S, C I C E R O, M A R C E L L U S, and many others: but also some of them he admitted to his companie and priuate familiaritie, and to offices and dignities. It is certaine that among all the many vertues and singularities wherewith C Æ S A R was endued, his clemencie and liberalitie were most glorious. But this sufficed not to extinguish the desire to recouer the losse of libertie, neither to assuage the hatred and malice conceiued against him by his aduersaries, as in time did appeare.

The clemencie  
and bountie of  
Cesar.

The names and  
high titles  
which were  
giuen to Cesar.

And notwithstanding that many were grieved, yet some for the loue which they bare him; others for feare or dissimulation; the Senate and people of *Rome*, and finally all, gaue him names, preheminencies and titles of honour, such as neuer had been giuen to any other; neither ought he to haue accepted the same, as P L V T A R C H, A P P I A N and others doe report. But C Æ S A R S minde and ambition was so great, and his thoughts so eleuate and so high, that he held nothing for so great, but that he was worthie thereof and had deserued the same: and so he not onely accepted that which they offered him, but many more were offered, because they knew that he desired the same. Whereupon they gaue him the name of Emperour, Father, restorer and conseruer of his countrey: he was created perpetuall Dictator, and Consul for tenne yeeres, and perpetuall Cenfor of their customes. His statue and image was erected among the Kings of *Rome*, and a chaire and throne of Iuorie in the Temples and Senate, and a high pulpit and throne in the Theatre, and in the place where the Senatours did vse to sit, his pictures and statues were set vp in all the Temples and publike places. But here the matter ceased not, which they gaue him, and he accepted of some things which only to those whom they held for Gods, ought to haue been attributed, the moneth which they called Quintil, they called I V L I V S after his name, as March of their god M A R S, and Iune after the goddesse I V N O: they did also consecrate and build Temples vnto him, as vnto I V P I T E R, and their other gods: and gaue him certaine honours which they held particularly for their gods, which they call Thenfas; and so they did many other things to his honour, which exceeded all measure.

I V L I V S C Æ S A R enioying such honour and power, so as he had no equall or second in the world with whom he might contend, it seemeth that he would contend with himselfe, and imagine and attempt something wherein he might excell himselfe: for he was not contented with all the victories which he had obtained, neither (as P L I N I U S and S O L I N U S and other report) to haue fought for them in fiftie seuerall battailes (in all which he overcame) saving in that one at *Dyrrachium* against P O M P E Y, where, as we haue already said, he was not wholly ouerthrowne, neither (according to the same authors) to haue slaine in the warres and

and battailes which he fought, a million, ninetie and odde thousand men; and yet they say that they reckon not those which died in the ciuill warres: but that as he was a man of a most high minde, he fought to doe greater matters, if greater might be. For first he determined to passe into the East, there to conquer and subdue the fierce nation of the Parthians, and to reuenge the death of M A R C U S C R A S S U S, and to passe thorough *Hircania* and other countries, vntill he should come to the Caspian Sea, and so thorough all the prouinces of *Scythia Asiatica*; and passing the riuier *Tanais*, to returne thorough *Scythia* in Europe, and in this retreat to come into Germany, and other prouinces bordering thereupon, conquering and subduing them all to the Romane Empire: for the which conquest he presently caused to be leuiued in sundrie places, tenne thousand horsemen, and fixteene legions of chosen footmen, and appointing the time wherein he thought to depart, he commaunded them to march towards their Rendeuous. And besides all this, he sought not onely to subdue and overcome all the nations of the world, but to correct and reforme nature it selfe: for he purposed to haue made an Iland of *Peloponessus*, which now is called *Morea*, by cutting the necke of the land which is betwene the *Egean* and the *Ionian* Seas.

The high  
thoughts and  
purposes of  
Cesar.

Of the Riuier *Tiber* and the Riuier *Anien* (as P L V T A R C H saith) he purposed to haue altered the courses, and to haue opened new channels, through which they should run into the Sea, making them to leaue their naturall course, and capeable to beare great ships. He commaunded and already began to digge downe, and make plaine many hills and high mountaines in *Italie*, and to drie vp and to dreine some of the great lakes and marishes which are therein: and in this manner, hee thought to haue done other things more then a man, which seemed to be possible to none but to God alone. He amended and corrected (as many authors affirme) the account and computation of the yeere, conforming it with the course of the Sunne, and brought it to that rule which is yet held: for before that time it was much out of order. He did the like in the account and course of the Moone, and the coniunctions and oppositions of her and of the Sunne: and this was attributed to him for tyrannie, by those which did emulate and hate him: For one day in a discourse in the presence of C I C E R O, it was said, that the next day there should be an Eclipse of the Sunne; yea (quoth he) it is so, for C Æ S A R hath so commaunded. Many other things C Æ S A R began, which were very great, in reforming the lawes, customes and offices, which for breuitie I omit: among which the reedifying of the destroyed citie of *Carthage* by S C I P I O (as all the world knoweth) was one; and he sent thither Colonies and Romane citizens to inhabit: the like he did by *Corinth*. But all these deeds & these so high thoughts and determinations were abridged by death, which within few daies ensued: & this man which no force could resist, a few men, yea & those disarmed, were of power to bereaue of life, as hereafter we will declare. Fieue moneths only he liued a soueraigne Lord in peace (as V E L L E I U S P A T E R C U L V S hath noted) when those in whom he reposed greatest trust, conspired his death.

Cesar corrected the computation of the yeere.  
Suetonius,  
Plutarch,  
Censorinus.

Carthage re-peopled by Caesar.

Some write that C Æ S A R was counselled to haue had a guard alwaies about him: whereto he answered, that he would haue none, for hee would rather die once, then liue continually in care and feare. Many set downe the causes wherefore they desired to kill him: Some say that it was of hatred which they had long borne him: some others say, that it was for the desire of libertie, holding him for a tyrant: But the most part are of opinion, that it was of suspicion that hee would haue caused himselfe to be called and made king of *Rome*, a thing in the highest degree

The causes of  
the conspiracies  
against  
Cesar.

degree hatefull to the Romanes: whereof hee gaue many signes and causes to suspect, which PLVTARCH and others write at large. Hercunto was added, that he began to haue men in contempt, and all other things, whereby he became hatefull to many. For he vsed to say, that the Common-wealth was but a voyce and a name without a bodie, or substance; and that it well appeared that CORNELIVS SYLLA had no learning, seeing that he resigned the perpetuall Dictatorship. All the whole Senate, comming one day into the Temple of Venus, wherein he was, he attended their comming, sitting still, and rose not, as hee was wont to doe; notwithstanding (as some say) that CORNELIVS BALBVVS counselled him to rise: which was a thing much noted and odious to the Common-wealth. His friends and fauourites began also to say and to publish, that in the bookes of the Sibyls (which in Rome were held in great veneration and for a true prophetic) it was written, that the Parthians could neuer bee ouercome but by a man which should haue the title of king, and they practised that CÆSAR should take this name, for that conquest, whither he had determined to goe: and although that he made shew to be grieued and much moued thereat, yet they suspected the contrarie, which suspicion encreased (besides that which is already said) for that, that the Tribunes of the people commaunded a man to be apprehended, which had set a Diademe (which is the ensigne of a king) vpon the head of one of CÆSARS statues. Whereat CÆSAR was so highly offended with the Tribunes, that he depofed them from their offices, making shew that he did it, because they gaue him cause of offence, in this, that they would make the world beleue that there was cause of suspicion, that he would make himselfe a tyrant King. The like in a manner passed, when MARCVS ANTONIVS, which was a great fauourite of his, (and that yeere) his fellow and companion in the Consulship, being at certaine publike games, came to CÆSAR and put a Diademe vpon his head: and although that he cast it downe, yet they all imagined that MARCVS ANTONIVS would not haue been so bold and so hardie to haue done it, without his consent and goodwill; and that he did this to proue, what liking the people had thereto, and how they would take it: so as these and such other like things as passed, gaue them occasion to desire and to procure his death, as some of them did. This did also encourage them, and made them attempt to doe it: for that in sundrie publike places certaine writings were set vp, which did incite and animate them to conspire against him: as vpon the statue of Brutus, which in ancient time had chased the Kings out of Rome, wherein were written these words, *Would to God thou wert now liuing Brutus.* And vpon the image of MARCVS BRVTVS, which then was Pretor, and descended from the other BRVTVS, these words: *Thou sleepest long Brutus, truly thou art not Brutus.* And as APPIAN recounteth, at other times, they set vp others which imported: *Thou art dead Brutus, would to God thou wast liuing, thou art unworthie of the succession from the dead: surely thou art not descended from that good Brutus.* And other such like things were set vpon these statues and in other places. So as for all these reasons and for other added hereunto, there were seuentie of the most principall men in Rome, which conspired to put him to death; one alluring another, vntill that they amounted to that number: of which the most principall heads were DECIVS, MARCVS BRVTVS, CAIVS CASIVS; yet MARCVS BRVTVS was held for CÆSARS sonne, for his mother was suspected with him, and had receiued from him great honours and good entertainments: with these were GAIVS CASCA, ATTILIVS CIMBER, SERVIVS GALBA, QVINTVS LIGARIVS, MARCVS SPVRIVS, and many other men

The conspiracie against Julius Caesar.

men of account, which after some consultations, concluded to kill him vpon the Ides of March, which is the fifteenth day of that month, in the temple where the Senators were to sit that day: which was agreed vpon and kept so close and secret, that (notwithstanding their great number) there was not any one found that did discouer the same. But there happened so many signes and prodigies, and to himselfe there happened so many auguries and forewarnings, that without knowing any cause, all men were of opinion that CÆSARS death was neere at hand: the which among many others which recite the same, OVID doth most excellently set downe in his Metamorphoses, which for breuitie I omit; but chiefly SPVRINA which was his diuiner or soothsaier, diuined and forewarned him, that he should looke to himselfe, vntill that the Ides of March were past; for his life was in great danger: and CÆSARS owne wife entreated him vpon her knees, that he would not that day goe forth to the Senate; for she had dreamed that he lay dead in her lappe. Finally, CÆSAR was so many waies forewarned and put in such feare of some great danger, that he was about to send to MARCVS ANTONIVS to make his excuse, and to deferre the Senate vntill another day: But as it was Gods will that he should die so, MARCVS BRVTVS being in place when this matter was in question (who, as we haue already said, was one of the conspirators) counselled CÆSAR that in no case he should shew any such feare; whereupon he determined to goe thither.

Some (as SVETONIVS, and PLVTARCH) write that CÆSAR made small account of death, and that he suspected that hee should die in this manner; for he said, that he did not so much esteeme his owne life, as the daunger whereinto the common-wealth would fall by losing him: For as for him, he had wonne and obtained power, fame and glorie enough for himselfe, and that he in no time could dy with greater honour. It gaue also cause of this suspicion in this, that some discoursing in his presence the night before his death, what kinde of death was best: euen, quoth he, the sodaine, and that which is not prepened. Whether this be true or no, I know not, but the fifteenth of March he went from his house in a litter towards the Senate, and passing along the streete, there was a petition deliuered vnto him, which some say, ARTEMIDORVS his Maister in the Greeke tongue gaue him: others say, that it was giuen to him by another, and that ARTEMIDORVS could not come so neere to him as to aduise him: but whosoever he were that gaue it, therein was giuen him in writing, all that which was concluded in this conspiracie, and he which gaue it desired him to reade it presently, which he began to doe; but there came so many to speake to him, that he could but begin to reade it, for it was found in his hand when he was dead. And passing so along the streete, he also mette with SPVRINA, who had giuen him warning to looke to himselfe vntill the Ides of March were past, and as CÆSAR saw him very pleasant and iesting, he said, dost thou not know SPVRINA that the Ides of March are come? yea answered SPVRINA, and I know that they are not yet past also. Being come to the temple where the Senate was to sit that day, he came downe from his Litter, and entred thereinto, and hauing first done sacrifice, (as then was the custome) which all according to their superstitious ceremonies of that time, prefaged to be fatall and infortunate, he fate downe in the Senate in his chaire, and BRVTVS ALBINVS entertaining MARCVS ANTONIVS at the doore of the temple (after some others) TREBONIVS (as it was decreed) one of the conspiratours (whose name was CELER) came to CÆSAR vnder colour to entreate him to be pleased to release a brother of his from banishment, and

Lib. 1.

A petition giuen to Caesar.

and presently all the rest of the conspirators drew neere to his chaire: which when CÆSAR perceiued, thinking that they had al come for the same purpose, it is written that he said to them, what perforce is this? and at that instant one of them whose name was CASCAS, beginning, they all drew their poiniards and swords, which they had brought in secret for that purpose vnder their gownes, and began to wound him. The first blow that he received, they say, that CASCAS gaue him in the throte, at which hurt CÆSAR spake a lowde saying, what doest thou traitour CASCAS? and wresting the poiniard out of his hands, he arose and stabbed CASCAS through the arme, and being about to strike him the second time, he was letted by the other woundes which they gaue him, with great force and courage leaping from one side to the other, to defend himselfe. But when he saw MARCVS BRVTVS, (whose authoritie and reputation was great) with his sworde drawne in his hand, wherewith he had already wounded him in the thigh, they write that he was much amazed thereat, and said in the Greeke tongue (which the Romanes did then vnderstand and vsually speake) Why, how now sonne BRVTVS, and thou also? And hauing said so, and seeing so many weapons bent against him, and that no bodie came to his rescue, for there was so great a hurlie burle in the Senate, that they all thought to haue dyed, and being in despaire none durst attempt to defend him: he remembered to keepe the honour of his person, and with his right hand couered his head with part of his robe, and with his left hand, he girt himselfe and fetled his clothes about him, and being so couered, he fell dead to the ground, wounded with three and twentie wounds, and his fortune was to fall at the foote of the seate or base whereupon POMPEIES statue stode, which was noted for the iudgement and permission of God. And so in this manner died the most mightie, the most worthie, valiant, wife and fortunate Prince and captaine, that without all doubt before him hath been in the world, and I know not if after him in valour and humane power there hath been the like. For his excellencies, graces and abilities, his inuincible minde, his incomparable force and courage, the batailles and victories which he obtained, the prouinces, Kings and nations, which he ouercame and subdued, his counsels, stratagems, pollicies, and bold attempts which he vsed therein, his magnanimitie, clemencie and bountie with the conquered and conquerors, his high thoughts and purposes, being well weighed and considered: it will plainly appeare, that in none of these things aforesaid, neither in many other more which may be said of him, there hath not been any King or captaine that hath excelled him, but that he in the most hath excelled all others, and had fewer imperfections and vices then any other: for setting apart his ambition and desire to raigne, (which he held for no vice, and might alleadge that he was compelled thereto) he was onely noted and blamed as too much giuen to women, as for the rest wherewith he was charged, it doth rather appeare to be the murmuring and slander of his aduersaries, then any truth.

CÆSAR then was slaine in the sixe and fiftie yeare of his age, foure yeares and a little more (according to PLVTARCHES computation) after the death of POMPEY; in the seuen hundred and tenth yeare (according to OROSIUS) after the foundation of Rome; and according to the Hebrew truth, in the three thousand and tenth yeare from the creation of the world; and according to the greater account of the seuentie Interpretors, five thousand, one hundred, fiftie and seauen yeares; in the hundred, eightie and fourth Olympiad; and fortie and two yeares before the birth of Christ our redeemer. But I would the reader to

vnderstand,

Casca.

BRVTVS.

Cæsar was  
slaine in the  
Senate, and  
died at Pom-  
peies feet.  
The excellen-  
cies of Iulius  
Cæsar.

The time  
wherein Cæ-  
sar died.

vnderstand, that in this account of yeeres, there sometimes happeneth difference betweene the authors.

CÆSAR had neither sonne nor daughter legitimate, at the time of his death: for notwithstanding that he was married foure seuerall times, yet he had but one onely daughter, named IULIA, which (as I haue said) was married to POMPEY, and died. Wherefore he adopted and chose for his sonne by his last will, and made him his heire in the Dodrant, which are nine partes of the twelue of his goods, his Nephew OCTAVIUS CÆSAR, which afterwards was called OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS, who was nephew of his sister IULIA and of ACIUS BALBVS, and sonne of ACIA his neece, and of OCTAVIUS Pretor in Macedonia, who died sodainly. OCTAVIUS was at this time by the commaundement of his vncle, in the citie of Apollonia in the prouince of Epire, where he gaue himselfe to studie, staying for him there; thence to goe with him to the warres of the Parthians, being then of the age of seuentene yeeres.

Iulius Cæsar  
adopted Octa-  
nians his Ne-  
pew for his  
sonne.  
Octavianus his  
parentage.

CÆSAR being dead in the manner as I haue said (as it happeneth in great accidents) so the newes presently ranne ouer all the citie, and the tumult and alteration therein was so great, that no man knew what to doe, or say: all offices ceased, the temples were shut vp, there was no man but was afraid: CÆSARS friends were afraid of those which slew him, and they of his friends. It would be a long discourse to recite what passed and succeeded, but I will briefly set downe that which shall be most to my purpose. BRVTVS and CASSIUS and all the conspirators, and others which were willing to ioine with them, hauing put him to death, seeing the great hurlie burle and tumult among the people (and after PLVTARCH) for feare of MARCVS ANTONIVS and LEPIDVS, wherof the one was Consul, and the other Maister of the horsemen, durst not goe to their houses, neither to doe such other things as they had pretended, but presently from thence went to seate vpon the Capitoll, and crying by the way as they went, libertie, libertie, desiring and imploring the assistance and fauour of the people. The rest of that day and all the next night, MARCVS ANTONIVS and LEPIDVS which tooke CÆSARS part, were in armes, and there passed treaties and messages from the one to the other; wherein it was agreed that the Senate should sit, whither BRVTVS and CASSIUS came, MARCVS ANTONIVS his sonnes (by the perswasion of CICERO a great louer of the libertie) remaining hostages for them; where they treated of peace and concord, and that all that which was past should be buried in perpetuall silence and obliuion. Whereunto MARCVS ANTONIVS (who was Consul) and all the whole Senate agreed, and all the prouinces being diuided, there was a great likelyhoode of peace, for the Senate approoued and commended the fact, and the people dissembled it: for in one part the authoritie of BRVTVS and CASSIUS, and the name of libertie, seemed to giue them some contentment; and of the other side, the greatnes of the fact and the loue which they bare vnto CÆSAR, did moue and incite them to hate the murtherers, and so it rested indeterminate. But MARCVS ANTONIVS, as one who also thought to become a tyrant, euer sought meanes to incense the people against them: and it passed so, that among other things which were done, it followed that CÆSARS testament was opened; wherein besides the adopting of his Nephew OCTAVIUS for his sonne, and appointing him for his chiefe heire, among other bequests which he made, he bequeathed to the people of Rome certaine gardens and heritages neere the riuer of Tiber, and to euery citizen of Rome a certaine sum of money, to be deuided among them:

The determi-  
nation of the  
Senate.

Cæsar will and  
testament.

D

which

which being knowne, did much renew their olde loue, and made his death farre more pittifull. And hauing agreed vpon his funerall, which was with great solemnitie to burne his body in the field of Mars, putting it in effect, MARCVS ANTONIVS, who that day made his funerall oration in his praise, and with the intent afore said, tooke the robe wherein CÆSAR was flaine, which being fo all bloudie, he shewed it to the people, vsing some speeches which prouoked them both to wrath and pittie: So as before the solemnitie of the funerall was throughly ended, they all departed in a great furie, with the brands of the same fire which was made for CÆSARS bodie in their hands, and went to burne the houses of BRVTVS and CASSIVS, running vp and downe the streetes of Rome seeking themselves, and the rest of the conspirators, to haue flaine them; and in that furie they vnauidedly slewe ELIVS CINNA by mistaking him to haue been CORNELIUS CINNA, which was one of the same conspirators. This tumult put BRVTVS and CASSIVS and their confederates, in such feare, that they all fled from Rome to sundrie other partes; and MARCVS ANTONIVS not obseruing what was decreed, thinking to inherit CÆSARS power and authoritie, sought their destruction in all that he might. And notwithstanding that the Senate (hauing appeased the tumult of the people) would haue inflicted punishment vpon some of the seditious, and some were alreadie emprisoned, yet BRVTVS and CASSIVS durst not returne to Rome, but after a while went into *Graecia* to gouerne those prouinces, which CÆSAR (whom they had flaine) had consigned vnto them, which were *Macedonia*, to BRVTVS; and *Syria* to CASSIVS, and so all the rest of the conspirators absented themselves. Surely it was a wonderfull thing to see, that within the space of three yeares, they all died, and not one of them of his naturall death.

The murderers  
of Cæsar fled  
from Rome.

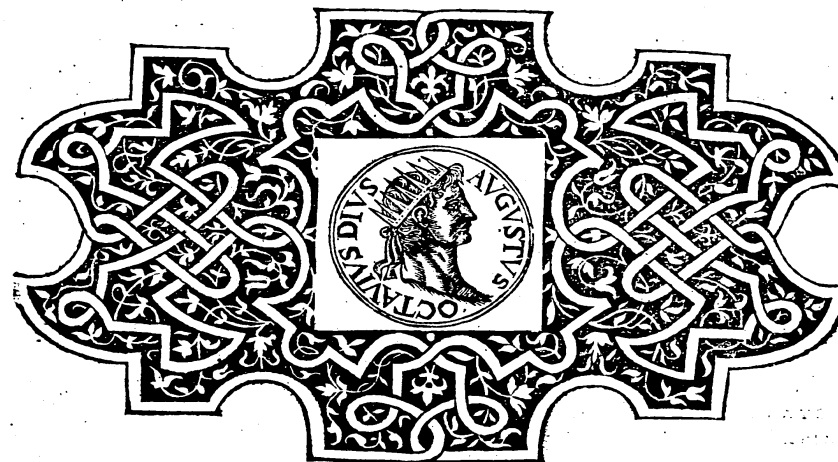
The death of  
those which  
conspired a-  
gainst Cæsar.

At this time CAIUS OCTAVIUS, who (as is afore said) was afterwards called OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS, came to Rome from *Apollonia*, being aduertised of CÆSARS death and sent for by his mother and other his kindred, all continuing in the confusion afore said: for MARCVS ANTONIVS was now very mightie, for his brother LVCIVS ANTONIVS was Tribune of the people, and other his friends and kinsmen were in offices and dignities, many of which he procured for them, saying, that IVLIVS CÆSAR had so ordained it in his commentaries; and in this season came OCTAVIUS to Rome, whose storie wee will now begin.

THE



## THE LIFE OF THE EMPEROR AVGVSTVS CÆSAR.



THE ARGVMENT.

Octavianus the adopted sonne of Caius Iulius Cæsar, after the death of Cæsar, applyed himselfe together with Marcus Antonius, to pursue Brutus and Cassius with their complices, and overcoming them he returned to Rome, where plotting the Trimumirat, he shed so much blood, and did such execution, that there was not any streete in Rome, but was stained with ciuill blood. He fought with Lucius Antonius brother of Marcus Antonius, for that it should seeme that Octavian made small account of his brother, and besieging him in Perugia, he constrained him (through famine) to come in person to sue for peace, and his life: whom he gently pardoned, together with all those which were his partakers in that warre. He also overcame Sextus Pompeius, after they had warred together many yeares. And falling at variance with Marcus Antonius by meanes of his wife Octavia, sister to Octavian, for that Antonius was besotted with the love of Cleopatra Queene of Egypt: Finally after many changes of fortune, he overcame him, whose victorie constrained Marcus Antonius (in a manner) in despair to kill himselfe, and Cleopatra to poison her selfe; but Marcus Antonius slew himselfe more for that he thought that Cleopatra had alreadie killed herselfe, then that he accounted himselfe overcome by Octavian. After this victorie, Marcus Antonius being dead, and Lepidus reduced to a most base estate, Octavian obtained the Monarchie and sole government of the Empire; in which time, subduing many barbarous Nations, he severall times made Iannus temple to be shut, and was called Monarch; in which Monarchie he lived in such manner, that with his greatnes, he no way digressed from vertue by reason of his high estate; and was no lesse ver-

D 2

THOMAS

trous then a fauourer of learned and vertuous men. He was unfortunate in honest wines, and chaste and continent daughters; and most vnhappie in sonnes, hauing none giuen him by nature worthe of the Empire. He ruled the world sixe and fiftie yeares, foure and fortie alone, and twelue in companie with Marcus Antonius. In his time our Saviour Iesus Christ was borne. And being little more then threescore and sixe yeares old, he died, to the great griefe and sorrow of the whole world, which through his goodnes had been so long time conserued in peace.



**U**N in the Historie and life of IVLIVS CÆSAR, it behooued me to be brieft in the stile and relation thereof, I haue now no lesse neede to doe thelike in the Historie of his Nephew OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS, his sonne by adoption, as by that which is before written may appeare: aswell for the great matters which passed in his time, as for the great number thereof, which cannot be repeated but by a long discourse. But we will doe herein what we shall be able, notwithstanding that his raigne was so long, (for it was fiftie and odde yeares) so that in reason we may spend somewhat more time, then in the doings of those which were of lesse continuance. The father and grandfather of OCTAVIVS, I haue already said, who they were. His lineage and familie of his fathers side, was of the OCTAVII, and was of great antiquitie in Rome, from the time of TARQVIN their king, and in the beginning they were patricii (as SVETONIVS recordeth in his life) although that afterwards the order altered, reducing it to the people by adoption, or some other cause: and in proceffe of time many of the OCTAVII obtaining offices and Magistracies, continued in the order of Knighthoode, which was the middle degree betweene the Patricij and the Plebeians, vntill the time of OCTAVIVS the father of OCTAVIANVS, which was a Senator, and a Pretor in Macedonia. Of his mothers side (as it was said of IVLIVS CÆSAR) he descended from the Kings of Rome. And yet notwithstanding all this, as OCTAVIANVS had many enemies and Emulators, it was said to his reproch, that his grandfather, father of his father, had been a money changer, and that his great grandfather was a Libertine, which is as much to say, as a man which had been a slave. Butt seemeth to me vnlikely, that the sonne of such parents should haue been admitted into the Senate and made Pretor, and that IVLIVS CÆSAR whose place and thoughts were so high, would haue married him to his Neece. And so SVETONIVS treateth thereof, as a matter which he holdeth for vnruth.

OCTAVIVS then vnderstanding of the death of his Vncle IVLIVS CÆSAR, being aduertised and sent for by his mother (as I haue said) departed from Apollonia, and with the best speede that he could make came to Rome, accompanied with some of CÆSARS friends and some men of warre of those which in Epire and Macedonia attended the enterprife and warres of Iulius, as it was decreed: and arriuing at Brundisium, he found there certain legions, which by CÆSARS commaundement were come thither to haue been embarked for the warre aforesaid, by which he was receiued with the greatest loue and affection that could be: And (after APPIANVS) he was there called, and tooke vpon him the name of CÆSAR, by the adoption of his Vncle, and leauing to be called OCTAVIVS the sonne of OCTAVIVS, was called CAIVS CÆSAR, sonne of CAIVS CÆSAR: vulgar, and commonly hee was called OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, wherein he preserved the memorie of his naturall father, with the name

of

The lineage of  
Octavianus.

Octavianus his  
coming to  
Rome.

Octavianus  
tooke vpon him  
the name of  
Cesar.

of his adoptiue father: like as PAVLVS EMILIVS sonne of PAVLVS EMILIVS being adopted sonne by SCIPIO, the sonne of SCIPIO the great, was called SCIPIO EMILIANVS, SCIPIO by his adoptiue father, and EMILIANVS by his naturall father, a matter vsuall among the Romanes: So was OCTAVIVS called CÆSAR OCTAVIANVS, and so from hencefoorth we will call him.

OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR departed from Brundisium towards Rome, accompanied with the old souldiers, and by the way many more ioyned with him, with many of his vncle and father CÆSARS friends and of his faction, and entred into the citie with great shew and pompe. But as MARCVS ANTONIVS was of great power, and therewith very proude, and tooke in ill part that OCTAVIANVS was preferred before him, as PLVTARCH recordeth, hee went not to receiue him: which was much noted, and was the first signe of the discord which afterwards ensued betweene them. OCTAVIANVS had a determination and a great desire to reuenge the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR: but by his mother and PHILIP his father in law, with whom she was married, he was counsell'd to dissemble his purpose for a season: for on the one side, they saw that the Senate had approued the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR; and on the other, MARCVS ANTONIVS, who was to be their principall fauourer herein, did not shew himselfe a friend to OCTAVIANVS: wherefore he following their wise counsell, aduisedly concealed his thoughts for a time, and to iustifie himselfe and to hold correspondence, and to temporize with ANTONIVS, he went presently to his house to visite him. And as he knew that ANTONIVS had caried away and had in his custodie all the money and treasure which IVLIVS CÆSAR had left, after discourse of some other matters, he desired him to commaund it to be deliuered vnto him, therewith to defray his charges, and to make that doale which his vncle had ordained by his will. To this and al the rest which OCTAVIANVS required, he was answered by MARCVS ANTONIVS with greater haughtines and grauitie, then the minde and thoughts of OCTAVIANVS were able to beare, denying to him what he required; yea, and reproouing him for his demands: whereupon presently contentions and discord arose betweene them; OCTAVIANVS aiding himselfe with the counsell of MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO, a great enemy to ANTONIVS, whose authority at that time, by reason of his wisdom and eloquence, was very great. The enmitie thus encreasing, although that friends of either side passed betweene them to bring them to some conformitie, and to haue reconciled them; yet in the end it brake out. And OCTAVIANVS his power encreasing, principallie (as I said) through the fauour and assistance of CICERO, MARCVS ANTONIVS was driuen to leaue Rome, and began to raise forces in Italie, and so leuied foure legions of old souldiers against him. And because that DECIVS BRVTVS which commaunded Gallia Cisalpina, which is now called Lombardie, was against him, procured thereto by CICERO his counsell and letters, MARCVS ANTONIVS went to besiege him in the citie Mutina now called Modena. This being knowne in Rome, CICERO by his credit and authoritie in the Senate was such, that after many replies and contentions which passed, MARCVS ANTONIVS was declared for a common enemy, and the new Consuls called HIRCIUS and PANSA were sent against him, and with them OCTAVIANVS, with ensignes of Consul and title of Propretor, with part of the armie, hauing been fitt receiued into the Senate (notwithstanding that hee was not yet eightene yeeres old) by the meane and procurement of CICERO, although that afterwards he did ill requite it.

Octavianus  
and Marcus  
Antonius fell  
at variance.

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There

There were also assigned vnto MARCVS BRVTVS the prouinces of *Illyricum* and *Macedonia*, and the armies therein; and to CASSIVS were assigned the prouince of *Syria* in *Asia*, and the armies also therein. This and other things being graunted by the Senate, OCTAVIANVS and the Consuls with their armies, drew neere to MARCVS ANTONIVS, MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO remaining for chiefe in all matters in *Rome*. And after some skirmishes and conflicts which passed betwene the two armies, they came to battaile, or (as some record) battailes, which are declared in sundrie manners: but in effect they agree, and the truth is, that the Consuls and CÆSAR had the victorie, and one of the Consuls (which was HIRCIVS) was slaine in the battaile, and PANSA the other Consul came wounded from it, and died shortly after: and so OCTAVIANVS remaining with the whole armie, DECIVS BRVTVS was vnset & freed from the siege, and MARCVS ANTONIVS with part of his people escaped by flight. In this seruice OCTAVIANVS made marueilous prooue of himselfe (as SVETONIVS reporteth) not onely as a Captaine, but also as a priuate souldier: and among other things which he did, one was, that seeing him which bare the standard to be fore wounded and readie to fall, with the Eagle the ensigne of his legion, which were the armes of *Rome*, OCTAVIANVS tooke the same and bare it a great while, vntill that he put it in safetie: yet for all this, some of his enemies forbore not to defame him, saying, that being in the battaile, he himselfe slew the Consul HIRCIVS; and that afterwards he caused poyson to be put into the medicines applied to the Consul PANSA, and that thereof he died.

MARCVS ANTONIVS being escaped from the battaile, gathering together the remainder of his armie, passed the Alpes and went into *France*, soliciting the friendship of LEPIDVS, which there remained with an armie from the time of the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR, with whom after some treaties and matters which succeeded, he concluded to be his friend: And OCTAVIANVS after the battaile and victorie obtained, seeing himselfe at libertie from the authoritie of the Consuls, began to put in effect the high conceits which with the goods and name of CÆSAR he did inherite, and presently sent to the Senate to require triumph for the victorie, and also the Consulship for the rest of the time, which remained to the dead Consuls, with succession in their charge and Captainship. But his demands were not so admitted by the Senate as he desired: for the Senators and friends of the conspirators which slew CÆSAR, began to stand in feare of him; and it grieved them to see him now of so great power. Wherefore (as APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS and VELLEIVS PATERCVLVVS distinctly set downe) they vsed a meane to deferre and delay that which he required, and in the end they resolved to assigne the armie vnto DECIVS BRVTVS, and temporizing with OCTAVIANVS, they graunted him the triumph, without admitting him to the Consulship. Whereat he shewed himselfe much grieved, and took occasion thereby to attempt that, which peradventure hee had before projected: which was this, he had secret treaties and practises of friendship with MARCVS ANTONIVS, and hauing procured and drawne vnto him their hearts and good will of the armie, imitating IVLIVS CÆSAR, accompanied with him, he took his way to *Rome*, and approaching neere vnto the citie, before the Senate, he made himselfe to bee chosen Consul, being then not fully twentie yeeres old. Wherein he presently entred, and discovering his desire and determination, he made accusations to be exhibited against BRVTVS and CASSIVS and the rest of the conspirators, which was declared against them all; and as there were none

The battaile  
against Marcus  
Antonius,  
wherein Octa-  
vianus and the  
consuls had the  
victorie.

Octavianus  
made himselfe  
to be chosen  
Consul.  
Those which  
murdered Cæ-  
sar accused  
and condem-  
ned.

to

to defend their cause, and they absent, not daring to appeare, they were condemned. This being done, he againe departed from the citie, and with the armie which he brought, returned, to draw neere to LEPIDVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS their campe, which were already entred *Italie*.

DECIVS BRVTVS knowing, and being aduertised of the treaties and league betwene OCTAVIANVS, LEPIDVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS, not daring to stay in that country, departed with his people, by which seeing himselfe abandoned, part whereof going to CÆSAR, and part to MARCVS ANTONIVS, he fled into sundrie parts, and in the end was taken and brought to MARCVS ANTONIVS, and put to death by his commaundement, and his head being brought vnto him he caused him presently to be buried. The armies of these Captaines approaching neere together, with which ASINIVS POLLIO and PLANCVS, with the legions which they commaunded, were ioyned; the league was made and friendship concluded betwene these three, to wit; OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, MARCVS ANTONIVS, and LEPIDVS, all three meeting to that effect three daies together, at an appointed place in the fields betwene *Bologna* and *Perugia*, as APPIANVS recordeth, which was an Iland, which the Riuer *Lavinum* which passeth thereby, maketh, where they ordained and concluded their accorded peace. And OCTAVIANVS putting away SERVLIVS his daughter, to whom hee was married, contracted himselfe to CLAVDIA ANTONIVS his daughter in law, daughter to his wife FVLVIA, which was then a childe; from whom he was also diuorced afterwards, without touching her, by reason of the discord which arose, as shall be declared at time conuenient. In this proscription and league which they made, besides the diuiding of the Empire and prouinces thereof, as hereafter shall be declared, they concluded also each of them to kill his enemies, and the one deliuering them into the others hands, hauing more respect and care to be reuenged of an enemy, then to the sauing of a friend: and so was made the most cruell and most inhumane proscription and butchery that euer was seene or heard of, giuing and exchanging friends and kinsmen, for enemies and aduersaries. For MARCVS ANTONIVS gaue his fathers brother, and LEPIDVS, LVCIVS PAVLVVS his owne brother, and OCTAVIANVS, MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO, whom he called father, and by whom he had been entreated and honoured as a sonne. Besides these, they proscribed and condemned to die, three hundred other principall men of *Rome*, as PLVTARCH setteth downe in their liues, although LVCIVS FLORVS and TITVS LIVIVS do but briefly set downe the number of the Senators: of which one saith, there were put to death 130. and the other 146. But if we shall beleue APPIANVS a most diligent and graue author, there died of the Senators in a manner 300. according to PLVTARCH, and neere 2000. Romanes of the order of Knighthood: so great power had ambition and hatred in the hearts of these three men.

Hauing made their agreement, & resolved what they would do, they all three (new friends) went to *Rome*, where they tooke vpon them the gouernment of the Common wealth, by the name of Triumuirat, for that they were three, the time being appointed for their rule of five yeeres, although they neuer meant to leaue the same. And presently those which by them were condemned and proscribed, were by their commaundement put to death, being sought out in all parts & places, ransacking their houses, and confisking their goods: In the execution whereof there was so great confusion, sorrow and heauines in the citie of *Rome*, and almost in all *Italie*, as the like was neuer seene nor heard of therein by man. And although

The triumui-  
rat and league  
betwene Oc-  
tavianus, Mar-  
cus Antonius  
and Lepidus.

The cruell pro-  
scription made  
by Octavianus,  
and Marcus  
Antonius.  
Cicero delin-  
ed to his ene-  
mie.

D 4

APPIA

APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS very eloquently recounteth the cruell death of many, it shall be sufficient for vs to describe the murdering of CICERO onely, who vnderstanding that his name was in the catalogue of those which were proscrip, onely for that he had euer been a louer of the Romane libertie, fled towards the Sea, where imbarcking himselfe he had so cruell fortune, that he was forced to returne to the shore; and comming to certaine his possessions neere to *Capua*, not farre from the Sea, sleeping, he was awakened by crowes, which with their bills plucked the cloathes from his backe: His seruants moued with this euill presage, tooke him and put him in his Litter, and againe caried him towards the Sea; but he was ouertaken by the executioners, which smote off his head and right hand, wherwith he had written the orations against MARCVS ANTONIVS called PHILIPPICKS, imitating those which DEMOSTHENES made against PHILIP father of ALEXANDER the great: and so CICERO was slaine by one whom he had defended and deliuered from death, and his hand being ioyfully beheld by MARCVS ANTONIVS, was by his order nailed vp in the place where he was wont to plead, whither repaired all the Romane people to behold so miserable and sorrowfull a spectacle: whereof there was not any one but was heartily sorie for the death of so great a man, and so feruent a louer of the Commonwealth.

These Princes hauing done their wils in *Rome*, and knowing that BRVTVS and CASSIVS had a great and mightie Armie in *Gracia*, able both to defend, and offend, calling themselves deliuerers of their countrey, and gaue it out publicly that they would goe to set *Rome* at libertie from oppression; CASSIVS hauing before ouerthrowne and slaine DOLABELLAIN *Syria*, who was made Consul in the place of IVLIVS CÆSAR, when he was slaine; and in the time that CICERO bare sway, was adiudged for an enemy to his countrey: and being certified that they had (with the assistance of the Kings and prouinces of *Asia*, and such people as they could leuie) ordinarie and trained eighteene legions: This (I say) being knowne, MARCVS ANTONIVS and OCTAVIANVS agreed to go against them with the greatest Armie that they were able to leuie, which they had of expert and old souldiers, and that LEPIDVS should remaine behind to guard *Rome*. Being departed from thence, and arriued in *Gracia*, diuiding their Armie for the more commodious marching thereof, they drew neere to the place where BRVTVS and CASSIVS were encamped, which was in *Macedonia* in the fields called *Philippicks*, for that they were neere the citie *Philippus*. And these contrarie Armies being so neere together, after some fights and skirmishes, came to a battaile, wherein the victorie was diuided in a strange manner: for either partie hauing ranged their Armie into two squadrons or battailes, the right wing of BRVTVS his Armie ioyned with the left wing of that which OCTAVIANVS commanded; and the right of that whereof MARCVS ANTONIVS was leader, with the left of that which CASSIVS gouerned: where working and cruely slaying one another, BRVTVS his Battailion was of such power, as that it brake and put to route OCTAVIANVS CÆSARS Battailion, who, as APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS, PLVTARCH and LVCIVS FLORVS report, was not in the battaile, for that he was then very sicke; neither durst he abide in his Tent in the Campe, for a certaine augurie or dreame of one who was his Phisition, who (they say) aduised him, that he should not abide in his Tent in the Campe: for if he did, he would be slaine by his enemies. Yet SVETONIVS, VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS and PAVLVS OROSIVS meane that he was therein, and that being overcome he retired

to

to ANTONIVS his battaile. And although that this be diuersly reported (as it vially happeneth in great exploits and aduentures) the truth wherein all agree, is, that his people being ouerthrowne, and his campe entred by his enemies, imagining that he had been in his bed, there were many thrusts and stabs giuen thorough the curtaines and into the bed, and it was published abroad that hee was dead. And while as BRVTVS followed this victorie, his companion CASSIVS was ouerthrowne by MARCVS ANTONIVS, notwithstanding that hee performed all that was possible for him to defend his people; so as there was victorie on either side, whereof the clowdes and dust of that day, were a great occasion: for the one could not see nor vnderstand the other; and CASSIVS seeing his people ouerthrowne and scattered, retired himselfe to a high ground, where hee had pitched his Tent, whereinto he could not come, for that the enemy had already possessed it: And so standing and looking about, he saw his companion BRVTVS his troups come to his aide, which came victorious to relieue him: but he imagining that they came flying, or that they were his enemies, as he had before resolved and determined (so great was his griefe and sorrow) so commaunded hee a slaue of his, whom he had made free (named PINDARVS) to kill him, who performed it, and so he died foolishly, although valorously.

The death of Cassius.

OCTAVIANVS his people escaped by flight, and retired to MARCVS ANTONIVS his campe, whose forces returned to him with victorie: although their capitaine MARCVS ANTONIVS (as some write) did not that day discharge the part of a good capitaine, but rather affirme that the battaile being begun, he left it, and went into a lake which was thereby, where he remained vntill that he certainly vnderstood that the victorie remained on his side: which truly is hardly to be beleueed in so valiant a man, and of such experience as he was; so as there was a great broile and a confusion. But PLVTARCH affirmeth, that if BRVTVS his people had not that day busied themselves in ransacking and pillaging of OCTAVIANVS his Campe and Tents, his partie had obtained an entire victorie: for they might in sufficient time haue rescued CASSIVS, and both being ioyned together, might easily haue broken MARCVS ANTONIVS his battaile. But the victorie being diuided in such manner as I haue told you, the Captaines of either partie withdrew their people, whereof of BRVTVS his part were slaine 8000. men, and of his aduersaries a farre greater number: and BRVTVS, the best that he could, comforted the souldiers and gentlemen which followed CASSIVS. And although that the next day there were a shew betweene the two armies of a desire to fight, and that they were neere the one to the other, yet they came to no battaile: but within few daies after, wherein happened matters of smaller importance, it was tried betweene them, whereto BRVTVS was forced by his people. For he would haue delayed and prolonged the warre: for he was aduertised that his enemies wanted victuals and many necessities, and also for that he reposed no great trust in CASSIVS his forces; for he perceived that they were fearefull, by meanes of that which was past, and were ill to commaund: but being come to the encounter, he did thoroughly discharge all the offices which to a good Capitaine and a valiant Knight should belong. But in the end his people vnable to endure the force of OCTAVIANVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS, were by them broken and overcome: And BRVTVS after that he had done all that which was possible to gather his people together, out of hope to be able to make any resistance, the night being come, counsellled by some which ioyned themselves with him to flie, he said, that he had resolved to doe so, not with his feete, but with his hands: and

The battaile against Brutus.

Brutus slew  
himselfe.

and hauing spoken these words, he tooke a sword from a seruant of his, named STRATVS, and slew himselfe therewith. Some affirme that this STRATVS killed him by his commandement. And so DRVVS LIVIVS and QVINTILIVS VARRO, and some others of the conspiracie, slew themselues, besides many others which died fighting in the battaile. And in this manner were OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR and MARCVS ANTONIVS Lords and masters of the battaile, and of the field, and all things happened vnto CÆSAR according to his desire: for whom alone, God in his secret iudgement, had reserued the sole Monarchie, which then was diuided and shared betweene three.

Marcus Antonius fell in  
loue with Cleopatra Queene  
of Egypt.

This exploit being atchieued, and BRVTVS and CASSIVS legions being reduced to their obedience (sauing those which flying fundrie waies went to SEXTVS POMPEIVS, sonne of the great POMPEY, who in these troubles and confusions seised on the Ile of *Sicilia*, and was very mightie by Sea) OCTAVIANVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS agreed together, that ANTONIVS should remaine in the prouinces of *Gracia* and *Asia*, LEPIDVS should goe into *Africa*: and that OCTAVIANVS should goe to *Rome*, whither with much adoe he came, through want of health; and MARCVS ANTONIVS went into *Asia*, and afterwards gaue himself to sensualitye, delights and pleasures in *Egypt*, with Queene CLEOPATRA, of whom we haue spoken in the life of CÆSAR.

Within few daies after that OCTAVIANVS came to *Rome*, there arose new warres and troubles: for although that he were in peace with LEPIDVS, to whom was giuen the prouince of *Africa*, OCTAVIANVS remaining with the rest of *Spaine*, *France*, and part of *Germany*, *Italie*, and *Illyricum*: LVCIVS ANTONIVS, which at that time was Consul, incited thereto by his sister in law FVLVIA wife of the said MARCVS ANTONIVS, began to contradict and contend with LEPIDVS and OCTAVIANVS, murmuring and attempting to defeat the Triumvirat, and the league and gouernment of three; which began about the diuision of the fields, which OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR had made to the men of warre which had serued him. APPIANVS writeth, that FVLVIA did this with intent to disturbe *Italie*, and so to moue and procure her husband MARCVS ANTONIVS to come vnto her, for that she was iealous, hearing of his conuersation and companie keeping with CLEOPATRA the Queene of *Egypt*. The discord in *Rome* grew to so high a degree, that it came to blowes: and LVCIVS ANTONIVS departed from thence, and leuiued an armie and forces against OCTAVIANVS, who marched towards him with his power: but LVCIVS durst not ioyne battaile with him, but rather suffered himselfe to be shut vp in the citie of *Perugia*, where CÆSAR besieged him, and at that time diuorced himselfe from CLAVDIA the daughter of FVLVIA, to whom he was contracted (as is aforesaid) without euer touching her, and was married the third time with SCRIBONIA, by whom he had one daughter. *Pompey* was so strictly besieged (OCTAVIAN being then 23 yeeres old) that LVCIVS ANTONIVS, and the rest which were besieged with him, endured so great hunger, that it grew to a prouerbe to say (the *Perugian* hunger) wherewith LVCIVS ANTONIVS oppressed and forced, yeelded himself to OCTAVIANVS, who pardoned him, and vied him well, and those which were with him: and so this warre was ended without shedding of blood, and hee came victorious to *Rome*, and was euer after Lord thereof. Wherefore many account the beginning of his Empire from this time, which might be about some foure yeeres after the death of his vncl CÆSAR: and the account which is commonly called CÆSARS computation, agreeth with this

The beginning  
of Octavianus his  
Empire.

this time: foure yeeres (as I said) after the death of CÆSAR, and thirtie and eight yeeres before the birth of Christ.

CÆSAR being in this quietnes (as it cannot long continue in the course of this life) presently without any delay, FVLVIA with letters and false perswasions, sought by all meanes to set MARCVS ANTONIVS and OCTAVIAN at variance, seeing that LVCIVS ANTONIVS his attempts tooke no better effect: and with this determination she went out of *Italie*, by OCTAVIAN his permission, and tooke her way towards her husband, in hope to perswade him to come into *Italie* against OCTAVIAN, as he did. When she parted from *Italie*, MARCVS ANTONIVS parted from *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and comming to the Ile of *Rhodes*, he was enformed of all that happened to his brother; and arriuing in *Gracia* at the citie of *Athenis*, he found his wife FVLVIA there sicke, but found and constant in her determination against OCTAVIAN: whom he there leauing by her owne goodwill and consent, he came with two hundred galleys into *Italie*, and landing neere vnto *Brundisium*, now *Brindes*, the warres began betweene him and OCTAVIANVS his forces, who then was in *Rome*. SEXTVS POMPEIVS (as I said) held *Sicilia*, and was in such sort Lord of the Sea, that he made great scarcitie and want of corne in *Italie*. But as this warre was not through OCTAVIANVS his fault or by his will, MARCVS ANTONIVS by the aduertisement of fundrie persons, perceived and vnderstood it to be so; and therefore there was meanes found for some friends to passe betweene them to reconcile and make them friends: and it was agreed that there should be vmpiers and arbitrators, which should take vp the matter betweene them: whereto were nominated of OCTAVIANVS his side, his great and priuate friend MECENAS, chanted by *Virgil*, *Horace*, and other Poets; and for MARCVS ANTONIVS, was ASINIVS POLLIO. And in this time newes came that FVLVIA the wife of MARCVS ANTONIVS was dead, wherein was taken away a great let to the peace. MECENAS then and ASINIVS POLLIO, set downe the agreement betweene them; the effect and principall points wherof were, to renew the league and Triumvirat for other fve yeeres, and to share the *Romane* Empire betweene them, as they before had done. To MARCVS ANTONIVS was assigned al the East from *Italy*, from the beginning of the *Ionian* Sea, which is the entrie into the gulf of *Venice*, vnto the Riuer *Euphrates* in *Asia*, wherein were included all the prouinces of *Gracia* and of *Asia*, and the Ilands contained betweene these two limits: To OCTAVIAN was allotted from the said *Ionian* Sea to the West Sea, which wee call the *Spanish* Sea, *Italie*, *France*, the prouinces of *Spaine*, *Germanie*, *Britannie*, with their Iles and bounds. And to LEPIDVS was confirmed *Africa*, wherein hee then was, and all the prouinces therein contained, subiect to the Empire. And for the better corroborating of this friendship, it was agreed, that MARCVS ANTONIVS, which was a widower, should marrie with OCTAVIA, who was sister to OCTAVIANVS by his fathers side, and lately widow of MARCVS MARCELLVS, with whom she had bin married, and had by him one sonne called MARCELLVS, whom he much loued, and OCTAVIAN adopted him for his sonne, of whom VIRGIL maketh much mention. This marriage was made by dispensation of the Senæte, because that in *Rome* it was not permitted to widowes to marrie, vntill that they had liued tenne moneths in widowhood.

This being concluded, OCTAVIANVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS went to *Rome*, where the wedding was solemnized, & they returned again good friends. But this peace was greatly disquieted, by meanes of the ill neighbourhood of

SEXTVS

Sextus Pompeius in *Sicilia*.

The death of  
Fulvia wife of  
Marcus Antonius.

Marcus Antonius married  
Octavia sister  
to Octavianus.

SEXTVS POMPEIVS: for he commaunded the Sea from *Sicilia* where he lined, and with his ships and Pirats (for he had many in his seruice) he disquieted CÆSARS part (relying on the friendship of MARCVS ANTONIVS) and OCTAVIANVS had determined to make warre and to ruinate him: but at the entreatie of the Senate and MARCVS ANTONIVS, he gaue care to a peace, and by the mediation of some which were friends to them both, it tooke effect in this manner: That all matters past being forgotten, they should become good neighbours and friends, and that SEXTVS POMPEIVS should enioy *Sicilia*, *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, which he had in possession; and that hee should cleere the Seas from daunger, for Merchants and passengers; and that hee should furnishe *Rome* ycerly with a certaine quantitie of corne. This being concluded, they agreed vpon a meeting betwene them three, ANTONIVS, OCTAVIANVS and POMPEY, vpon the Sea side, in the streight of *Mecina*, in a fortresse built for that purpose, which reached into the water, whither SEXTVS POMPEIVS might come with his gallies, and might be in safetie on all parts: which was performed with great ioy and solemnitie, and afterwards POMPEY feasted them in his galleys, and they him likewise by land: and from thence he returned to *Sicilia*, and OCTAVIAN and ANTONY to *Rome*, where they remained certaine daies in very friendly manner. And MARCVS ANTONIVS making preparation for his journey into the East, sent VENTIDIVS away before with a great armie against the Parthians, against which he had determined to make warre, as he did. And VENTIDIVS had so good successe in his journey, that he ouercame and defeated PACORVS the kings sonne of the Parthians, and slew of them twentie thousand men: so as he sufficiently reuenged the death of MARCVS CRASSVS, for which hee afterwards triumphed in *Rome*.

Ventidius triumphed of the Parthians.

MARCVS ANTONIVS departed *Rome* towards the East with his new wife, with whom he wintered in *Gracia* in the citie of *Athens*, and from thence he continued his journey. In a while after, as OCTAVIAN remaining in *Rome*, grew mightie, and in great estimation; so likewise he became couetous; and as the companie and neighbourhood of SEXTVS POMPEIVS in *Sicilia* was displeasing vnto him, so would he haue been glad to haue had any occasion to warre against him: and so hee determined, and prepared a great flecte for that purpose, vnder pretext that POMPEY with his galleys and ships hindred the comming of provision of corne into *Italie*. These warres of *Sicilia* were long (pausing and resting sometimes) and continued certaine yeeres, in the beginning whereof OCTAVIAN had ill successe, more through tempests and foule weather at Sea, then the force of his enemies, although there were some fights betwene the ships of either partie; but by tempest and shipwracke, OCTAVIAN lost fundrie flectes. And if SEXTVS POMPEIVS had been as able to offend and conquer, as he was to defend himselfe, and ouerthrow his enemy; and as hee was valiant, if he had been wife and politicke, most authors affirme, that he might haue greatly distressed OCTAVIAN in all matters concerning *Italie*. But the matter was so handled, that in this warre MARCVS ANTONIVS came twice out of *Gracia* into *Italy*, whither he came from the East at OCTAVIANVS request; in one of which he came to *Brundisium*, and not finding him there according to his appointment, and as hee had sent him word, he returned without seeing him, vpon some suspitions and ielousies which grew betwene them. Wherefore OCTAVIANVS hauing lost the most and best part of his Nauie in a storme, he sent MECENAS his priuate friend vnto him; at whose entreatie, MARCVS ANTONIVS returned againe into *Italy* with three

The first wars between Octavian and Sextus Pompeius.

three hundred saile of shippes and gallies, giuing out that he came to CÆSARS aide: And notwithstanding that there were some differences and suspitions betwene them, yet in the end OCTAVIA which came thither (being wife to the one, and sister to the other) preuailed somuch, that she brought them to agreement, so as they met together in the mouth of a Riuer neere to *Tarentum*, where MARCVS ANTONIVS gaue to OCTAVIAN one hundred and twentie gallies for the warres: and OCTAVIAN gaue to him certaine troupes of Italian trained souldiers; and renewed their companie and Triumvirate for other five yeares then begun: And MARCVS ANTONIVS againe returned towards the East to the warre which he had began against the Parthians, (which concerne not me to write) his wife OCTAVIAN and her children remaining in *Rome*.

ANTONIE being gone; OCTAVIANVS, who was resolved to prosecute the warres with all his whole power against SEXTVS POMPEIVS (whom it seemed that fortune and the windes did fauour) was not contented with the arming of two nauies and armies (AGRIPPA being captaine of the one, and himselfe of the other) but hee very instantly intreated LEPIDVS a Triumvir and his companion, to come from *Africa* to his aide: who came with such power, that APPIANVS affirmeth, that he brought with him a thousand shippes little and great, and fourescore gallies, wherein he brought five thousand horse and twelue legions of foote. SEXTVS POMPEIVS, whose power by sea was very great, seeing so great preparation made against him, did maruellously fortifie all places vpon the sea side in *Sicilia*, and in the frontiers towards *Africa*; and neere vnto *Lilybeum*, he placed a very good captaine named PLINIVS, with very good companies of souldiers; and his whole flecte by sea (whereof he was abundantly provided) he ioyned together in the port at *Messina*, where he purposed to follow the warres with his shippes and gallies, for by land he had not of such experience nor power; and in this order he stood readie to prosecute it, which APPIANVS, TITVS LIVIVS, and LVCIVS FLORVS write at large. The sum thereof is, that LEPIDVS parting with his whole flecte from *Africa*, was overtaken with a tempest, wherein with great losse of his shippes, he landed at *Lilybeum*, and hauing taken certaine places in that quarter, might haue done much hurt, but as one of small iudgement and little experience in the warres, he warred with greater cost & outward shew, then to any effect or profit. And the very same day that he was in that tempest, OCTAVIVS also passed the same, and lost thirtie gallies, besides foists and Brigandines, and with much adoe returned into *Italie*: and TAVRVS which had the command of the gallies which MARCVS ANTONIVS left with him, the same day took land at *Tarentum*, with great losse and daunger, so as it seemed that the winds & weather tooke part with POMPEY. Wherewith OCTAVIANVS was so much grieved, that he was about to haue giuen over the war for that yeere; but altering his determination he repaired his nauies and armies, and commanded AGRIPPA with a great flecte to passe into *Sicilia*, and there to make warre by sea and land, and he with all the rest, afterwards did the like.

In this time of a little before (as it seemeth by SVETONIVS) OCTAVIANVS divorced himself from *Scribonia*, notwithstanding that he had by her one daughter called LIVIA, and married LIVIA DRSILLÄ: wherefore TIBERIVS NERO to whom she was married, and by him had a sonne called TIBERIVS, as his father, was driuen to leaue her, which he vnwillingly did, to please OCTAVIANVS, the being with child of a sonne. This LIVIA he much loued, and continued with her till his death. But returning to our storie of the warre, I say that AGRIPPA assaul-

Octavianus his second warre with Sextus Pompeius.

Octavianus put away his wife Scribonia and married Livia.

ted and tooke certaine places in the coast of *Sicilia*: which when POMPEY vnderstoode he departed from *Messina*, to relieue them; at which time he had of his owne and of pirats which serued him, one hundred, seuentie and fve gallies.

It is a wonderfull thing to consider the great fleets which were put to the seas in those dayes. AGRIPPA being aduertised of his comming, put his gallies in a readines, which were but few lesse, and so they ioyned battaile: wherein although at the first the victorie was doubtfull, yet in a short space it plainly appeared that AGRIPPA had the better: which POMPEY perceiuing, fled, before he would be wholly ouerthrowne; and his gallies and foists withdrew themselves to some places and Riuers neere at hand: and AGRIPPA, for that his gallies were greater, could not follow the chase, nor come so neere the shore as he would; but yet this notwithstanding, POMPEY lost thirtie of his gallies: And AGRIPPA the next day went to a citie called *Tindaria*, which he thought to get by reason of certaine secret practises which he had with those therein: and POMPEY in the dark of the night, giuing secret aduise to his whole fleet, tooke his course towards *Messina*. And OCTAVIAN to lose no occasion, embarked aboard his shippes and gallies a great part of his armie, and passing ouer into *Sicilia*, set them on shore placing CORNIFICIUS for their captaine, where he thinking that POMPEY had not been so neere, of whom and of his people he was in great danger if he had then been charged by him at vnawares, so as if POMPEY had then giuen him Battaille he had defeated him: but the matter comming to no such issue, OCTAVIAN embarked himselfe againe, with intent to determine the matter by a Battaille at Sea, leauing CORNIFICIUS with his land fouldiers fortified on land: and POMPEY with the same desire, after some dayes and matters which passed, sallied out of *Messina* with all his whole fleet, and neither partie refusing it, they came to fight, in which conflict (although the histories recite it with some difference) OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR was overcome, and all his great fleet scattered and lost, and he driuen to flie into *Italie* in a Brigandine, where he escaped many dangers and hazards, and in the end arriued where his armie was, whereof MESALLA was captaine, and being nothing discouraged with this aduersitie, he presently tooke order for a remedie thereof. To Rome in hast he sent his familiar friend MECENAS, to see that these newes should cause no alteration therein: and by a Brigandine he presently sent direction to AGRIPPA, who (as is said) was Admirall of his other fleet, that with the greatest speede that might be, he should goe to succour CORNIFICIUS, who remained in *Sicilia* with his armie by land: and to LEPIDVS he sent word that (all matters set aside where he was) he should make his present repaire to the Isle of *Lipari*, which is betweene *Sicilia* and *Calabria*, whither he should come so soone as he might possibly.

With these prouisions, diligence and good order which he tooke, he somuch preuailed that within a small time being holpen with the warre which LEPIDVS and AGRIPPA made, (in despite of POMPEY) he gathered all his forces into *Sicilia*, and ioyning himselfe with LEPIDVS, he encamped nere to the citie of *Messina*, and the warre began to be most cruell both by land and sea: which truly was admirable, to consider the power and strength of POMPEY, to know how to defend himselfe against so great enemies. Who seeing himselfe oppressed, (notwithstanding that he had well fortified the land, and wanted no forces for his defence by sea) he sent a challenge to OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR with a message, that to auoyde so many slaughters and the effusion of blood, and to make an end of this warre; that although he were well prouided and fur-

A battaile by  
Sea.

Octavianus  
Cesar overcome  
in a battaile at  
Sea by Sextus  
Pompeius.

nished with singular good Galleys, and well trained fouldiers; yet that he would come to a battaile by sea, so many against so many Ships and Galleys; whereunto were made many answers and delayes, but in the end they agreed to do so. And appointing the number, which were 300. Ships and Galleys of either side, and the time and place thereto, either of these parties prepared himselfe the best that he could for the battaile; and OCTAVIANVS leauing LEPIDVS with his army by land, embarked himselfe in his Fleet; and POMPEY doing the like, they ioyned battaile; which without doubt was one of the most cruell in the world, considering the Captaines and power of either partie; wherein after that POMPEY had done all that which to a good and valiant Captaine did appertaine, and after the death of much people of either side, he was overcome by OCTAVIANVS, and all his Fleet was taken, burnt, or funke, sauing xvij. sailes which escaped by flight, and he in one of them, and so he entred into the haven at *Messina*: Wherein, although it were sufficiently fortified, and knowing that PLINIUS his Captaine aforementioned came to his rescue, yet acknowledging that all sufficed not to defend him frō so great enemies (as it was true) in a darke night, he embarked himselfe in a Galley, & with the other xvi. which escaped, abandoning *Sicilia*, he fled towards the East, and sayled to MARCVS ANTONIVS, in hope to haue found some reliefe in him; but it happened contrarie to his expectation: for being arriued, after some great chaunces and matters which succeeded, which for breuitie I omit, he was there put to death by the commaundement of MARCVS ANTONIVS, by the hands of one named TICIVS. And so ended the power of SEXTVS POMPEIVS, which truly was very great, and in him the linage and memorie of his father the Great POMPEY.

It is a great example and a most faire document of the inconstancie of all things in this life, to see and reade the changes in the historie which we are now about to declare: for when it seemeth that matters go forwards in such sort that quietnes and peace may thereof ensue, there begin new motions and greater troubles, as we haue seene heretofore, and shall see hereafter in the proceffe of this discourse.

OCTAVIANVS hauing obtained so great a victorie (although not without great losse) taking land with his Ships, and the Armie which was therein, commaunded AGRIPPA presently to ioyne with LEPIDVS and go to *Messina*, whither PLINIUS POMPEIUS Captaine had retired himselfe (so soone as POMPEY fled) with all his troupes; who for that he would not stand vpon his defence, yeelded himselfe to LEPIDVS with all his Legions: whereof LEPIDVS grew so proud, that coueting to haue all *Sicilia* for himselfe, he presumed to contend with OCTAVIAN: And entring into the citie of *Messina* (notwithstanding that AGRIPPA requested him to stay for OCTAVIANVS) he placed a garrison therein to his owne vse, and did the like in many other places in that Iland. And OCTAVIAN being aduertised thereof the next day to speake with him, greatly complaining of his doings, and in rule and commaundement companie and equalitie is intolerable; so that of them coueting the Ile of *Sicilia* particularly for himselfe, they fell at variance, and CÆSAR made his Nauy to draw neere the shore, and both Armies began to stand vpon their guard the one against the other, and many messages and complaints passed betweene them, and in the end although they met and spake together, yet they could not agree. But as OCTAVIAN was much more beloued and better esteemed by men of warre for his many virtues and nobilitie, and for the names sake and remembrance of IVLIVS CÆSAR, this

A battell by  
Sea.

Octavianus  
Cesar over-  
threw Sextus  
Pompeius.

The death of  
Sextus Pom-  
peius.

Discord be-  
tweene Lepi-  
dus and Octa-  
uianus.

diffension did much grieue them all, and both the one part and the other layd all the fault on LEPIDVS. Which when OCTAVIAN vnderstood, before that they would fall so farre out as to take armes, he practised secret treaties with sundry in LEPIDVS his army, and with gifts and promises drew them to his will: and hauing well effected this deuise, he one day with a great troupe of horsemen rode neere to LEPIDVS his Camp, and singling himselfe from his companie, he began to parley with his souldiers, complaining of him, & laying the fault of all that was like to ensue vpon LEPIDVS: which being heard by them, many of them began to come ouer to his side. And LEPIDVS aduertised hereof, commanded the alarme to be giuen, and to fallly out against him, so as they skirmished, wherein in the beginning OCTAVIAN was in some danger, but it lasted not long: for the most part of LEPIDVS his troupes passed ouer to OCTAVIAN, which LEPIDVS could not resist; who seeing himselfe in danger to be abandoned by the whole, for his last refuge rendred himselfe into CÆSARS power, and putting off his roabe of Generall, went out of his Tent, and yeelded himselfe vnto OCTAVIANVS, humbly crauing him to pardon him: whom OCTAVIAN receiued, as though he had neuer offended him, very courtously and honorably, but he restored him neither to his estate nor power, but sent him to Rome well accompanied and entertained, but without Magistracie or office, with the dignitie of highest Priest only, which he had euer held from the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR whose it was: and so this quarrell was ended without battaile or bloudshed, which some feared would haue brought both danger and calamitie.

Lepidus de-  
prived of his pro-  
vince of A-  
frica.

An exceeding  
great assembly  
of men of war.

OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR remained Lord of *Sicilia*, depriving LEPIDVS of the league and Triumvirat, appropriating to himselfe the prouince of *Africa*, and remained generall of the three armies, viz. that which was LEPIDVS his army, POMPEIES army, & his owne, wherein APPIANVS affirmeth, were 45. Legions of footemen, and 25000. horsemen well armed; besides many other light horsemen and Numidians, which seemeth not incredible to him that considereth how great a part of the world they commaunded which leuyed the same. He affirmeth also, that there were then at sea and vpon the coast 600. Gallies, and a greater number of Ships, Foists, and Brigandines: And although that OCTAVIANVS had so great forces, yet would he not pursue or send after POMPEY, who (as we haue sayd) fled, which he did (as some did suspect) beleuing, that MARCVS ANTONIVS would haue harboured and succoured him, being glad that occasion might haue bin offred to quarrell with him, as now there was no other man in the world that was any eye-fore vnto him, but he: or else he did it, as he himselfe sayd afterwards, for that POMPEY was none of those which conspired CÆSARS death. And purposing now to disperse his armies and to returne to Rome, he payd his souldiers, giuing crownes and other ensignes and armes to those which had performed any notable exploits in the warres, and hauing giuen many gifts and made many faire promises to his legions, and to the Capitaines and souldiers which had followed POMPEY, and in the best manner that he could, paying and contenting LEPIDVS his companie, sent them home to their houses; notwithstanding that there were some seditions and mutinies, but he pacified and brought all in good order, and leaving in *Sicily*, and sending into *Africa* Pretors and Gouvernors, he tooke his way towards Rome, where he was receiued with ouacion entertainment, which was little lesse then a triumph, with incredible ioy and honor, and began to be so beloued and esteemed, that in many places they erected Temples and Altars vnto him, as to their gods; and he ordered

ordered and reformed all things, which by reason of the warres and troubles were corrupted and out of order. It would be a large discourse to declare the particulars of all things which he did in Rome and in the prouinces, as well concerning the gouernment and iustice, as the decencie and beautifying thereof.

At this time MARCVS ANTONIVS who was in the East, notwithstanding that in the warres of the Parthians he had no prosperous successe, yet neuertheless was still of very great power, very rich, and much serued and obeyed in all the prouinces of *Gracia*, *Asia*, *Egypt*; and all the rest in his dition. But he was so much blinded and besotted with the loue and companie of CLEOPATRA Queene of *Egypt*, that he thought of nothing but how to satisfie her humour, being vnable to depart from her, or to haue any regard or remembrance of his wife OCTAVIA and sister to OCTAVIANVS, who in beautie and wisdom was nothing inferiour to her, and in vertue and goodnes did farre excell her.

Antony capti-  
vated by Cleo-  
patra.

And so the Monarchie of the world was diuided betweene these two men, the one in the East, and the other in the West: and as the desire and hunger to raigne is endlesse, and the thirst with continuance encreaseth, as though that each of them had not had enough to his share, both of the bethought themselves how they might be able to obtaine the whole, principally OCTAVIAN, seeing that ANTONY cared not for his sister, neither sent for her after that he had left her in Rome, he therefore continually counselled and vrged her to goe to her husband, to haue (as I beleene) occasion to fall out with him (as PLVTARCH recounteth in the life of ANTONY) if she were not well entertained. And she not vnderstanding this deuise, with intent to stop and let any controuersie that might arise betweene her husband and her brother, departed from Rome, bearing with her many jewels and presents, which she had gathered together, to carrie them to MARCVS ANTONIVS, as VELLEIVS PATERCVLVVS recordeth. But he who had fixed his heart vpon CLEOPATRA, wrote to her vpon the way, that she should stay in *Gracia* in the citie of *Athens*, vntill hee should returne from the iourney which hee purposed to make against the Parthians, which hee neuer performed, CLEOPATRA hindring the same. Finally, to bee brieue (for otherwaies there were much to say) OCTAVIA sent all those things which she brought with her, to her husband; and this nothing auailing, she returned to Rome sorrowfull, and by him forsaken. Whereupon OCTAVIAN began openly to complaine of MARCVS ANTONIVS, and to shew himselfe his enemy: and MARCVS ANTONIVS which had the same desire, entred into league and amitie with the King of the Medes in *Asia*; and CLEOPATRA, besides the title of *Egypt*, he made to be called Queene of *Syria*, *Libya*, and *Cyprus*, and ioyntly with her to a sonne of hers named CÆSARION, of whom (as we haue already said) IVLIVS CÆSAR left her with child when he was in *Egypt*, and to two sonnes which he had by her, the one named PTOLOMY, and the other ALEXANDER, he gaue titles of Kings, to ALEXANDER of *Armenia*, and PTOLOMY of *Parthia*, which he meant to conquer; and to PTOLOMY of *Cilicia* and *Phoenicia*, for which and many other causes which were offered, the enmitie betwene him and OCTAVIAN was publike and apparant; but the warre was yet deferred, for that OCTAVIAN was hindred by the warres in *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*, now called *Slauonia*. The people of which countries, seeing the ciuill warres of the Romanes, rose and rebelled, with other nations which conspired with them, and did assist them, although not subiects as they were, to wit, the two *Pannonie*, the vpper which is now *Austria*, and the lower, which is *Hungarie*, and *Noricum*, which is now part of *Bauaria*, with other their borderers and neigh-  
bours.

Cæsarion the  
sonne of Iulius  
Cæsar.

The warres  
which Octavianus  
made in  
Illyricum.

bours. Which warre OCTAVIAN vndertooke of set purpose, and followed it in his owne person, which was very cruell and dangerous: wherein he was twice wounded, and made marueilous prooffe of his person, both for valour and wisdom: wherein there passed more and greater matters then I haue time to recite. APPIANVS in his sixt booke which he calleth *Illyricque*, writeth thereof at large: and also VELLEIVS PATERCVLVVS, although more briefly, LVCIVS FLORVS, and TITVS LIVIVS abreuiauted by him and some others. The end thereof was, that OCTAVIAN not onely reduced and tamed *Illyricum*, and sundrie Nations, contained vnder that name, but also the *Pannonias*, and the rest which had conspired with those of *Illyricum*, partly by himself in person, & partly by his Captaines.

These victories being obtained, OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR came victorious to Rome: and notwithstanding that the triumph was granted vnto him, yet he would not triumph as then; so great was the desire hee had to warre against MARCVS ANTONIVS, who was no better affected vnto him, but rather leuiued souldiers, procured friends and armes against him, and promised his friend CLEOPATRA, to bring her triumphing into Rome. LVCIVS FLORVS writeth, that he requested of him the rule and Empire of Rome, and he promised her: as though the Romanes had been more easie to subdue then the Parthians. And the matter standing in these termes, MARCVS ANTONIVS sent to his wife OCTAVIA sister to OCTAVIANVS, a diuorcement and renunciation of his marriage, in such manner as then was accustomed; commaunding her to goe out of his house, wherein she dwelled in Rome: All which with many other matters OCTAVIAN signified in the Senate, complaining thereof against him, and in his orations and speeches to the people, accusing him also; that the second fye yeeres of his Triumvirat and league being expired, without comming to Rome, or respecting the authoritie of the Senate, he exercised the same, and held the possession of *Græcia* and the prouinces of the East, and so vsed many speeches against MARCVS ANTONIVS to perswade and incense the people against him.

MARCVS ANTONIVS on the other side, complained by messengers and letters, alleaging that OCTAVIAN had often broken the peace, and had cast SEXTVS POMPEIVS out of *Sicilia*, remaining with those prouinces and others which he held; and that therein he had no minde of him, neither had giuen him any part thereof; and that hee detained the galleys which he lent him for that warre: and besides this, that he had vsed meanes and devices to deprive LEPIDVS, and so held all the prouinces of *Africa*, and all the legions which were his, without imparting any thing thereof vnto him of all these things: and that hee had giuen the fields and lands of all *Italie* to his people and souldiers, without contributing any part thereof vnto his. And in this manner the one accused the other, and either of them made shew, and fained that he was vrged and enforced to vndertake this warre. But the truth is, they both desired to bee Lords of the whole, and in my opinion, vainglorie, ambition, covetousness, and enuie, moued them thereto, each of them putting his determinations in calling and leuying forces and aides; so as the whole world in a manner was of the one side or other, was moued and troubled therewith: those of the one in the behalfe of OCTAVIAN, and those of the East in fauour of MARCVS ANTONIVS; at the least, the best and most choise people of all, although not so many as they might haue leuiued: for the Romanes neuer vsed to make warres with such huge multitudes and excessiue armies, which they should not be well able to maintaine and rule, as the Persians and other barbarous nations did.

ANTONY

ANTONY was first on foote, and came with great troupes to the famous citie of *Ephesus*, which was in *Ionie* a prouince in *Asia* the lesse, whither he had sent for his ships and Nauie to come, to passe into *Europe*, and had there in readines 800. betweene galleys and ships of burthen, 200. whereof CLEOPATRA gaue to him with all the munition and victuals necessarie for the fleete; and her selfe he caried with him, contrarie to the opinion of all those which were of his counsell: And herewith came to the Ile of *Samos*, whither he had appointed to come by a certaine day, all the Kings, Tetrarches and people of cities, which came to serue him in this warre, and from thence he parted and came to *Athens*. PLVTARCH describeth the Kings which came with him, and those which sent some forces to his aide, part whereof were friends and allies to the Empire, and others vassals and subiects; to which was giuen the title and gouernment of prouinces: of which he named TARCONDEMVVS of the vpper *Cilicia*, and ARCHELAVS of *Cappadocia*, PHILADELPHVS of *Paphlagonia*, and MITHRIDATES of *Comagena*, & others also; besides those which sent their forces, as were HERODES king of *Iudea*, AMYN-TAS of *Lyconia*, and the king of *Arabia*, the king of the *Medes*, and PALEMON king of *Pontus*, and some others: wherein (it was said) he brought 100000. singular good and well trained footmen, and 22000. horsemen: and according to the same PLVTARCH, besides this armie by land, his Nauie by Sea consisted of fye hundred galleys, besides the ships of burthen which brought the munition and victuals.

Although that in the number of ships and galleys the authors doe varie, which ought not diminish the credit of the historie, sithence that in matters which passe now adaies which we see with our eyes, wee can hardly know the certaine number of the ships and of the armies. MARCVS ANTONIVS came with such power, that the Historiographers affirme, that if he had presently taken his passage for *Italie*, he had put OCTAVIAN to his shifts, and in great hazard: for he had not sufficient forces leuiued to haue fought with him, neither had hee necessarie prouision for the warres. And so MARCVS ANTONIVS his long delaying of time, was imputed vnto him for want of discretion, knowledge and foresight of the good fortune which was offred him: For he spent so much time in *Athens*, that OCTAVIAN had leisure to prouide all things wanting, from *Italie*, *France*, *Spaine*, and other prouinces in his subiection: and leuying 80000. chosen and trained souldiers, and aboue 20000. horse, seeing that hee taried so long, he sent him word, that for as much as he had ships and prouision fit thereto, he should draw neere to *Italie*, where he staid in the field to giue him battaile, promising to giue him free Ports and Hauens, where he might safely take landing without any interruption, to the end that he might the more commodiously order and prouide all things thereto necessarie. Whereto ANTONY answered, that it would be better if hee would determine this quarrell in person against him bodie to bodie, which hee would willingly accept, notwithstanding that he was now old and crazed, and the other young and valiant: and if he liked not hereof, he would stay for him with his people in the field of *Pharsalia*, in the same place where his father IVLIVS CÆSAR fought with CNEVS POMPEIVS.

These Ambassades and messages passing betweene them, without effect, ANTONY drew his Armie by land, and his Nauie by sea, towards the coast of *Italie*; and OCTAVIAN amassing his ships in *Brundisium*, embarked his legions, and crossing the Sea came to a place called *Torma*, in the prouince of *Epire*, which is now called *Romania*. And after certaine notable matters which passed, the two

E 4

armies

Samos an Ile in  
the Ionian Sea  
ouer against E-  
phesus.  
The people and  
preparation of  
Marcus Anto-  
nius.

The causes of  
the warre be-  
tweene Octa-  
uianus and  
Marcus Anto-  
nius, and the  
beginning  
thereof.

The battaile at  
Sea betwene  
Octavianus  
and Marcus  
Antonius.

The shamefull  
flight of Mar-  
cus Antonius.

Octavianus his  
victorie.

armies drew neere the one to the other, and the like did the Nauies by sea. OCTAVIANVS Nauie (as PLVTARCH affirmeth) consisted of 250. galleys, but better appointed and swifter, then MARCVS ANTONIVS his galleys were, which were more in number, although (as I haue said) the authors agree not: but the most common opinion is, as I haue said. But howsoever it were, MARCVS ANTONIVS perswaded by CLEOPATRA (who euen in this also was the cause of his perdition) would needs trie his fortune in a battaile at Sea, notwithstanding that in his armie by land hee had the aduantage. CLEOPATRA did this (as some write, and as it after appeared) thereby to haue the better meanes to flie if the battaile should be lost. ANTONY chusing 22000. men out of his armie, put them aboard his fleete, which was neere at hand: and OCTAVIAN, who refused not the combat vpon the water, made his prouision also for the battaile, and shipping himselfe aboard the galleys, committed the charge of his armie by land to TAVRVS: and ANTONY doing the like, left his with CANIDIVS; in sight of both which, the two most mightie men, with the best troupes and Nauies of the world, tooke the Seas, which fought for no lesse matter then the Empire and Monarchie thereof. Which was deferred for three daies (pace in despite of both parties, the Seas swelling so high that they could not gouerne their vessels. The fourth day they came to encounter at a Cape called *Actius*, which is in *Epire*, not farre from whence were their armies by land. The battaile was one of the most fierce and cruell that hath been written of: for it lasted tenne houres before that OCTAVIAN, who was the victor, did wholly obtaine the victorie, although that ANTONY staid not so long therein: for as CLEOPATRA knew better how to mollifie and soften mens harts, then to encourage them; in the hottest and greatest furie of the battaile, with a feminine minde vnable to endure the sight of so fierce a spectacle, she fled away in her galley, whom seuentie of her other galleys followed; which is not to be wondered at, but how she durst stay so long. But the vnluckie MARCVS ANTONIVS, who all his life time had been a most valiant and excellent Captaine, that day metamorphosed into CLEOPATRA, seeing her galley flie, wherein he had fixed his heart and eyes, went out of his, for that it seemed too heauy, and embarking himselfe in another more swift (desiring rather to flie with CLEOPATRA, then to preuaile without her) followed her, without respect of his armies by land or sea, which remained: and ouertaking her, he went aboard the same galley wherein she was; wherein hee failed three daies without seeing or speaking to her, for shame (as it is most likely) for the great weakenes which he had shewed. And after some wandering, he arriued in the harbour at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, where he afterwards ended his life, as we will declare.

His Nauie which he left fighting, although without a captaine, made resistance so long as I haue said, and there were slaine thereof aboute fise thousand men: but in the end it was wholly ouerthrowne, more through want of a captaine, then through any force of the enemy: although some write, that the lightnes and swiftnes of OCTAVIANs galleys was a great helpe vnto him: and so he remained conqueror, and graunted life and pardon to the conquerors, and had in his power three hundred of their galleys. And in the armie by land there wanted neither constancie, nor faith to their captaine ANTONIE, although abandoned by him, which remained seuen dayes in their campe ready to giue battaile, without accepting any composition or offer, sent or made vnto them by OCTAVIAN, with a shew that they would yet haue stayed longer time, if CANIDIVS, whom ANTONIE left in his steede, had not abused his charge, as he which placed him there-  
in,

in, had done. For it was so, that after seauen dayes were past, in the night secretly he fled from the campe to seeke ANTONIE, and abandoned the armie, which being forsaken, yeelded to the enemy; and OCTAVIAN vsed his victorie with great clemencie: which being obtained, he either thought it not good, or could not at that time pursue ANTONIE, but tooke his way towards the citie of *Athens*, where taking order for all matters in *Gracia*, by reason of some commotions in *Italie* (as SVETONIVS recordeth) he returned thither, where he stayed somewhat longer then he would haue done, as well for that which is afore-said, as euill weather to faile in the which followed.

After all this, OCTAVIANVS hauing set all things necessarie in a readines, he sailed with great power into *Egypt*, with a determination to make an end with MARCVS ANTONIVS (as indeede he did) and arriued at the citie of *Alexandria*: wherein ANTONIE recouering courage, and Queene CLEOPATRA making great preparation for the warres, in the time of OCTAVIANVS his stay, had leuiued great forces, both of foote and horse for their defence. They had also a great nauie by sea, as well of CLEOPATRA, as of those which came from other places: and MARCVS ANTONIVS with his old courage, which now too late and to no purpose he recouered, tooke the field and entertaining a skirmish with CÆSARS horsmen, which were then landed and strongly entrenched, he vsed such skill, and charged them with such dexteritie, that he made them flie to their strength: and being returned to the citie, he againe sent to challeng OCTAVIANVS to fight with him body against body. Whereto CÆSAR answered, that MARCVS ANTONIVS had other waies and meanes enough in a readines to die, without dying by his hands.

ANTONIE receiuing this answer, determined to die fighting, although it happened not so. The next day in the morning he againe sallied forth into the fields, with an intent to fight; and standing vpon a high ground, and looking towards the sea, he saw that his nauie and gallies moued, and made towards OCTAVIAN his fleete, which he thought they had done, with determination to fight; and staying a little to see the sequell, within a while, he saw them ioyned together in good friendship and companie, by meanes of a secret practice past betwene them. Which when he saw, and fearing the like in those which he brought with him to the field, he returned to the citie, mistrusting and affirming that CLEOPATRA had betraied him, although that in truth she was blameles therein, and she being aduertised of what ANTONIE had said, stode in feare of him; and withdrew hir selfe into a strong temple or sepulcher: and commanding the doores thereof to be shut and fortified, she sent some faindly to tell him that she had slaine hir selfe with her owne hands. Which MARCVS ANTONIVS beleued as stedfastly, as though he had seene it, and refusing to liue any longer without hir, or to stay to die fighting, after he had vttered certaine speeches, he stabbed his poiniard into his owne brest, and so (deadly wounded) he fell downe vpon a bed in a swoone: within a while coming againe to himselfe, being aduertised that CLEOPATRA yet was liuing, he made himselfe to be carried thither where she was: who receiued him with somany teares and such pitifull complaints, that he being so neere to death, began to recomfort her, saying, that she ought not lament for him, neither to hold him for infortunate, sith hee accounted nor himselfe for such, for he had been a great captaine and very mightie, and in the end died overcome by the Romanes. Her he counselled to yeeld to the mercie of OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, and speaking these words, his strength failing within  
a little

alittle while after he dyed: and so ended the power and life of MARCVS ANTONIVS. I haue peradventure more largely discoursed hereof, then to the breuitie of my historie did appertaine, because it was a case so notable and singular.

OCTAVIANVS hauing intelligence of this aforesaid, and of the small order and guard of the citie, marched thither with his forces and entred the same, and sent to comfort CLEOPATRA, and to make great offers vnto her, to the end that she should not kill her selfe, and going to see her in person, he did the like: but all his care little auailed. For she being aduertised, that he would fend her to *Rome*, and would place her and her sonnes in his triumph, chose rather to dye, then that he should triumph ouer her: and some say, that she tooke poison which she had provided for that purpose, wherewith she killed her selfe. Others (and this is the most common) that she put to her arme an Aspicque (which is a certaine kind of Serpent or venemous Adder) to the end that it should sting her, which was brought to her in a basket of flowers, so as she was found dead without any signe of any blow or wound, but as though she had bin asleepe. Whereat OCTAVIAN was much grieved, not without great admiration at the valour and great mind of that woman, and commaunded her to be buried in the same Sepulchre wherein she had entombed her selfe, together with MARCVS ANTONIVS, with whom she had liued and reigned 14. yeares, she being 39. yeares old when she dyed, and MARCVS ANTONIVS 56. or (after some) 53.

OCTAVIANVS easily pardoned all those which had serued or sent succour to MARCVS ANTONIVS, and also his children, which were seauen, by three women, FVLVIA, OCTAVIA sister to OCTAVIANVS, and CLEOPATRA, sauing the eldest, which he commaunded to be slaine, and the like he did by CÆSARION CLEOPATRAS sonne by IVLIVS CÆSAR, of whom we haue already made mention, the eldest (they say) he slue vpon particular displeasure which he conceived against him, and CÆSARION, by the counsell of ARRIVS a Philosopher, who told him that it would not do well to haue many CÆSARS.

This matter touching MARCVS ANTONIVS being ended, and the kingdome of *Egypt* being made a tributarie prouince, he departed from thence, and afterwards passing through *Syria* and *Asia* the lesse, leauing all quiet and in peace, he passed into *Grecia*, and there doing the like, he came into *Italy*, where hauing ended all ciuill warres, and hauing the whole Empire subiect to himselfe alone, he entred into *Rome* in triumph, with the greatest feasts and solemnities of the Senat and the people of all *Italy*, that could be deuised or imagined. It was granted vnto him to triumph three times, to wit, for the victorie in *Illyricum*, and for the victorie in his battaile by Sea, and the ouerthrow of MARCVS ANTONIVS, the conquest of the kingdome of *Egypt* and Queene CLEOPATRA, whose statue was placed in his triumph, with the Aspicques set to the vaines of her armes.

And so OCTAVIANVS throughlie finished the building and erecting of the Monarchie, which his Vncle IVLIVS CÆSAR had begun and founded, which (as it seemeth by PAVLVS OROSIVS his computation) was some few yeares after the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR: And although that he obtained it by meanes hardly iustificable, yet truly he afterwards gouerned it most iustly and wisely, and was one of the best Princes that euer was in the world, gentle, mercifull, liberall, iust, valorous, endued with many vertues and excellencies, most happie and fortunate in all his affaires, and beloued aboute measure of all the world.

As there was now no man to contend with OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, and he so beloued of all men (as is aforesaid) the people and Senat of *Rome* gaue him a new

new name which before then was neuer heard of, AVGVSTVS, and so he was afterwards called CÆSAR AVGVSTVS: a name which they held for holie, venerable, of high maiestie, and which appertained to the gods and their temples, as we find it vied by CICERO, VIRGIL, OVID, and other authors; although that some deriue it from the verbe *augere*, in Latin, to increase, because that OCTAVIAN enlarged and increased the Empire; and some others giue it other deriuations, but whether soeuer be the most certaine, it was giuen him for the most honorable name of all others: they also intituled him father of his countrey, and gaue him all other titles and names which they could deuise.

CÆSAR AVGVSTVS (for this name henceforth we will sometimes giue him) seeing himselfe now in such rest and without warre with any body in the world, commaunded the temple of IANVS to be shut, which they religiously obserued, that during the warres it should stand open, and neuer had bin shut but twice from the foundation of *Rome*, according to TITVS LIVIVS, LVCIVS FLORVS, PLVTARCH, and other Authors: one, in the time of NYMA POMPILIVS second King thereof; and the other after the end of the second Punick warres which they waged with *Carthage*, at what time as TITVS MANLIUS was Consul. I know that some Authors set this shutting vp of IANVS his temple by OCTAVIAN to be a great while after, at the time of the birth of Christ our Sauour. But I in this place follow the authority of PAVLVS OROSIVS a christian Author, who vied great diligence and truth, and is of 1200. yeares antiquitie, who reckoneth that CÆSAR AVGVSTVS shut this temple three times, and that this was the first, and I hold his opinion for certaine: for he is assisted by the authoritie of TITVS LIVIVS, who in his first booke affirmeth, that AVGVSTVS did shut this temple after the warres with ANTONY: and LVCIVS FLORVS and other Authors set downe that this temple was shut after that. And hereby it appeareth that OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR did shut the temple of IANVS more then once, and euery one sheweth his time when, and PAVLVS OROSIVS all, which was thrise, setting downe the time to euery one of them as he noteth, which is also drawne out of SVETONIUS TRANQVILLVS, following the letter as PHILIPPVS BEROALDVS followeth. I haue a desire to set this downe here (although it little importeth) to the end that the varietie and difference which the reader shall finde among the authors shall not offend him, and that he may know that I haue an approved author whom I follow, although I name him not, if he shall finde ought written by me contrary to that which he hath read. OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR liuing in this peace and tranquillitie, omitted no part of his care for the gouernment of the Romane Common-wealth and prouinces thereof; creating and sending thither Pretors, Proconsuls, and other gouernours, which were excellent men to rule and gouerne, and himselfe gaue direction and was very diligent in all things touching iustice, customes, religion and publike buildings: so as in all things, his reigne was most happie, peaceable and quiet, and so did it continue so long as he liued.

VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS speaking like a Gentile, doth so extoll his migne, that he saith, that men could not desire or aske any thing of the gods, neither thinke nor imagine ought; neither could the gods giue that to men, which OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR AVGVSTVS, after his victories and returne to *Rome*, did bring and giue to the Romane people, and the whole Empire. Notwithstanding that this was then so esteemed (as great minds naturally desire libertie) yet in that so prosperous a time, some people and nations were so bold as to shake off the Romane

The death of  
Cleopatra.

How many  
times the  
temple of Ianus  
was shut.

Note the saying  
of the Author.

Romane yoke, and to molest and disquiet the Empire, as the Spaniards, the nations of *Illyricum* and the Pannonians. In *Spaine* the Cantabrians, which are the Alaufes and Biskains, the Asturians, and part of *Gallicia*, which were not only discontented to obey, but passing their limits, began to make warre against the subiects to the Empire. OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR knowing this, holding it to be a doubtful warre and of importance, commanded (as saith PAVLVS OROSIVS) the Temple of *Ianus* to be opened, & determined to go thither himself in person, and to send other captaines to follow the other wars. In the time of these wars, which were first, or last, the authors doe handle very confusedly, so as I cannot bring it to light: whereof it might be that severall of these things did concur at one time. But OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS tooke his journey into *Spaine*, and began the warre with three armies against the people before named, which rebelled, which warre was very doubtfull and desperate, and lasted five yeeres. In this time passed many conflicts, and although that CÆSAR did oppress the Cantabrians and Asturians, and draue them to the rocks and mountaines, yet they did so well defend themselves in them, that it behooved him before he could subdue them to raise a great Naue in the coast of *France*, to invade the Sea coast of *Cantabria*, *Asturias* and *Gallicia*, at which time he draue the people of those countries to such extremities by land, that he compelled them to yeeld and submit themselves to his obedience: His great fauourite AGRIPPA, seruing him well and faithfully in all this warre (as in all the rest) whom he married to his daughter IVLIA, which at that time was the widow of his nephew MARCELLVS, sonne to his sister OCTAVIA, with whom she had been married. And so CÆSAR accomplished the full subiection of all *Spaine*, about two hundred yeeres after that the Romanes began to make their first warre therein: so as no prouince cost the Romanes more blood, more toyle, and more time then *Spaine*. And this long and doubtfull conquest being finished (Paulus Orosius saith) that OCTAVIAN esteemed the same so much, that hauing established peace in *Spaine*, in signe thereof he againe commanded the doores of *Ianus* his Temple to be shut, and himselfe came to *Rome* in great triumph. But this Temple continued not long shut: for some Nations of the Germanes arose & kept a stir (although at diuers times) so as the Temple was againe opened to make warre against them, which were the inhabitants of *Noricum*, which is now *Bauaria*, and the *Pannonies*, which are *Austrich* and *Hungary*, as is aforesaid, and the two *Misias* which are *Bulgaria* and *Serua*, and also *Illyricum* which is *Slauonia*, although at another time tamed by him; and the prouince of *Dacia*, which now is *Transilvania* and *Walachia*, and some others also. Against all these Nations, the most happy Emperour CÆSAR AVGVSTVS sent his Captaines and armies, among which were his sonnes in law, sonnes of his wife LIVIA, TIBERIVS NERO, who succeeded him in the Empire, and his brother DRVSIVS NERO, of whom LIVIA was with childe when OCTAVIAN married her: and these two brothers (although the warre lasted somewhat long) tamed those Nations, & obtained great victories in Germanie, & confines thereof, especially TIBERIVS (as SVETONIVS writeth in his life, and PAVLVS OROSIVS in his histories) who in three yeeres space subdued the *Pannonies*, *Illyricum*, and *Dalmatia*: for which victories, he afterward entered into *Rome* in Ouacian triumph, with great honour and solemnitie. Another Captaine whose name was MARCVS CRASSVS (as LVCIVS FLORVS and TITVS LIVIVS report) overcame and put the *Misians* to flight in their owne countrie, a nation which had neuer seene the Romanes; which (as LVCIVS FLORVS recordeth) being

readie

readie to giue battaile, in manner of iustification, said to the Romane armie: Tell vs, who you are that seeke to grieue vs? Where to they were answered: We be Romanes the Lords of Nations. Where to they answered: It shall be so, if we be overcome. And so they were afterwards, both they and those also which conspired with them. But OCTAVIAN had not these victories without some crosses: for in this warre died his sonne in law DRVSVS, who was highly extolled and esteemed for his great acts and victories, for whom he and the Emperesse LIVIA his mother were very sorie. But that was farre greater without comparison, which he conceived for the mishap which befell to QVINTILIVS VARRO, who being Captaine of three legions in *Germany*, and being retchlesse, was surprised by the Almaines, and himselfe and all the rest slaine, and two standards with the Imperiall Eagles taken: wherewith he was so excessiuely grieved, that they write, that he cried out very vnadvisedly, and knocked his head against the walles, saying, QVINTILIVS VARRO, giue me my legions againe. Of his sonne in law DRVSVS there remained two sonnes, called GERMANICVS and CLAVDIVS, which he had by ANTONIA, OCTAVIAN his necce & daughter of his sister OCTAVIA and of MARCVS ANTONIVS: of which, CLAVDIVS was Emperour: and this GERMANICVS which married with AGRIPPINA, daughter of IVLIA which was OCTAVIAN'S daughter, was father of CAIVS CALIGVLA, who afterwards was also Emperour. But these losses confirmed the victories which his sonne in law TIBERIVS obtained: Wherefore OCTAVIAN married him to his daughter IVLIA, who was a widow by the death of AGRIPPA, causing him to put away AGRIPPINA the daughter of the same AGRIPPA, by his first marriage, to whom he was married, and had by her one sonne named DRVSVS: so as after many notable victories, and taming of sometime one nation, and sometime another, which were compelled to sue for peace, OCTAVIAN againe commanded the Temple of *Ianus* to be shut, and from thencefoorth all things succeeded vnto him most prosperously.

The subiects of the Empire were very obedient vnto him, and all others sent him ambassades seeking his fauour and friendship, offering him their seruice: the Indians a people of the farthest part of the East, and also the Scythians which inhabit in the North, and the Parthians a people most fierce and vntamed, sent their Ambassadors to him, giuing securitie to keepe the peace, and deliuered the Standards and Eagles taken in the battaile, wherein MARCVS CRASSVS was slaine. There came also Kings, friends and subiects to the Empire, to *Rome*, to doe him honour, as his familiar friends, laying aside their Ensignes and royall Robes; and many of them built cities to his name, for his honour, calling the Cæsars in remembrance of him: so did HERODE in *Palestina*, & IUBA in *Mauritania*, & others.

The world being in this quietnes and generall peace, fortie and two yeeres being fullie expired, since that OCTAVIAN, after the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR, came to *Rome*, from which time is commonly accounted his Empire. In this peace and quietnes of times was borne IESVS CHRIST our Lord and Sauiour in *Bethlem*, of the holie wombe of our blessed Ladie the Virgin MARY; HERODE being King of *Ierusalem*, placed there by the Romanes (hee who slew the innocents children) comming to the world in humane forme and nature, to saue the world from sinne, and to bring mankinde with his blessed death and passion, whose most holie life, and infinite miracles ought not to be mixed with prophane matters, and therefore I will not intermeddle to treat thereof. But returning to my purpose, I say, that OCTAVIAN enioying so great prosperitie

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The greatnes of  
the Romane  
Emperours.

The vertues  
and qualities  
of Octavianus.

and good fortune, was not altered in his naturall condition, as in other Princes it hath happened, but rather made more gentle, milde, iust, and affable, more courteous, more liberall and more temperate. He established wonderfull good orders and lawes, for the amending and reformation of abuses and euill customes: he erected in Rome and without it, great and sumptuous edifices, and bestowed great liberalitie and fauours vpon all sorts of people: he reioyced the people with feasts and playes in sundrie manners, going himselfe in person thereto, and sent Colonies and inhabitants to sundrie parts and prouinces: he made an excellent and singular good order for the gouernment and gouernours of the whole Empire. The like hee did for the warre and martiall discipline; he shewed himselfe plaine and sociable to his familiars and friends, and honoured and loued them much. Some conspiracies which were discovered against him, he punished without rigour, giuing more pardon then punishment and correction. Of murmurings and defamatorie libels he neuer sought nor desired to know the authors, but with great grauitie answered, giuing satisfaction, and purging himselfe of those things which were imputed vnto him. He was much giuen and affected to letters and learning, and was very learned and eloquent, and compiled bookes and notables workes: He did much honour and reward the wife and learned men of his time, wherein were many very notable in all Artes. But for all these vertues and perfections, and other which for breuitie I write not, yet he escaped not to be noted of some vices, caused through humane weakenes and great libertie, principally to be much giuen to women, although that in eating, drinking, in his apparell and ornaments, he was very decent and temperate: he gaue himselfe also excessiue to play at dice, and other games then accustomed. But SVETONIUS saith, that the most part thereof was vpon ceremonious and festiuall daies, which ought well to be noted for a shame and example to our time, wherein Christianitie is professed. For that is accounted by many for brauerie and valour, which to OCTAVIAN being an Heathen and vnbelceuing Prince, was noted and imputed for vice. Wherewith to conclude and make an end of his historie, as is reason, I say, that although that in many things hee was happie and fortunate, yet besides all his troubles and daungers, he was unhappie and infortunate in his children and succession: for by foure wiues, with which he was married, onely by SCRIBONIA, which was his third wife, he had one daughter named IULIA; and yet this one scarcely proued honest of her bodie: so as for want of sons to succeed him, he first adopted for his sonne, his nephew MARCELLVS, his sister OCTAVIAS son aforenamed, with whom he first married this his daughter IULIA: and MARCELLVS dying without issue, he married her to his fauourite AGRIPPA, who also left her a widow, as is aboue said: but he left by her three sonnes, and two daughters, the daughters prouing no honeste then their mother, and two of his sonnes died in OCTAVIANs time, hauing bin first by him adopted. Wherefore desiring to overcome the ill lucke which he had herein, he adopted the third, who was called AGRIPPA as his father was, the which adoption afterward reuoked for some displeasure conceiued against him, and taking this care for his succession, he adopted and made his sonne in law TIBERIVS NERO, his sonne, whom, as is afore said, he married to his daughter IULIA, who, as is noted, was AGRIPPA his widow. But hee commaunded TIBERIVS, who hee adopted him, that he (notwithstanding that he had a son called CAESAR) should also adopt his Nephew GERMANICVS sonne of his brother DRVSVS, who, as is afore said, died in Germanie, because he had married his neece AGRIPPINA the daughter of IULIA:

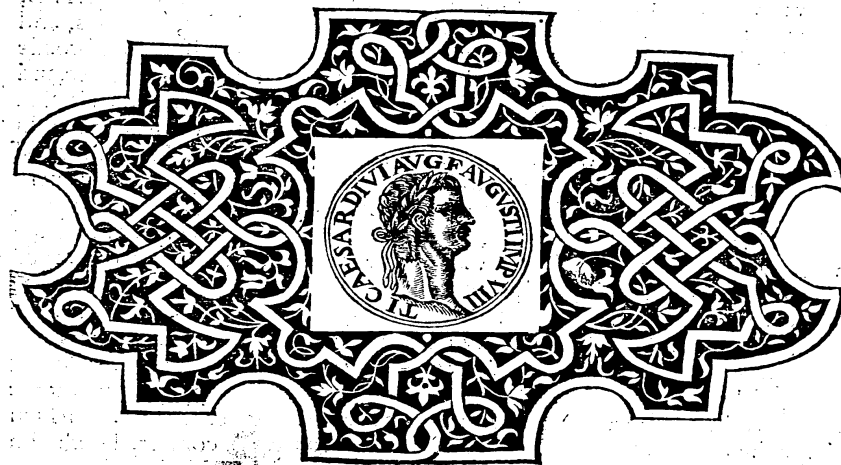
IULIA: and by this meanes came TIBERIVS to be OCTAVIANVS his successor, more through the diligence of his mother then any good liking that his father in law had to him; who rather was, and seemed to be very forrie, that he should succede him.

And things standing in this state, OCTAVIAN being now seuentie and sixe yeeres old and odde dayes, and hauing reigned aboue fiftie and sixe yeeres, and being the best beloued and most obeyed prince, that euer was in the world, death ouertooke him: the cause thereof was a flux which held him for certaine dayes, whereof in the end he died in the citie of Nola (whither he came sicke from Naples) a quiet and peacefull death, in the fiftieenth yeere after the birth of Christ our redeemer. His death was generally lamented, and there was an vniuersall sorrow and heauines ouer all the whole Empire for him: for he happened wisely and vprightly to gouerne that, which by force and cunning he had gotten. OCTAVIAN was of a meane stature, and of a very good shape and proportion of his body, exceedingly faire of gesture mixed with honestie and grauitie, his eyes were exceeding cleere and bright, he was very aduised, and loued to speake quicke and briefly.

The death of  
Octavianus  
Caesar Augustus.

Octavian his  
proportion of  
body.

## THE LIFE OF THE EMPEROR TIBERIVS.



### THE ARGVMENT.



After the good Augustus, succeeded his sonne in law the wicked Tiberius Nero, who was by nature a very wicked man, and knew how to dissemble and faine to loue those well which he hated. He was the first that hee loued. He fained himselfe vniuersally to accept of the Empire, and to be a friend and who his enemy: and whereas before this dignitie, he was very orderly and prudent, he became afterward so disorderly and such a drunkard, that he was called in scorne Biberius. In his time died Iesu. Christ and Iohn Baptist.

ist in Ierusalem, he caused Germanicus a great Captaine to be slaine, although he made shew to Agrippa to be very sorie for it. He subdued many provinces which rebelled against the Romane Empire, and was no lesse cruell then libidinous, and of these three vices (so wit) crueltie, incontinencie, and gluttonie, it is hard to say, which was least. He ruled the Empire foure and twentie yeeres, and was no great enemy to Christians: and proposed in the Senate whether Christ should be accepted for a God or no, whereto the Senate consented not. Finally, he died through the treason of Caligula, whom he had nominated his successor, being seventie and eight yeeres old: which he did, as it was thought, so the end that Caligula his vices should make his to seeme lesser, who was so wicked and cruell, that he wished that the world might end at his death.



After the excellent and good Emperor OCTAVIAN, succeeded his sonne in law, and adopted son the wicked and peruerse TIBERIVS NERO, vnworthy truely of his succession and of the Empire: for he was one of the most cruell and wicked men that euer was in the world: notwithstanding that in OCTAVIAN his time, in Germanie and in other parts he did many great and notable feats in armes. In the beginning of his Empire he made shew of a good prince, and did many

good deedes, but afterwards (as this was but fained) he discovered his malice, and gouerned cruelly, couetously, and dishonestly. This TIBERIVS (as I haue aboue said) was the sonne of TIBERIVS NERO and LIVIA his wife, which OCTAVIAN afterwards tooke to wife, of both sides descended of the auncient family of the CLAVDII, whose grandfather by his fathers side was TIBERIVS CLAVDIUS NERO; and by his mothers side hee descended from APPIVS CLAVDIUS PVLCHER, and by adoption he likewise descended from the LIVII, an excellent family, although but Plebeian, for Consulships, censures, and triumphs. He was of a tall and strong body, and had a large brest and broad shoulders, whereto all parts of his body were answerable: he had a faire face, and great eyes, and so cleere, that they affirme a strange thing of him, which is, that awaking by darke in the night, for a good space he cleerely saw the place wherein he lay, and al that therein was, as wel as though he had had a light. He was a man of great strength, and had the vse of both his hands alike, whereas commonly every man vseth the right hand with greater dexteritie then the left, and had so great strength in his fingers, that with a fillip he would (as often as he lifted) breake a pages, or a yong mans head, as SVETONIVS reporteth. He was very learned both in Greeke and Latin, and principally delighted in poesie, and made many verses in both tongues, which truely was ill employed in him, seeing he so little profited thereby. When OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS fell sicke, TIBERIVS was gone towards the prouince of *Illyricum* or *Slauonia*, and his mother LIVIA seeing that his sicknes encreased, sent in great haste for him, and he happily arrived at the citie of *Nola*, CESAR AVGVSTVS being euen neere his end, but yet in such time as he could speake, and (as SVETONIVS reporteth) conferred with him a great while in secret: Although CORNELIVS TACITVS saith, that it is not certainly knowne whether he found him aliue at his comming or no; for his mother the Emperesse had set so many gards that the death of OCTAVIAN was not knowne, vntill that all had agreed and consented that TIBERIVS should rule, and succede him. And at that time was AGRIPPA her adopted OCTAVIAN, and sonne of his daughter IVLIA, by AGRIPPA, who was a husband slaine by the hand of a Tribune, who had him in keeping, (as it was thought) by the commaundement of his father in law TIBERIVS, and by the counsell of his mother

The lineage and corporall constitution of Tiberius.

Tiberius his learning.

mother LIVIA, to the end that hee should bee assured of the succession.

In Rome libertie now was so forgotten, and the Monarchie was so established by custome of so many yeeres continuance, vnder the raigne of OCTAVIANVS, that notwithstanding that there were Consuls, Pretors, Tribunes, and other names of dignitie and magistracie; yet there was in a manner no man in Rome that did remember and vnderstand the manner of the old gouernment, which was before that IVLIVS CESAR suppressed the Common-wealth; and the death of OCTAVIAN being knowne, there was no man that durst to name or to speake of libertie, but so soone as TIBERIVS came to Rome, to him was presently giuen the gouernment and administration of the Common-wealth. And he was the first Emperor that did quietly and peaceably inherit the Empire, so as he needed not to make a conquest thereof, as IVLIVS CESAR and OCTAVIAN had done. And although that before that he would accept thereof, he caused himselfe to be much entreated, and made great shew to haue no desire to the Empire, yet afterwards it was plainly perceiued, that he did but faine it, to the end to know euery mans good will towards him: For to all those which yeelded to accept of his excuses, and did not importune him, he bare a perpetuall hatred; for although that one way he excused himselfe, yet in many other things he began to vse the authoritie of an Emperor, taking a garde, and mustering the armies, as Emperor.

Having accepted and receiued the Empire, there were some occasions offered him, which put him in great feare and heauines: the first was, that the armies in *Pannonia* or *Hungarie*, mutined, and reuolted from IVLIVS BLESVS their captaine, a captaine called PERCENIVS being principall of this reuolt, and they sent to require many excessiue things: against which TIBERIVS sent his son DRVSVS, whom he had by AGRIPPINA, with whom he was married before he married IVLIA. It happened also that the legions which were by the riuers side of the *Rhine*, as the custome was, did the like, through the absence of GERMANICVS their captaine before named, TIBERIVS his adopted sonne and Nephew: And those of *Pannonia* were not onely not contented with the paies and exemptions which they required, but they presumed to chuse a new Emperor against TIBERIVS, nominating their captaine GERMANICVS, who (as is before said) was TIBERIVS his Nephew and adopted sonne, and preferred before his naturall sonne, by the commaundement of OCTAVIAN. But GERMANICVS was so loyall, that when these newes were brought vnto him, he not onely refused their offer, but with great danger and hazard of his life, and with much trouble pacified those alterations.

TIBERIVS was another way assaulted: for he was aduertised that one LVCIVS SCRIBONIVS a principall man, and one which bare great sway in the common-wealth, had some secret practises against him: but he freed himselfe from all these matters, and they were redressed, although not without great difficultie. For his son DRVSVS on one side (after some treaties) brought the legions of *Pannonia* to his obedience, and did iustice on PERCENIVS. And GERMANICVS (as I said) after some great matters (which CORNELIVS TACITVS reciteth at large) made those of *Germania* to obey: and not therewith content, he passed the riuer of *Rhine* (which commonly was the bounds of the Romane Empire on that part) and made war with the countie of *Germanie*, in good order and with good successe. While these matters were a doing, & for some space after, TIBERIVS did cloake and conceale his accursed inclination and vices; and (as I saide in the beginning) per-

formed

formed many partes of a good, discrete and gentle prince, wherewith he deceived the people, especially those which did not particularly know him; whereof (although they be recited before their time) it shall not be amisse to set downe some, to the end that (as of a venomous beast) that which is profitable and medicinall, may be taken. First, many of the names and titles of honor which were offered him by the Senate, and other honors and ceremonies, he refused, and would not consent that they should erect or builde vnto him any temples; and forbad them to set vp his statues and images without his expresse commaundement: and if at sometime he did permit it, it was vpon condition that they should not place it among the images of the Gods.

He seemed also to grieue to heare himselfe praised, crossing and interrupting them in speeches which did it. One, in a discourse called him Lord, whom he commaunded to vse that word no more: but insolencie and presumption since that time hath so encreased, that that which at that time seemed pride in an Emperor, there is now none, be he neuer so base, but presumeth that he deserueth the same. The like discretion did T I B E R I V S shew in other words, which were also proper to the gods, and the things to them appertaining. He fained also patience and meekenes: for although that in the Senate there passed some matters contrarie to his will and opinion, and that in other affaires they gaine said him, yet he seemed not any way to be displeased or offended therewith. And vnderstanding that some spake ill of him, and murmuring, vsed iniurious speeches against him, he shewed no discontentment or alteration thereat: but said, that in a free citie, mens tongues ought to be free, and men might lawfully speake freely. And whereas the Senate would haue exhibited an information, and haue proceeded against those which had written defamatorie libelles against him, he would not consent thereto, saying, that he had not so little to doe, as to lose so much time about such matters: affirming that he would doe nothing against them which spake ill of him, but trouble them with keeping account of what he said and did, and if that were not sufficient, it should satisfie him, to loue them as little as they loued him.

In the beginning T I B E R I V S bare great reuerence vnto the Senate, and gaue them so great power and authoritie in all things that hee did nothing without their counsell, willing that all should be done by their aduise and consent. In execution of iustice and gouernment he made many good beginnings, taking care, and order that there should be no theeves nor robbers by the high wayes side in all *Italie*, but that men might trauel in safetie: and that iustice should be executed in townes and villages. The ensignes and pretorian cohorts which in *Rome* were the Emperors garde (to ease the citizens of their guesstes and other troubles) he made to encampe and lodge themselves without the citie in the fields, where they should continue and abide: which although that then it seemed profitable, yet afterwards it bred great inconuenience and damage. By these afore said meanes, he not onely cloked and couered his crueltie, pride and ambition, but he was so double and false, that but euen his auarice and couetousnes, (which of all other seemeth to be the most apparant passion) and his incontinencie and dishonestie, he knew so well for a time to maske and dissemble, shewing himselfe to be no way couetous: So as when some gouernors of prouinces gaue him to vnderstand of meanes how to encrease his rents & reuenues, he answered, that a good shepheard ought to sheare his flock, but not pill them: and so he diminished certaine tributes, and shewed fauours to certaine particular persons.

The pretorian  
Cohorts were  
the Emperors  
garde.

The fained  
vertues of Tiberius.

The speeches of  
a good pastor,  
and the minde  
of a Wolfe.

sons. His dishonestie he sought to couer, by ordaining a publike informer against dishonest and adulterous Matrones of *Rome*, which he did (as it afterwards appeared) to the end that there should be no other adulterer but himselfe. He did other such like things (which for breuitie I omit) which seemed to grow from a good roote and meaning: but it failed in the end; for he fauned to bite, and drew back, to come againe with the greater force: As we will hereafter declare in part, for the whole cannot be related, as it was neither spoken for the filthines thereof, which is the occasion that that order and stile cannot be obserued as behooueth: for certainly the disorderly and obscure liues cannot be cleerely and orderly written. And besides this, the disgrace and crueltie which hee vsed to his wife I V L I A, forgetting that by her, as for her dowrie, he enioyed the Romane Empire: for hee neuer liued nor kept companie with her after the death of O C T A V I A N.

One of the first signes that he shewed of an euill Prince and gouernour, was, that notwithstanding that there came great complaints against the Proconsuls, Pretors, and Prefects, placed in Prouinces; yet hee would not remoue them, nor alter them: which was against the order and custome of *Rome* and his predecessor O C T A V I A N; which some attributed to his negligence and carelesnes; others iudged it to be of malice, and ill disposition, to the end that many men should not enioy the honour and profit which grew in such charges. He began after this to enuie and to beare hatred against G E R M A N I C V S, because hee was preferred before his sonne D R V S V S, and it grieued him to see his good successe in the warres of *Germanie*. Wherefore to finde occasion to remooue him from that charge, he dissemblingly caused the triumph to be granted vnto him, for the victories which he had obtained, and wrote to him many times to come to triumph: but G E R M A N I C V S vnderstanding his euill intent, deferred his comming. It happened in a while after that the King of the Parthians arose, and made warre against the Romane Empire, breaking the peace established in the time of O C T A V I A N, entring into the prouince of *Armenia*, the King whereof was set there by the Romans: wherewith T I B E R I V S was nothing displeased, thereby to haue the better occasion to draw G E R M A N I C V S from his captainship and gouernment of *Germanie*, vnder colour to send him to the warres of the Parthians, as he did. And so G E R M A N I C V S being sent for, came for this purpose, hauing within few daies before wonne a great battaile, and slaine tenne thousand of his enemies, and entred into *Rome* in a solemne triumph, and (as C O R N E L I V S T A C I T V S reporteth) hee brought thither with him the ensignes which Q V I N T I L I V S V A R R O had lost, and presently began to prepare for the warre against the Parthians.

A little before G E R M A N I C V S his triumph, there arose a man in *Italie*, who named himselfe to be A G R I P P A, nephew to O C T A V I A N (whom we haue said to be slaine by T I B E R I V S his order) to whom it seemed of some importance, and much loose and seditious people ioyned with him, which caused a great tumult in *Italie*; this man alleaging that he ought to be Emperour, and not T I B E R I V S: But as he had a weake foundation, so was he soone ouerthrowne, taken prisoner, and brought to T I B E R I V S, and finally was executed, although secretly. And euen about the same time T I B E R I V S committed a notable great wrong and crueltie: for hauing with gracious and amorous words allured A R C H E L A V S King of *Cappadocia* to come to *Rome* (who was a friend and vassall to the Romane Empire) for fained and vniust causes he made him to be accused and apprehended, and afterwards to die in prison, and his countrie was made a tributarie prouince. In the like manner he dealt with many Princes and great men of *Spaine*, *France*, *Gracia*,

*Cappadocia*  
made a prouince.

*Gracia*, and other parts. Also the iourney which TIBERIVS commaunded to be made against the Parthians, was much hastened by reason of the death of ANTIOCHVS King of *Comagena*, and PHILOPATER King of *Cilicia* in *Asia*, vassals to the Empire: by meanes of whose death some alterations arose in those prouinces; for some would haue a King, and others would be gouerned by the Empire.

GERMANICVS being in a readines for his iourney into the East (as hee was commaunded) departed from *Rome*, carying his wife AGRIPPINA and his children with him: betweene whom and LIVIA the mother of TIBERIVS was great enuie and emulation. There was also at this time great controuersie and parts-taking, both in words and liking, in TIBERIVS his Court; some taking part with GERMANICVS, who (as before is said) was his adopted sonne and nephew: others held of DRVSVS his sonne legitimate. TIBERIVS and his mother LIVIA euer sought to aduance the reputation of DRVSVS, and in secret to disgrace GERMANICVS: for which occasion he gaue the charge of all the legions of *Illyricum* to his sonne DRVSVS. And to the end, that GERMANICVS should not be too mightie in the East whither he went, he made GNEVS PISO capitaine of the prouince and legions of *Syria* (who was a mighty man, and in *Rome* greatly allied, and of a great house) because he held with DRVSVS, and dispossest CRETICVS SYLLANVS of that charge, for that he was a friend to GERMANICVS. This PISO was married to a Romane Matrone called PLACINA, of the same condition, but of an hautier heart then her husband; to the which husband and wife the Emperour TIBERIVS and his mother LIVIA gaue in charge, to stirre vp and procure hatred and enmitie against GERMANICVS; yea and his death also: as it after appeared. And with this determination they departed from *Rome* towards the East, where PISO presently, with gifts and flatterie, began to draw to himselfe the loue and good will of the armie against GERMANICVS, and to murmure and speake ill of him: who, while as PISO practised these things, tooke so good order in the warre and gouernment, that hee placed a King in the prouince of *Armenia*, who was a friend and subiect to the Romanes; and the kingdomes of *Comagena* and *Cilicia* being voide by the death of their Kings, he reduced into prouinces, and placed in them Pretors and gouernors. In *Comagena* QVINCIVS SEREVS, and in *Cilicia* QVINTVS VERANIVS; moderating in them both the royall subsidies and tributes. And after this he tooke so good order, that hee compelled the King of the Parthians to sue for peace and friendship: which hee graunted and concluded, to the honour of the Empire. And while as he was busied about these things, PISO and his wife neuer left to murmure against him, and to blaspheme him openly: which he dissembled, knowing from whence it did proceed. And hauing made an end with the Parthians, hee departed from thence to visit the prouince of *Egypt*: and in his absence (although it were not long) his competitor PISO plotted such matters against him, that when he vnderstood of his returne, he departed out of that prouince. But as he had plotted and practised his death, he went not farre off, but remained some daies in an Iland: in which time, GERMANICVS comming on his way, was poysoned by the practise of PISO, but by the direction and counsell of TIBERIVS (as it was thought) wherewith he dyed suddenly, leauing behind him sonnes and daughters; among which was one named CAIVS CALIGVLA, who was afterwards Emperour. For which cause it hath been very expedient to make so much mention of his father GERMANICVS, who if he had liued had been Emperour and successor to TIBERIVS.

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The excellent Capitaine GERMANICVS being dead in such manner, as is aboue said, his wife AGRIPPINA came to *Rome* with her children, and brought with her the ashes of her deceased husband. The Emperour TIBERIVS made shew of great sorrow (although fained) for the death of GERMANICVS: the like did LIVIA and her sonne DRVSVS, who then was come to *Rome*, who in truth was very glad thereof: for by the death of GERMANICVS he did assuredly hope to succede in the Empire. But true and vnfained was the sorrow which all the people of *Rome* conceiued for the death of GERMANICVS, and great were the fauours and loue which they shewed to AGRIPPINA and her children: and great was the enmitie and hatred they bare against PISO, whom they openly charged to haue murdered him; who presuming on TIBERIVS his fauour (being altogether shamelesse) came to *Rome*, where, in the behalfe of AGRIPPINA and her friends, he was accused for the aforesaid murder. Which TIBERIVS dissembling, (as one who was not to loue him any better then the rest) he was driuen to such a plunge in the accusation, that before that the matter was determined, hee was found dead in his bed (as it was thought) by his owne hands: although (as CORNELIVS TACITVS saith) it was neuer certainly knowne: but there were many opinions concerning the same. Who also writeth that a mighty man named TAFARINAS rose in *Africa* in the prouince of *Numidia*; and leuying great forces, ouerthrew certaine Romane cohorts, thinking to haue been able to possesse the countie: against whom went the Proconsul LVCIVS ASTRONICVS with an armie: and comming to a battaile he ouercame and put them to flight, to their great damage and losse. Which (as it seemeth) happened in the seuenth yeere of the raigne of TIBERIVS; although afterwards the same TAFARINAS was againe ouerthrowne, by the Proconsul BLESVS, in a second rebellion.

The next yeere following, the Emperour TIBERIVS made himselfe to be chosen Consul, and his sonne DRVSVS for his companion, as at other times hee had done: and faining that it behoued him for his health, he went forth of *Rome*, to the end to ground and establisth DRVSVS in the gouernment of the Empire, for of his brother CLAVDIVS vntill then he made small account: but God disposed of all in another manner. In the same yeere many cities in *France* rebelled, being vnable to endure the intolerable tributes and extortions which TIBERIVS anew imposed vpon the. The capitaines & mouers of this rebellion, were two hardy men, the one called FLORVS, and the other SACROBIS, which did so much trouble the countie, that they put *Rome* it selfe in great feare, a great deale being there reported more then was true. But this did nothing trouble TIBERIVS; so much had hee forgotten all vertue and goodnes, giuing himselfe wholly ouer to vice and sensualitie in his old age. But CAIVS SILIVS, who was Capitaine of those parts, did soone repress the troubles of *France*, who with his legions came against those which rebelled, and ouerthrew and put them to flight in a battaile, and slew a great number of them: and so he pacified that countie, and his sonne DRVSVS did principally employ himselfe in the gouernment. TIBERIVS passing the most part of the time in *Campania*, betweene whom and his mother LIVIA began some secret (which grew to publike) quarrels and enmities, he being very vnreuerent and vndutifull, and she much discontented with his manner of gouernment, and chiefly for the priuate familiaritie betweene him and ELIVS SEIANVS, whom he fauoured so much that he made him capitaine of the Pretorian cohorts, and gaue him many other dignities, and finally made him so great, that he presumed to contend with his sonne DRVSVS, and his presumption was such,

such, that by wicked practises and deuices, he allured to his dishonest lust the wife of the said DRVSVS, daughter in law to TIBERIVS, whose name was LIVIA daughter of GERMANICVS. And committing this adulterie (with a conceit to succeed in the steed of DRVSVS) he practised his death, and found meanes for an Eunuch his seruant, to poyson him: which tooke effect, and DRVSVS died thereof, and left one sonne named TIBERIVS, as his grandfather, and it was not then knowne who was the cause of his death. Whereof arose great murmuring in Rome, although it little grieved the greatest part: for they deemed that GERMANICVS his three sonnes should haue succeeded in his place, which they much loued for their fathers sake, whose names were CLAVDIVS NERO, CAIVS CALIGVLA, and DRVSVS. This happened in the ninth yeere of the raigne of TIBERIVS, which was the manifest beginning of his misfortunes: we may say the like of the Common-wealth; for from that time forwards, all his actions and purposes had ill successe, and his detestable vices discovered themselves, and the subjects endured infinit cruelties, robberies, outrages and oppressions: as also in this same yeere, TAFARINAS againe rebelled in Africa, who in his last rebellion escaped by flight: and hauing leuiued much people, in the end was the third time ouerthrowne in bataille, and wholly defeated by PVBLIVS DOLABELLA the Proconsul.

In Rome the wicked SEIANVS (TIBERIVS his fauorite) although that at the beginning he made shew publicly to fauour GERMANICVS his sonnes, which (as it hath been said, and it was thought) should haue been TIBERIVS his successors: But afterwards all his studie and practise was to abase and ruinate them, and to that end, procured false accusations and suspicions to be sowne against all such as tooke their, or AGRIPPINA their mothers part. And to bring this and other his wicked deuises to effect, he procured TIBERIVS to returne from Rome whither he was come: who following the others counsell, as well for this, as the more freely to giue himselfe to his detestable vices, went into the Ile of Capra, which lieth vpon the coast of Naples, where he remained for a time, and being returned into Italie, making his progresse into diuers places, neuer came any more to Rome, neither in the rest of his life is there any more to be spoken, but of his vices and cruelties, whereof in some we will make some brieue relation. Before which it is requisite that all men know, that during this peregrination of the Emperor TIBERIVS in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ true God and man suffered his death and passion, PONTIVS PILATE being president or gouernor of Ierusalem in the prouince of Iudea. And to the end that it may be the better knowne and vnderstoode how PILATE came to concur with one of the HERODES, and how many there were of the HERODES, of whom mention is made in the holy Scriptures, which is a matter whereof some haue made a doubt, in few words I will here set downe: which was in this manner, as the euangelist testifieth, and as out of Saint IEROM and IOSEPHVS it is gathered. HERODE the great sonne of ANTIPATER, who was called HERODE ASCALONITA, was placed there by the Romans, and hauing reigned many yeeres, was the same to whom the three Kings came from the East guided by a Starre, and he who murdered so many innocent children, and some of his owne children also, when Christ was borne; who within short space after died, and by his death his sonne, whose name was ARCHELAVS, had the kingdomes of Iudea, and of Idumea; and to his other two sons (for the other three died before their father) were giuing certaine tetrarchies, whereof to this HERODE

ANTIPAS

The passion of Christ our redeemer. Iosephus in his antiquities in his 15. 16. 17. and 18. booke, and in his first and second of the warres of the Iewes. Saint Ierom vpon the second chapter of S. Matthew. The Herodes how many they were. Herodes Ascalonita. Saint Matthew the second chapter, 1.

ANTIPAS (which was one of them) was allotted the Tetrarchie of Galile, and by this meanes he is called Tetrarch; and this was he which put Saint IOHN BAPTIST to death, and he, to whom PILATE sent Christ, who disdained him. And to PHILLIP his other sonne was giuen the Tetrarchie of Trachonitis, and the other brother, who (as I said) had the title of a King, was accused to OCTAVIAN, and by him deuiued and banished into France, to the cite of Vienna, by meanes whereof PILATE was sent to gouerne that prouince; and by this meanes it happened that Christ died in the time of PILATE and of HERODE ANTIPAS the Tetrarch, from whom the Tetrarchie afterwards was also taken by CAIVS CALIGVLA, and he died banished in Lions in France, and his Nephew the sonne of his brother ARISTOBVLVS, which was one of the three which their father slew in his life time. And HERODE AGRIPPA was hee, to whom CAIVS CALIGVLA restored the kingdome of Iudea. And afterwards the Emperor CLAVDIVS gaue the Tetrarchie of Galile to his Vncle: and this was he, who put Saint IAMES to death, who beginning to persecute the Apostles, died stricken by an Angell, as Saint LUKK beareth record.

Herodes Antipas. Saint Luke chapter 2.

Herodes Agrippa.

The acts of the Apostles chap. 12.

Christ being put to death by the sentence of PILATE, and he knowing afterwards that Christ was risen againe, by the report of those which he himselfe had set to watch his bodie, and being also informed of the many miracles which he did in his life time (notwithstanding that he was an idolator and a wicked iudge, and had adiudged him to die) yet TERTVLLIAN and EVSEBIUS in his ecclesiasticall historie, and PAVLYS OROSIVS in his seuenth booke, most ancient and true authors, doe record, that by his letters, he aduertised the Emperor TIBERIVS thereof, to the end that he should consider and determine, whether Christ should be held for a God or no; and TIBERIVS sent to the Senate to consult thereof, he giuing his opinion that he ought to be so: but the Senators, as the diuels schollers, counselled TIBERIVS that he should not doe it. Which (as these authors affirme) was because that he had not first made the Senate acquainted therewith, which pretended by an auncient law which they had, to haue the superintendence in all matters of religion: yet TIBERIVS notwithstanding that the Senate consented not to his opinion, commaunded that the christians should be free from persecution; but he neither embraced the faith of Christ as he ought, neither left his sinne and vices.

Pilate made relation of the miracles which Christ wrought to the Emperor Tiberius.

First he gaue himselfe to his old vice of excessiue gluttonie and drunkennes, for which cause from his youth (in steede of TIBERIVS NERO) they called him BIBERIVS MERO, which signifieth a drinker of the best: and euen in this his old age, he hath been often knowne to sit all a whole night, and part of the day, at a banquet, giuing gifts and rewards to such as dranke most, and in fauour thereof he instituted a new office and magistracie, as maister of delights and sports. After this, his chiefeest busines was in abominable luxury and incontinencie, which was such and so abominable that christian cares can hardly endure the hearing thereof, nor christian hand write the same, wherefore I will passe it ouer in silence. Let this suffice, that it was horrible and detestable, and not contented to commit it himselfe, he induced and drew others thereto, and gaue iewels and rewards to those which inuented and committed most filthines. And this wicked old Emperor, persequering in his libidinous sinne, forgot not his crueltie and couetousnes, whereto he was no lesse addicted: for hee encreased his subsidies and tributes in such manner, that the prouinces became ruinate and desolate; and committed many of the like qualitie.

As

As for his crueltie, all the examples cannot be repeated, they did so exceed: for he condemned the most principall and best men in *Rome* to death, and confiscated their goods, for very light causes, and most of them forged. One he put iustly to death, and with much reason caused him to be slaine, which was his great fauorite *SEIANVS*, for many sinnes which he had learned of him (as *DION COECIVS* recordeth:) but for the rest, it is a matter ridiculous, and otherwise lamentable, for what causes they were accused and condemned. One he caused to be slaine, because that commending *BRVTVS* and *CASSIVS*, he said, that they were the last Romanes: another he caused to be slaine, because that in a tragedie which he had compiled, he spake ill of *AGAMEMNON*: another Roman Knight he commaunded to be slaine, because that in a garden he had taken vp a Capon: and for other such like matters as these, he made to be slaine fixeene, of twentie noble old men, which he had chosen for his counsellors. And he forbore not to execute these cruelties vpon his allies and kinsfolkes: for besides that which is alreadie said, he commaunded his Nephew *GERMANICVS* to be slaine, and afterwards the three sonnes which he left, seeing them to growe in estimation; the two elder of them he caused to be accused by false witneses, and he himselfe wrote such things to *Rome* against them, that in the end they were condemned to death, the one of them desperately killed himselfe, and he caused the other to pine to death with hunger, as *SVENTONIVS* reporteth. It was a maruell that he had not done the like by the third, whose name was *CAIVS CALIGVLA*, and by their Vncle *CLAVDIVS*; but it is to be beleueed that he would haue done it, if he had liued a while longer. These executions hee thus commaunded to be done, to the end that his crueltie might attaine to the highest degree, which were not ordinarie: for before their death, they passed hunger, torments, and disgraces, to qualifie them. Finally, to conclude, they were so many and so fearefull, that many which were condemned, slew themselves, some with poyson, and some with yron, for feare; for *TIBERIVS* did execute his furie with such crueltie, that he accounted it a deede of charitie, to put them to an ordinarie kinde of death: so as for that one killed himselfe before that he could execute his rage vpon him, he cried out aloud, oh how hath *CORNELIVS* escaped mee: for so was that mans name: and to another, which entreated him that he would not deferre his death, *TIBERIVS* answered, I am not so much thy friend, as to doe so. And employing himselfe in these deuillish exercises, wherein he persevered euen vntill his death, *ARTABANVS* King of the Parthians, breaking the peace and league which he had contracted with *GERMANICVS*, was so bold as to enter into the prouince of *Armenia*, and the limits of the Empire, and also the Sarmates inuaded the prouinces, for which *TIBERIVS* tooke no care, neither leuied any new armie; but they defended themselves with their ordinarie legions and armies the best that they could.

Now, forasmuch as in many places of this historie, mention is made of legions and armies, which the Romanes ordinarily held in their prouinces, in time both of peace and warre, I hold it fit to declare what they were, for the better vnderstanding of what is alreadie, and shall be said hereafter. Which is a great argument, to consider how great the wealth and power of the Romanes was: and although that some authors doe treat thereof, I will onely set downe what *CORNELIVS TACITVS* writeth in the fourth booke of his histories, an historiographer of great authoritie. He first saith that in the two seas, of the one, and other side of *Italie*, to wit, in the Adriaticke strait, now the gulfes of *Venice*; and in

in the Sicilian sea called Mediterranean, they maintained two great nauires of galleys and shippes for their garde and securitie, and for the safe passage of Merchants, and such other necessarie occasions as were offered. Another great nauires they maintained vpon the coast of *France*, betwene *Spaine* and *Italie*; besides those which they had in a readines and caused to be builded, when any occasion of warre was offered. Their armies by land were diuided in manner following: vpon the *Rhines* side in the coast of *France*, they held eight legions, to keepe those countries which they possessed in *Germanie*, and to resist the Germanes and other northerly nations, and these ordinarily were the most experienced and best soldiers: And although that the number of a legion did chaunce to encrease and diminish vpon diuers occasions, yet the ordinarie in the time of the Emperors was (after *VEGETIVS* and *MODESTVS*) that euery legion should containe fixe thousand and one hundred footemen, and seuen hundred twentie and sixe horsemen. Of these they held in *Spaine*, three ordinarie legions; and in *Africa*, in the prouince of *Carthage*, two; and in *Mauritania* one; and two for the garde of the kingdome of *Egypt*; and in the prouinces of *Mesopotamia* and *Syria* (to wit) in the lands contained betwene the *Syrian* sea, the furthest end of the *Leuant* sea and the riuer *Euphrates*, which was (for a long time) the bound of the Roman Empire, they held foure legions. And heere in *Europe* (besides those which I haue alreadie named) they had other fixe legions, in this manner: in *Austrich* and *Hungarie* they had two; and in *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, as many; and other two in *Slauonia*; and neere vnto the citie of *Rome*, were alwayes lodged twelue Cohorts, nine of which were called Pretorian, and the other three Vrbane, which by turne did garde the Emperors palace. Of all these Cohorts (according to the same authors) the first and most principall of them contained one thousand, one hundred and fise footemen, and one hundred and thirtie two horsemen; and the others equally each of them fise hundred and fiftie footemen, and threescore and sixe horsemen. Besides all which, they also had in diuers cities and prouinces, companies of horsemen, which were friends and subiects to the Empire; and also other companies of footemen, which were called Auxiliaries, which were not trained after the Roman order and discipline: so as they continually held and paid fise and twentie legions, besides those which were payed by their friends. And this was in time of peace, for the authoritie and garde of the Empire; for when there were any warres (according as neede required) they reinforced their armies, and encreased the number of their legions.

With the force of these great garrisons the Roman Empire maintained and defended it selfe, notwithstanding the want of care and diligence in the Emperors, as in *TIBERIVS*, of whom we now discourse, who (as is said) spent the rest of his life vntill his death in diuillish exercises, which being much wished for by all the world, ouertooke him in a house of pleasure neere to *Naples*, hauing reigned twentie and three yeeres Emperor, in the seuentie and eight yeere of his age, and thirtie and nine yeeres after the birth of Christ. In what manner he died, the authors agree not, for some say that hee was poysoned, by his Nephew and successor *CAIVS CALIGVLA*: others say that being sicke as it was thought mortally, and seeing that hee made some shew of recourie, for feare that hee would mend, the same *CALIGVLA* smothered him with a pillow, or with the couering of the bed, he hauing ordained him for his successor. Notwithstanding that by reason of a certaine prophetic which hee held, he had determined to haue ordained his Nephew *TIBERIVS* the sonne of *DRVSVS* for his heire, whom

Nauires and  
fleets maintai-  
ned by the Ro-  
manes in sun-  
drie places and  
prouinces.

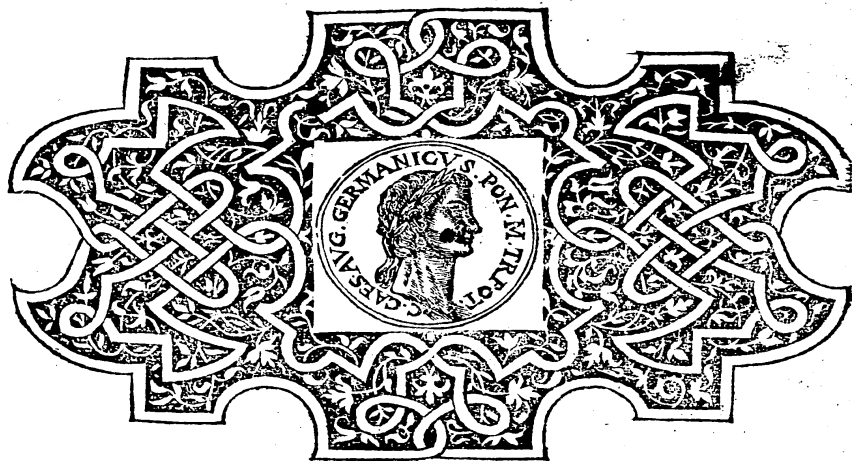
A legion of  
how many  
foote and horse  
it consisted.

Pretorian and  
Vrbane Cohorts.

Auxiliary for-  
ces.

whom DION COCEIVS in his histories saith, he would not name, because he was not assured that he was his sonnes sonne, for the suspition which he held of his mother, and also because that the Mathematicians and Astrologians, to whom he was much affected, and gaue credit, had told him, that he should liue but a little while, and that CALIGVLA should kill him: and so vpon a time being very much offended, he said to CALIGVLA, thou wilt kill me, and another shall kill thee. It is also imagined, that TIBERIVS chose CALIGVLA for his successor, for that he knew his euill and wicked inclination, hoping that with his vices, he would deface and blot his sinne and wickednes out of remembrance; and also for that he beleued, that he would extinguishe the Romane nobilitie; and was so wicked and cruell that he desired that all the world might end with his life, and so he was sometime wont to say, that he wished, that when he should die, that then the heauens and earth might be dissolued: but he deferred not to see the heauens; and all the earth reioyced and was glad when he died, as all authors write, and this was the end of TIBERIVS.

## THE LIFE OF CAIVS CALIGVLA, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRTH ROMANE EMPEVOVR.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**C**aligula before that he was made Emperour, was so acceptable and in so good grace with the people and Senate of Rome, that when he was made Lord, it is unknowen whether was the greater, either the sorrow which was in Rome for the death of Octavian, or the ioy which it conceived for the succession of Caligula. But after that he was made Emperour, in a manner, as though that with his dignitie he had changed his naturall inclination, he became so wicked and infamous, that I cannot set downe his dishonesties, without offending the honestie of him that shal reade the same, nor without a burthen to his modestie that shall write it. He made the bridge at Baias, a worke of no lesse foolishnes, then great expence. He deflowered three of his owne sisters,

sisters, and of his Palace (with reuerence be it spoken) he made a brothel of Romane Matrones. He was so couetous, that he raised a taxe vpon the whores, and a share of their gettings. He used to walke up and downe vpon Crownes, and was so prodigall, that sometimes he caused most precious iewels to be dissolued with vinegar and put into his meate; and was finally in all his actions so contrarie to himselfe, that no man knew how to behaue himselfe towards him. He would be called and repented for a God, which name he stained with such abominable crueltie, that he was worse than the diuell, and shed so much blood, and made the wilde beasts which he kept, to the end to denoure men, to drinke and sucke so much, that those which were condemned to be slaine by them, rather chose to kill themselves, then to endure the torments which he denied in his most cruell minde for them. He died of thirtie wounds giuen him by certaine which conspired against him, hauing reigned almost foure yeeres, whose death was so acceptable to the people, that it is hard to say whether was the greater ioy, that which was conceived when he was made Emperour, or that when he left the Empire, together with his most vntolerable life.



**C**ALIGVLA the sonne of GERMANICVS succeeded TIBERIVS in the Empire, who during the time of his raigne, was in the highest degree of all kinde of wickednes abominable: and his words and deedes were so pernicious and detestable, that in truth it is a shamefull and vnworthie matter, hauing written the liues of so worthie men, as were IVLIVS, and OCTAVIANVS CÆSARS, and their so heroicall acts: now to descend to the sinke and bottome of the finnes, crueltie, and ribauldrie of CALIGVLA. For although there wanted not in TIBERIVS to be abhorred and to be forrie for, yet some part of his raigne was good, and before that he had been an excellent Captaine, and had enlarged the dominion of the Empire, for which cause his euill conditions might be somewhat the better tolerated: but this being wanting in CAIVS CALIGVLA, who was a man of no such valour (although in the beginning he deceiued the world with an apparence of some good deedes) yet it maketh the remembrance of him the more detestable, and his hand that shall write the same, the more heauie. But because I am not to make choise of Emperours, of whom I am to treat at my pleasure, but to continue the proceffe and course of my historic, wherein my principall foundation is, to obserue the truth, and cleauing thereto, to continue my troublesome journey: Let him which shall reade it consider how detestable and abominable his doings were, and how small time his Empire indured, which attained not to foure yeeres complete, and the end which he made, to the end that he may sie and abhorre them, and may do the like by some others which followe, like to him, or worse.

After the death of TIBERIVS CÆSAR (as I said) the ioy which the Senate and people of Rome conceiued was incredible, and therewith they accepted and approoued the Empire of CAIVS CALIGVLA, whom before his death TIBERIVS had adopted and nominated for his successor, for the loue and goodwill which they bare to his father GERMANICVS, and for the pitie and commiseration which they conceiued for his death, affliction and wrong done to his house. For these causes was he accepted and ratified by all the Prouinces, and prouinciall armies: for his father being Captaine generall in Germanie, and in the East, he was bred vp among them, and this name of CALIGVLA was giuen him for a certaine kinde of hose, called Caliga, vsed among men of warre, which hee did vse to weare. Comming from the place where TIBERIVS died, to Rome, a great number of the most principall people of all estates went forth to entertaine him vpon the way, with exceeding ioy, notwithstanding that hee came mourning with the dead bodie of TIBERIVS, which the souldiers brought to be burnt at

*Caligula in the highest degree abominable.*

*In Caligula was nothing that was good.*

*VVherefore he was called Caligula.*

Rome, according to the custome in that time. And comming with great solemnity to Rome, hee was obeyed with vnspokeable gladnes and goodwill, they giuing him new names and Epithetes, signifying great reuerence and loue.

Caligula his  
gesture and dis-  
position of  
bodie.

CALIGVLA was a man tall of stature, great boned and corpulent; but his necke and his legges were very small and slender, deformed and vnfitteable to the rest of his bodie; his countenance was horrible and vgly; and after that he was Emperour, he took pleasure to feare and amaze people with his lookes: and to this effect it is written, that beholding himselfe in a glasse, he would studie what countenance to set, to seeme more fierce and terrible. His eyes and temples were very hollow, his forehead broad, his complexion yellow, his head very bald, and in those parts of his head where he had any haire, it was very thinne, all the rest of his bodie being marueilously hairie. He was a man very vnfound and vnhealthy, and in his youth was troubled with the foule euill, and other diseases, and afterwards (as we will presently shew you) he was so sick and euill of bodie and mind, chaunging his conditions with the Empire: for before that time, he was euer held for good. Wherefore it is said of him, that he had been the best seruant, and was the worst and most wicked Lord in the world. The first thing he did after he was Lord, was to disanull and make voide the testament of TIBERIVS, which he had made two yeeres before, wherein he made him & his nephew TIBERIVS his co-heires: whereto the Senate did willingly agree, & euery man deuised & imagined how to gratifie him and doe him seruice, with such loue, that within few daies after he was confirmed in the Empire. Going forth of Rome to recreate himselfe vpon the Sea at the Ile of *Capra*, and in other Ilands vpon that coast, they made vowes and sacrifices for his health and returne: and the writers affirme, that there were slaine 170000. beasts, according to the rites and ceremonies then vsed: And he then making shew of a man, and not of a beast (as his deedes did afterwards make manifest) presently commaunded the ashes of his mother and brethren to be brought to Rome, and there to be sumptuously buried. He then tooke for his companion in the Consulship, which hee then would execute, his vnckle CLAVDIVS brother to GERMANICVS, who in the time of TIBERIVS liued priuate and in disgrace; and young TIBERIVS, which was nephew to TIBERIVS the Emperour, faining to loue him, and to beare him goodwill, and to doe him honour, he made captaine and prince of all the Romane youth. Seeking by counterfeit goodnes and bountie, to draw to himselfe the goodwill of the people; he did twice giue vnto euery bodie (excepting none) a certaine quantitie of money, which they called Congiarius; and to all the Senate, and to all those of the order of Knighthood (which were a degree betweene the communalitie and the Nobilitie) he made a most solemne banquet. And faining also that he meant to gouerne with iustice, he commaunded OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR his Institutions to be sought out, which TIBERIVS interrupted and brought out of vse. He commaunded also great playes and feasts to be made in Rome of Sword-plaiers, which were men which to shew pleasure to the beholders, fought and killed one another; and certaine men on horseback which they called Troians. He also appointed certaine huntings, wherein were slaine a great number of Lions, Panthers, Boares, Beares, and other wilde beasts: and besides this, Comedies and other shewes which were made in the Theater, and other kinds of sports and pleasures to delight the people, whose loue and grace he then procured. And besides that which is already said (as SVETONIVS reciteth) principally, in the beginning of his Empire, ARTABANVS King of the Parthians, who rebelled and was an ene-

mic,

mie, came to some speech with the Captaine of the Romanes, which commaunded the legions in *Syria*, and fearing the new Emperour whom he yet knew not, made peace with him; and passing the riuer *Euphrates*, which was the bound of the Romane Empire, came in person to adore and to doe reuerence to the Emperours picture, and to the Imperiall standard and Eagle: so as the little, vntill this time, may be reported of CALIGVLA, as of a wise and discrete prince; and the remainder seemeth to be of a senselesse man and a brute and sauage beast. The beginning wherof was one of the greatest fooleries or vanities that euer was seene in the world, which was to make such a feast as was neuer heard of, and to shew greatnes and vanitie, and to be able to walke and tread on the Sea as well as vpon the land: Or (as others say) because he would imitate King XERXES, who passed his armie out of *Asia* into *Europe* ouer the streight of *Hellepont* vpon a wooden bridge: he commaunded to be brought together, and to be new built all the ships which he could get, which were infinite; and in a bay or a creeke which the Sea maketh neere to the hauen of *Baias* in *Campania*, from one point of the land to the other side of the Bay, which are about three miles distant, hee commaunded a bridge to be made vpon the said ships, set in two ranks, fastned and moored together with anchors, chaines and cables, which made them to stand fixe and firme: he commanded this bridge to be made of boords, so strong and euene, and to lay so much earth vpon the same, that it seemed to be firme ground, and one of the streetes of Rome. And bringing for this worke a great number of Artificers and labourers, with an vnmeasurable charge, he also caused houses and lodgings to be builded vpon the same bridge, as writeth DION, who declareth this matter more at large then all the rest.

Peace with  
the King of the  
Parthians.

A wonderfull  
bridge made by  
Caligula.

This worke being finished, and hee with all the Court of Rome going thither, with an infinite number of people which from all parts came to see this spectacle, hee most proudly attired in robes of gold and pearle, with a crowne of Oaken boughes vpon his head (which was called *Cinica*) on horsebacke, accompanied with men of warre, and all the Noble and gentlemen of Rome, entred at one end of the bridge and road to the other; and lying one night vpon it, the next day hee returned, riding in a Chariot drawne by most excellent faire horses, in manner of a triumph. DION writeth, that the night when he lay vpon the bridge, he caused such an infinite number of Torchcs, Lant-hornes, and other lights to be lighted and set vp, that the cleerenes thereof did wholly ouercome the darknes of the night, in all that side of the mountaines neere adioyning; and that CALIGVLA vaunted and boasted that he had made of the night, day; and of the Sea, land. And spending herein two whole daies, in all which time the Sea happened to be still and calme, he said, that *Neptune* (whom they held for the god of the Seas) did it for feare, and to doe him reuerence. The fruite which ensued of this strange folie, was great famine and scarcitie of corne, and other necessaries, for that the ships were staid about this bridge, to make the which there needed an incredible number of them. Such like benefits as this, did euer follow the actions of CALIGVLA. Wherefore before that I speake of the rest, to say the plaine truth, it is to be vnderstood, that many were of opinion, that to this man was giuen a certaine drinke and medicine by his wife, whose name was CÆSONIA, wherewith she made him mad and out of his naturall wits; she giuing it him, to the end that he should loue her: for he hauing been at other times married, had put away his wiues; so as his crueltie and riots were by some attributed to his foolishnes and want of wit. Of this opinion is IOSEPHVS in the 18. booke of his Antiquities, and the Poet

IUVENAL meaneth so, and also SVETONIVS, and say that after he had taken this drinke, CALIGVLA slept not both by day and night not about three houres; and in their rising amazed, it seemed to him that he saw Images and visions: adding this to his peruerse condition and nature, hee suffered himselfe to be led by her, and committed outrages without number or measure, which I know not how to set downe in any order: among which hee shewed himselfe so hautie and vain-glorious, that he despised all the men in the world.

*Diuellish pride.*

In the end (besides this that hee was the first of the Emperours which caused himselfe to be called Lord) he purposed to be honoured as a God, or to say better, a Diuell; and made himselfe to be adored, taking first vpon him names neuer thought nor heard of, calling himselfe father of Armies, *Optimus & maximus*, with other epithetes, which they gaue to their god IVPITER only. And certaine Kings in his presence which came to visit him, and to doe him honour, being at contention among themselves about the antiquitie and nobilitie of their houses and linages, he interrupted, repeating a verse out of HOMER in the person of VLYSSES, which saith, That there neither is, nor ought to be, but one King and Lord: and had then taken a Crowne and Diademe of a King, but that he was giuen to vnderstand, that his owne was a more high estate and dignitie. Neuertheless, he determined with his pride and elation to vsurpe the dignitie which he held for diuine, and caused to be caried before him the statue of IVPITER, and some others, which (as PLINIE recounteth) the Romanes vsed to haue with heads to be taken off and on, to the end they might serue for diuers gods; and taking away those heads which they had, he caused other heads to be set on, to his owne likeness; which in my opinion had been better if they had cut off his head and set it thereupon. Besides this, he caused a Temple to be builded, and to be dedicated to his name and honour, and made his statue and image made at Life to be set vp therein, which they called *Iconium*; and hee appointed and instituted priests to serue him: and this his image to be every day clothed in such attire, as himselfe did weare. Also he caused Peacocks, Feasants, and an infinite number of other princely birds to be sacrificed in this Temple, as in other Temples of the gods of the Gentiles was done, with which hee sought to make himselfe equall: which truly was no great matter: for they all were diuels, Impostures and deceits.

*A ridiculous follie such as the like was neuer heard of.*

But considering the opinion and conceit which they then held, it was a presumption neuer heard nor thought of, which came to be held for a ridiculous foolishnes: for presuming much vpon his deitie, he came forth one night by Moone light (she being then at the full) and wooed and made loue to her, as if she had been a faire Ladie. Sometimes he would also goe to the temple of IVPITER, and ioyning himselfe close to the image, he fained and made shew as though he had spoken in his care: and sometimes he laid his eare to it, as though it should speake to him: and sometimes he made as though he were very angrie, chiding, and threatening to send it into *Gracia*: and afterwards he would faine himselfe to be pacified, and that he was contented that they two should dwell together: and so in this manner he proceeded to a thousand good pleasant fooleries, although they were diuellish. And on the other side, this man which presumed to displace the gods and to make himselfe one of them, ended in enuie to men; grieuing to see their statues and memorials honored, commaunding many of them to be ouerthrowne, and defaced. He practised and was desirous to destroy and disgrace the poeise of HOMER and of VIRGILL also: and in like manner the histories of the excellent historiographer TITVS LIVIVS, and commaunded his

his image to be taken out of the Libraries in Rome, where they vsed to keepe the images and pictures of great and excellent learned men. Of VIRGILL he said, that he was a man without any witte, and lesse learning; and TITVS LIVIVS he reprobued for a man of many words, and negligent; of SENECA (who in that time was much esteemed and with great reason) he said that he was faine without lime, and a worke made without mixture: and so did he murmur of the most high and excellent wittes. Besides which, he tooke from many Patricij and noble men of Rome, the armes and ornaments which they bare of their linages and families: and his enuie yet descended to lighter and meaner matters then these; so as there was no man (were he neuer so base) whom he enuied not for any prosperitie or good successe that might happen vnto him; as to make men to be shauen, if he saw they had yellow or faire coloured haire.

Now for points and matters of dishonestie, truly there is somuch to be said, that a man may not, neither ought to make the whole relation thereof, to the end that his filthines doe not soyle and corrupt our historie: for it is certaine that he was so filthie and abominable, as his predecessor TIBERIVS, and if not more, he was no lesse.

In other vices he was beyond all measure passionate, being extreme in extremities, the one against the other: for he was greedie and couetous in extreme manner; and of the other side, prodigall and a spender above all measure. To glut his greedy couetousnes, he inuented meanes to gather wealth together, and to rob the land and the people: so as there was no kinde of tribute or imposition to be deuised which he put not in effect, euen amongst common and dishonest women; and of all sutes in law, hee had the fourth part of any sum that was recovered; and if the parties agreed before sentence giuen, he had another certaine portion: and so in all things wherein any thing was to be gotten, he required and tooke a share, euen of those which were porters and got money by carrying of burthens vpon their shoulders. And hauing amassed together an infinit sum, by direct and indirect meanes, he would lie downe and tumble vpon it, recreating himselfe in his couetousnes: wherein he truly shewed great simplicitie, seeing how little he did otherwaies esteeme it, and his lauish expences, as the most prodigall man that euer was seene in the world, which a man may easily iudge by these few examples following. In the bathes wherein they did vse to bathe in the water, he made to be cast most precious and sweete smelling oynments, which were of exceeding great price, that they might bathe in them, hot and cold, as in other water. In the feasts and bankets which he made, he commaunded most pretious pearles, and iewels to be dissolued in most strong vinegar, and to be put into their meate, because the cost should be inestimable: and he commaunded also seruices to be made, that in steede of meate, the bread, flesh, fish, and fruites, should be of fine golde for his guests. Besides this, he sometimes cast among the people a great sum of money: whereby it seemeth that they had reason, which attribute the doings of this man to foolishnes, as well as to his euill disposition; there was so great varietie in his actions, affections and desires, as may be gathered by that which is already said, and the rest which we will declare: as on the one side he contemned the gods, and presumed himselfe to be one of them, and yet he was so afraid of a thunderclape, that he ranne and hid himselfe vnder a bed. Sometimes he was very conuersable, and sought and called men to be with him, and shewed himselfe to be much delighted with their companie and conuersation: at other times he eschued them, and retired himselfe to his workes. He

*The abominable vices of Caligula.*

*His extreme auarice.*

*Caligula his prodigalities.*

*The inconsistency and variety in his doings and behaviour.*

sometimes dispatched matters with such expedition and diligence, that he seemed to be the most quicke and cholericke man in the world; and at other times, with such slacknes and leasure, that he seemed not to be the man which he was before. And many which committed hainous crimes, he punished not: and many others he commaunded to be slaine, which had done no offence. He would this day praise one thing, and the next day, he would peradventure cause him to be slaine which spake well thereof. Finally, he was so variable that (as *DION* reporteth) men knew not what to doe, nor say, his conditions were so doubtfull. The like he did in his apparell, in his exercises, and in all his other actions: for procuring one thing, he would doe cleane contrarie; as we said in robbing and heaping treasure together, he would spend so, that those treasures should not suffice for his expenses. Besides what is already said, the authors affirme that he commaunded certaine shippes to be built, which were the greatest and most costly that euer were scene, of which all the timber was of Cedar, and the poupes and sternes of Iuorie set with gold and precious stones, and all the sailes and tackling were of silke of diuers colours: they were so great, that they had in them halles and gardens, wherein were many trees and flowers: in one of these shippes, he sailed along the coast of *Naples* all one whole day, to disport himselfe. He also began certaine buildings and workes against all reason and humane discretion, and such as seemed impossible. For in the sea he commaunded huge pillars and towers to be builded, and by land he raised certaine valleyes, and made them equall with the mountaines, heaping vp rockes and earth in them, vntill they were euen therewith. And in other places, he began to digge downe mountaines to make them leuell with the meadowes, presuming to mend the workes of nature.

As *CALIGVLA* was so variable and inconstant, as we haue said, so in crueltie only he was constant, vsing it indifferently to all without respect of parentage or friendship: in the like manner he vsed his grandmother *ANTONIA* daughter to *GERMANICVS*, so that she being in despair, tooke poison whereof she died. And the yong *TIBERIVS* Nephew to the Emperor *TIBERIVS*, and sonne to *DRVSVS* (as I haue said) he making shew to loue him, liuing secure and without feare, he sent to kill him by the hands of a Tribune, for no other cause, but for that he vsed a certaine kinde of confection of sweete fauors for his delight: *CALIGVLA* saying, that he did it, for feare to be poisoned. And *SILLANVS*, which had been his father in law, he forced him to kill himselfe, for no other cause, but for that he went not one day to the sea, with him, when he went. Which *SILLANVS* did not, but because that the sea made him sicke. And *PTOLOME* the sonne of *IVBA* King of *Mauritania*, to whom he was neere of kinne, and *MACRO* which had holpen him to get the Empire, and others, with whom he was in great league and friendship, in requitall of their deserts he caused them to be cruelly put to death. To all men in the world, both in word and deede he vsed such crueltie, that it would seeme incredible, had not so many and such authors written the same: for he commaunded wild beasts which hee kept for feasts and triumphes, to be fattened with the bodies of liue men, condemned to death. And sometimes causing some to be executed, he commaunded their parents and kinred to be present at their execution, and then inuited them to eate with him, and compelled them to discourse of pleasant matters. He also qualified his cruelties, with the sundrie manners and kindes of deaths which he inflicted, prolonging it to the end, that the torment should be the greater: So as they stood in so great feare of this man, that many (if they had oportunitie) slew themselves

*Ships of incredible cost and greatnes.*

*Proud buildings.*

*The crueltie of Caligula.*

themselves rather then they would stay for his sentence: among which the accursed *PONTIVS PILATE*, who condemned to death the giuer of life *IESVS CHRIST* our redeemer, was one, who being accused and banished, slew himselfe with his owne hands. This wretched *CALIGVLA* was so blinded and so nuzzled in bloud, that he much desired and wished that all the Romanie people had had but one head, to the end that he might be able to cut off that head at one blowe. He accounted also and held the time of his raigne for infortunate, and complained of the infelicitie thereof, because that in his daies there was no pestilence, famine, earthquakes, deluges, spoiles by fire or other misfortunes.

There came by chance one day into his presence, a man who had been banished by the Emperor *TIBERIVS*, of whom hee asked what life hee led in his exile: the other to flatter him, answered, that he spent his time in praying for the death of *TIBERIVS*, to the end that he should be Emperor: which when *CALIGVLA* heard (as he had banished a great number of men) he beleued that they all made the like prayer for him, and therefore commaunded so many of them as could be found, to be sought out and slaine. Vsing these cruelties and such like, or greater, he made himselfe within few dayes so hatefull, that his death was generally desired by all men, and practised by some: but the conspiracies against him being discouered, it deferred his death, although but for a little while, which was as he desired, as we will presently declare. But first we will speake of the wars and conquests which he made, wherein he shewed no lesse vanitie then in all the rest. For vpon a sodaine at the end of the third yeere of his raigne, he caused a great number of men of warre to be leuied, wherewith he departed from *Rome*, giuing out in speech that he went to make warre in *Germanie* whither he tooke his iourney: whereto he added the ordinarie legions, which were held in those parts, and with a shew and apparance to doe some great matter with his armie, he passed the riuer of *Rhine*, and beginning to make warre at such time as it seemed to all men (considering his great number of men, and the determination wherewith he came) that he would haue ouerrunne the world, and haue made some great conquest; but he contented himselfe with this, that the Kings sonne of *Batania* (which is now called *Holland*) being in disgrace with his father, came to his seruice, and herewith hauing done some small harme in that countrie, he returned, and passed the riuer: And after that he had giuen some alarmes, he tooke his way with his armie towards the sea, and in memorie of his victorie, he there commaunded a tower to be builded, and all his souldiers to gather an abundance of fishshelles, as the spoyle of his enemies: and then calling his armie together, in such manner, as captaines vse to doe after some notable victorie, he made a long oration vnto them, and commended them all; and afterwards he commaunded a great some of money to be distributed amongst them, ouer and aboue their pay. And returning to *Rome*, he sent before to commaund that there should be in a readines a most solemne triumph; carrying with him to that effect, certaine Barbarians his enemies, such as he could get, but after wards he altered his determination, deferring the triumph vntill another time, and entred into *Rome* in ouacian triumph, and therein began to execute some of his accustomed cruelties, purposing to haue done other greater. Which the world and men vnable to endure: many conspired against him: he which did most therein, and the first that began to practise, was a Tribune of the Pretorian Cohorts, whose name was *CHEREA*, and he died of thirtie wounds which they gaue him, in a vault or secret gallerie, wherein he vsed to passe vnscene, from his pallace to certaine bathes, hauing most vnworthily

*The conquests and vaine war of Caligula.*

*Batania, Holland.*

vnworthily raigned three yeeres and tenne moneths, in the nine and twentieth yeere of his age, which as it passed, the true historiographer SVETONIVS writeth more at large, then any other: to whom I referre the curious reader to make an end of so bad a matter, as was CAIVS CALIGVLA.

This happened in the three and fourth yeere of CHRIST our Lord, and after that he was dead, there died the same day CESONIA his wife and one only daughter which he had: and notwithstanding that the Almaines which were of his garde, made a great stirre, and would haue slaine the conspirators, and did kill some of them, and that there was a great hurly burly, yet in the end all was pacified, and his death was generally approoued, as of a Tyrant and most cruell prince; in like manner, as the death of such Kings and princes is vsually approued and agreeable, whose liues haue been detestable and odious. It is certainly knowne, that when CALIGVLA was slaine, hee purposed to haue put many to death, for in his closet or secret chamber, were found two sheetes of paper: whereof the one was sealed with a poiniard, and the other with a sword, wherein were written the names of a great number of Senators and Knights of Rome, which he had condemned to death. There was also found a great chest full of diuers kindes of poysons, such were the relickes and iewels of this peruerse man. In this short time wherein CAIVS CALIGVLA raigned, the name and faith of

CHRIST was published and preached in a great part of the world, the holy Apostles Saint PETER and Saint PAUL preaching the same, and particularly in Iudea Saint MATTHEVV, who first of all wrote the Gospell.

THE



# THE LIFE OF CLAVDIVS THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND FIFT ROMANE EMPEROVR.



## THE ARGVMENT.



**C**laudius the sonne of Drusus, and Vncle to Caligula, obtained the Empire more through the temeritie of the souldiers, then for any worthy acts done for his countrie: for Caligula being dead the Senate resolved to extirpate the race of the Caesars, and to restore Rome to her ancient libertie, and with many armed men had seised vpon the Capitoll. Whereupon he standing in great feare, seeing so great a tumult (as commonly it happeneth vpon innovation in estates) and being by nature fearefull, and a coward, he hid himselfe in a secret place of the pallace, where being found by a souldier which by chance came to seeke for pillage, was by him reuerenced, and hailed Emperour. This souldier being seconded by others which together with the people desired a prince, in the end murthered the Senat they made him Emperour; in which dignitie he carried himselfe in the beginning with such modestie and humanitie, that all men began to perswade themselves of an excellent gouernment: but he continued not long in that good disposition, for through his little care, the naturall vices of his minde encreasing, he defrauded the world of the hope conceined of him, and in short space became both luxurious, cruell, a drunkard, and a glutton. He had many wives, but above all the rest Messalina was so dishonest and so infamous, that her filthines cannot be written without vsing vndecent and shamefull speeches. This Emperour was so forgetfull, and of so little memorie, that he remembred not in the euening what he had done

in the morning; by reason whereof, he did oftentimes cause those to be called to eate, or play with him, which he had commaunded to be put to death; and amongst other matters, he asked wherefore his wife *Messalina* came not also to dinner, hauing but a little before caused her to be slaine. He made with excessive charge the lake *Fucinus* to be dried up, wherein before that it was dreined, he made an infinit number of men condemned to die to fight a nauale battaile. He subdued *Mauritania* which rebelled against him: and in his old age tooke to wife *Agrippina* the mother of *Nero*, who perceiuing that he was not greatly affected to her sonne, as a woman desirous to make him to succede in the Empire, poysoned him in certaine *Mustrumps* which he vsually loued to eate, alleaging that they were meate for the gods, for that they grew of their owne accord, whose death was concealed by *Agrippina*, untill she had confirmed her sonne for his successor in the Empire. He lined sixtie and foure yeeres, and raigned fourteene; his death was not greatly lamented, for that his life was not much beloned.

**B**Y the death of *CAIVS CALIGVLA*, his Vncle *CLAVDIVS* and brother to his father the good *GERMANICVS* sonne of *DRVSVS* and sonne in law to *OCTAVIANVS*, had the Empire. But the manner how hee attained thereto was very strange, and therefore worthie to be declared. The sodaine death of *CALIGVLA* caused great stirre and confusion in the citie of *Rome*, so soone as it was published, and some would not beleue it, seeing it was done in a secret place, imagining that it was a matter fained by him, thereby to vnderstand euery mans affection towards him. The conspirators, as they did not execute his death to the end that any of them should aspire to the Empire, neither for any other man, but onely to free the common-wealth from so cruell a Tyrant, had more care for their owne safetie then to make choice of a new Emperor. The Consuls presently so soone as they were certified of his death, called and assembled the Senate, and being skared with the euils past, practised and agreed to reduce the citie of *Rome* to her auncient libertie, and to deface the name of *CESARS* and their Monarchie; and perseuering in this determination, they seised on the Capitoll, with some of the Cohorts of the citie, which had the garde of the pallace, and were also of their opinion. But herein were diuers opinions in the citie: for the common people would haue a head and an Emperor, for the hatred which they euer bare to the Senate, and for that the least part of the euilles and cruelties committed by the Emperors, alighted vpon them; and also for that they enioyed and tasted of the feasts and alarges which the Emperors vsed to make. The men of war of the pretorian Cohorts which were lodged hard by *Rome*, would that there should be an Emperor, because they were in hope to make choyse of him at their pleasure; and in regarde of the rewards and priuileges which they inioyed from the Emperors. But the matter remaining in this confusion, neither the one nor the other knew whom to nominate.

It happened that *CALIGVLA* being dead, *CLAVDIVS* was in so great feare of his life, that he dared not to goe forth of the Imperiall palace, neither there openly to shew himselfe. But being amazed and in this feare, he went to hide himselfe in the most secret place that he could finde, and certaine souldiers running vp and downe to take what they could get, it chaunced that one of them found him, seeing his feete: who to the end hee might knowe who he was, vncouered him, and knew him. And *CLAVDIVS* imagining that he was to be sought for to be slaine, cast himselfe at the souldiers feet, desiring him to saue his life: whereof the

The Senate sought to reduce the citie to her auncient libertie.

The common people and men of warre would haue an Emperor.

the souldier assured him, and presently resolued to name him Emperour: and he assembling together those which came in with him, they all did the like; and taking him vpon their shoulders, in a litter they caried him to their lodging, where trembling in great feare, he knew not to what issue this would come. But he was well receiued in the Campe, and the souldiers agreed to make him Emperour. The Consuls and Senate knowing that he was caried to the Camp, in such manner as aforesaid, sent to him, requiring him by a tribune of the people, to come to the Senate, and there to treat of such matters as should bee for the common good. Whereunto he answered, that hee was there detained by force and could not come. It chaunced that at this time, *HERODE AGRIPPA* King of *Iudea*, was in *Rome*: whom (as is aboue said) *CAIVS CALIGVLA* had restored to the kingdom, which had belonged to his vncle *ARCHELAVS*, and to his grandfather *HERODE*, he which slew the Innocents.

*Claudius assisted by Herode Agrippa*

This *HERODE* shewing himselfe newter, began to practise meanes betweene *CLAVDIVS* and the Senate (although that secretly he fauoured *CLAVDIVS*) counselling him to take hart, and not to submit himselfe to the Senate. And one whole day and a night passing without any resolution, or determining of any thing, which time *CLAVDIVS* passed betweene hope and feare: the next day the people began openly to require an Emperour, and many abandoned the Senate and the Consuls; so as there followed much trouble (which *IOSEPHVS* noteth.) But at length, seeing that the succession in the Empire more fitly appertained to *CLAVDIVS*, then to any other, they all agreed to make him Emperour: and the Senate went vnto him, and the cohorts sware and did their accustomed homage, hee making to them many large promises; and so the Senate accepted and approoued him. And by these meanes he obtained the Empire of the world, who within a day before knew not where therein to find a place to hide himselfe, to saue his life.

*Lib. 19. c. 30.*

At what time as *CLAVDIVS* attained to the Empire he was fiftie yeeres old, which hee had euer liued poorely and little esteemed, notwithstanding that hee was neere of kinne to the Emperours, and had passed great daungers and perils, without hauing any office or dignitie; sauing some few moneths the Consulship, wherein by *CAIVS CALIGVLA* he was admitted for his companion. He was a man of a tall stature, and neither fat nor leane, of a faire and pleasing countenance; and whether he sate or stood, he euer shewed a greatnes, representing a maiestie: whereto his faire gray haire was a great furtherance. He had so small strength in his knees that he went weakly, and as though he were carelesse. And when he was angrie, he was so much altered therewith, that the teares would fall from his eyes, and hee stammered in his speech; besides all which, his head did euer shake. He was a sickly man, but after that he was Emperour, he was cured of his infirmities, sauing the paine of the stomacke, which sometimes grieved him very much. He was very learned both in the Greek and Latin tongues, and wrote bookes and histories. He also tooke vpon him to adde three letters to the Latin Alphabet: but as a matter superfluous they continued not.

*Claudius his gesture and bodily disposition.*

*Claudius was learned in the Greeke and Latin tongues.*

*CLAVDIVS* is numbred among the bad Emperours, for the great vices and cruelties which he committed, suffering himselfe to be gouerned by certaine enfranchised men which were his fauourites: yet he did many things as a worthe Prince, which were profitable; and so *PAVLVS OROSIVS* in some sort seemeth to defend his doings: legions.

Beginning to take the gouernment vpon him, notwithstanding that there were diuers

H

diuers

diuers opinions, & many both did and said much against him. The first thing that he did, was to giue a generall pardon, and to commaund all that was past to be buried in perpetuall silence and obliuion: yet for example, and to feare others to attempt so great matters, he commaunded iustice to be done on **CHEREA** the captaine of the conspirators, and vpon some of the rest also, which suffered death with great courage, making mention of **BRVTVS** and **CASSIVS**, which slew **IULIVS CÆSAR**; **CHEREA** desiring that he might be slaine with the same sword wherewith he had slaine **CALIGVLA**. **CLAVDIVS** shewed himselfe mercifull and gentle to all others which had offended him, and were against him in his election: and presently disanulled all the edicts and cruell commaundments made by **CALIGVLA**. He also commaunded to be deliuered out of prison, and to be released from banishment, all those which vniustly, or for small causes did endure the same: among which he released from banishment **CALIGVLA** his sisters and neeces. And to **HERODE AGRIPPA** King of *Iudea* (in requittall of the meanes he vsed to aduance him to the Empire) he gaue the Tetrarchie of *Galile*, which **CAIVS CALIGVLA** had taken from his vnckle **HERODE ANTI-PAS**, he which put **S. Iohn Baptist** to death, and was an actor in the death of our Sauour. And so this **HERODE AGRIPPA** was rich and much honoured in *Ierusalem*: where putting **S. IAMES** to death, and persecuting the Apostles and Primitiue Church, he was stricken by the Angell of God, and died, as **S. L V K E** reciteth in the Acts of the Apostles. And so these three **HERODES** died an euill death. Of this **AGRIPPA**, and his vnckle **HERODE** Tetrarcha, called **ANTI-PAS** (who put Saint **Iohn** to death, and in whose time our Sauour died, and the other **HERODE** the great, who slew the Innocents, in whose time **CHRIST** was borne) I haue twice made mention, because these **HERODES** commonly breede a confusion in reading of the Scriptures, not distinguishing the one from the other.

Returning to the Emperour **CLAVDIVS** (I say) that touching the honour, ceremonies, names and titles, which for honour the Romanes were wont to giue to their Emperours, he shewed himselfe very discrete and temperate, and refused and would not accept of many of them: and forbad and commaunded vpon great penalties, that none should do sacrifice to him, as they had done to **CAIVS CALIGVLA**: and so in the beginning of his Empire, he did these and such like things as a good Prince and gouernour. Among which, one was, that he had especiall care that *Rome* should be continually well prouided of wheate and graine, warranting the Merchants against all daungers and aduentures by Sea: and herein (although afterwards he committed many great errors) he was euer diligent and carefull so long as he liued. **CLAVDIVS** was also a great louer of great and sumptuous buildings: among which there were three so proud and stately, that it seemeth they excelled the most part of all that euer were in the world; and for such, **PLINIE**, **S V E T O N I V S**, and most authors doe account them. The one was a marueilous Conduit of water, which after his name was called *Claudia*, with which none of the Conduits in *Rome* could compare, either for abundance of water, or for cost and excellencie of the workmanship: for it was brought fortie miles from *Rome*, by mines and passages thorough mountaines; and in low valleys by erecting most high Arches of a wonderfull labour; and so was it brought and mounted to the top of the highest hills in *Rome*. The other worke was a Hauē of the Sea made by hand, in the citie of *Ostia*, which was capable of a great number of ships, made in the firme land; and afterwards letting the Sea into it (as **DION** reporteth) hauing first fortified and made plaine the bottome thereof: in

truth

truth a marueilous matter, and such as his posteritie and those which succeeded him were not able to maintaine. His third worke was, although least profitable, yet most costly of al the rest; which was to dreine & draw drie a most huge great Lake called *Fucinus*, in the countrey of the *Marssi*, a people neere to *Rome*, which was the greatest Lake in all *Itali*: ewhich he did (as some say) to bring that water into the Riuer of *Tiber*, to make it greater with the current thereof, and to drie vp and lay open the fields, which that water couered, to the end they might be tilled. Which to effect, among other difficulties and infinite labours, he mined thorough a very high mountaine of flint-stone, with a mine of three miles in length, a worke which seemed impossible, being (as I said) a mine thorough a rocke. Finally, how great and admirable this worke was, may appeare by the time which it continued, and the Artificers and labourers which wrought therein, which (as the authors affirme) were 30000. men, which continually laboured eleuen yeeres without ceasing, a matter which seemeth incredible: so as besides the rest, if **EVSEBIUS** (a most Christian and true author) had not written it, I durst not report nor beleue it. What end this worke and labour had, shall be said in his place: for (as I said) although it began in the beginning of his raigne, it was ended eleuen yeeres after. I also forbear to speake of other his buildings, which although they were excellent, yet not comparable to the aforesaid.

Hauiing begun and continued these workes, he was not carelesse for the reformation and redressing of euill customes and abuses in *Rome*, and out of it: and in some other matters, wherein if he had perseuered, without question he had been accounted and held for an excellent Prince. But afterwards, his great libertie, and the wickednes of his fauourites, and such as were priuate with him, by whom he was so ouerruled, he became so dissolute, that it defaced and stained all his former good deedes, as hereafter shall be declared. Besides, what is already said, this made the beginning of his raigne notable, that in the first, second or third yeere thereof (as **EVSEBIUS**, **PAVLVS OROSIVS**, **BEDA**, and **S. ISIDORE** report) **S. PETER** the Apostle came to *Rome*, and there seated himselfe, after he had preached in diuers parts, but principally had remained in *Antioch* eleuen yeeres: and being come thither, remained there twentie fiue yeeres, vntill the end of the Emperour *Nero*, as then shall be specified: they also affirme, that with **S. PETER** came the Euangelist **S. MARKE**, and being by him enformed, and inspired with the holie Ghost, he wrote the holie Gospell, by whose direction he returned to preach *CHRIST* in *Alexandria*; of whom, & of the other holie Apostles and Disciples of *CHRIST*, of their miracles, martyrdomes, & what successes they had, I make small report; because (as I haue said) in a prophane historie, as is this, I hold it not fit to insert diuine and holy matters, although that in briebe there shall be mention made of that which shall be most conuenient for the light of this historie and common profit.

To returne to our discourse of **CLAVDIVS**, it passed in this manner, that in the fourth yeere of his raigne, notwithstanding that the power of the Emperours was then so great and so much redoubted, that no Nation of the world durst beare armes against them: yet the inhabitants of the Ile of *Britannie*, which **IULIVS CÆSAR** had subdued, were so bold as to rise in armes, and denie their obedience and vassalage: which the Emperour **CLAVDIVS** tooke so ill, that he resolved in person to undertake the enterprise to subdue and pacifie them. For which seruice, (besides the ordinarie legions) he assembled a great Nauie by Sea, and a great armie by land; and purposing to goe by Sea, he embarked the same in the Port of

H 2

Ostia,

*Cherea died  
courageously.*

*Herode Anti-  
pas which put  
S. Iohn Baptist  
to death died  
miserably in  
exile at Lions  
in France.  
Herode A-  
grippa a great  
persecutor of  
the Gospell, was  
stricken by the  
Angell of God.  
Chap. 12.  
Three Herodes.  
Herode A-  
scalonita was he  
which murder-  
ed the Inno-  
cents, died of  
death naturall.*

*The wonder-  
full buildings  
of Claudius.*

*Plin. lib. 36.  
cap. 15.*

*A wonderfull  
worke.*

*The Emperour  
Claudius his  
comming into  
England.*

The Britaines  
rebelled against  
Claudius.

*oslia*, notwithstanding that it was a great way about : and beginning his voyage he was so ouertaken with a tempest, that he was in daunger to haue been cast away. Wherefore he disembarked his forces in the citie of *Marselles* in *France*, and altring his determination, crossed through *France*, and shipping himselfe againe right ouer against *England*, he passed into the Iland with so great power & force, that he easily pacified all : yet (as *DION* testifieth) he came to a battaile with the Britaines, wherein he ouercame them. But as I say, the common opinion is, and so doth *GILDAS*, an ancient true English Historiographer of 960. yeeres continuance, record. The iourney into *Britannie* being ended at his pleasure, he sent his Nauy into certaine Ilands called *Orcades*, which lie to the North of *Scotland*, & are now subiect to the King of great *Britanny*, which within few daies he subdued and made subiect to the Empire : which vntill that time were vnknewe to the Romanes, as *EVSEBIUS* and *OROSIUS* record. Hauing performed all these things in the space of sixe moneths, he returned towards *Rome*, whereinto he entered triumphing with the greatest solemnitie that could be, and to him was giuen the name of *BRITANNICVS*, for subduing the Ile of *Britannie*. To the feast of this triumph (*SVETONIUS TRANQVILLVS* reporteth) that he not only suffered to come to *Rome* the Gouvernours and Prefects of prouinces, but also he released many others which liued in exile from their banishment.

A Crowne  
naual.

For this victorie, he caused a crowne nauall to be made, which was vsed to be giuen for victories by sea, which crowne was of gold wrought with the prowes of gallies and shippes, and placed ouer the gate of the imperiali pallace, hard by that which ordinarily did stand there of oken boughes, called *Cinica*, and for the same reason he commaunded that a sonne of his, which hee had by his wife *MESSALINA*, whose name was *GERMANICVS*, should be called *BRITANNICVS*: And in this triumph he began to honor with armes and other fauours some of his libertines, which had been slaues and were enfranchised and set at libertie, and did them so great honor and such fauour, that men began to murmur against him for the same, and thereby he made himselfe ill beloued. For they committed many abuses and wrongs, by meanes of their great riches and authoritie : of which the most notable and most spoken of, were sixe or seuen, one named *DIO DONES*, to whom he gaue for his armes, the triumph afore said : another whose name was *FELIX*, he made gouernor and prefect of *Iudea*, *Samaria*, and *Galile*, by meanes of the death of *HERODE AGRIPPA*, before which *FELIX* we reade in the acts of the Apostles that Saint *PAVL* was brought prisoner. Another called *CALIXTUS*, of whom *PLINY*, *SENECA*, and *CORNELIUS TACITVS* make mention. Another was *POLYBIUS*, who was a learned man, whom *CLAVDIVS* himselfe held for his companion, and as it were maister of his studies, to whom *SENECA* wrote a consolatorie epistle for the death of his brother. Another named *NARCISSVS*, whom hee made his secretarie, whom *SVETONIUS* setteth before all the rest. Another was *PALANTE*, a man also very famous : to all which he did such fauours and gaue so excessive gifts, that they attained to such riches, that *CLAVDIVS* vpon a time complaining that his treasurie and exchequer was poore, he was answered, That it would be rich enough, if his freed men *NARCISSVS* and *PALANTE* would accompanie him, and share with him in their trade and stocke. He within short space made himselfe so subiect, and was so much ouerruled by these Libertines, and his adulterous and dishonest wife *MESSALINA*, with whom he was now married (after other wiues which he had had) that by their directions and counsels he committed many disorders, follies and wrongs,

wrongs, more like their slaue and subiect, then their Prince and Soueraigne, and suffered others to commit the like : pardoning such most grievous offences and cruelties, that it would be long and displeasing to write them all. But by that which he committed against his owne kindred, which I will declare, that may be coniectured which I passe in silence. One of the first and most notable, was the death of *APPIVS SILANVS* an excellent noble Romane, who sometimes had been gouernour of *Spaine*, and married with his owne mother in law, whose death was plotted by his wife *MESSALINA*, and his enfranchised *NARCISSVS*. *DION* writeth, that hauing no cause whereof to accuse him, it sufficed to command him to be slaine, for that *NARCISSVS* in a morning came into *CLAVDIVS* his chamber before he was vp, faining great haste and feare, perswading him to stand vpon his guard, and to take heede of *APPIVS SILANVS*: for he dreamed all that night that he was slaine, and that *SILANVS* onely had killed him. The Emperour well pleased with the matter, went to the Senate, acquainting the Senators therewith : much commending and extolling the loyaltie of *NARCISSVS*, that he euen sleeping had care of his life and health. After *SILANVS*, he also put to death his two sonnes in law, *LVCIVS SILANVS* and *POMPEY*, and his two neeces called *LVIVIA*, one of which was the daughter of *DRVSVS*, and the other of *GERMANICVS*: no man knowing any cause wherefore he did it. And so were a great number of others put to death, all by the counsell and practise of *MESSALINA* and his freed men, who bare such sway in the gouernment and counsel of estate, that they sold offices, Captainships and dignities, and, that which was worse, tooke money for offences, penalties, punishments and banishments : and finally, all was to be sold for money. And the most part hereof (as some authors affirme) without that *CLAVDIVS* did know, or was acquainted therewith : so great was their power and authoritie. And in the like manner did hee put some to death, being deceiued, and to please and content these his fauourites, so subiect was he, and gouerned by them.

The Brange  
crueltie of  
Claudius.

By meanes of the great disorders, murders and grieuances, which *CLAVDIVS* by the counsell and practise of his Libertines and his wife *MESSALINA* committed, he made himselfe to be abhorred of many, and principally of the better sort, so that some practised his death and conspired against him : although that for his other good deeds, before repeated, he was beloued and much esteemed of others. But as that part which hated him was greater, and of bolder and higher conceits and courage : so they feared not to practise that death which they wished him, chiefly two Romane Knights concluded to kill him, and *STACIUS CORVINVS* and *GALLVS ASINIVS* two principall Romanes conspired against him. But the one and the other being discouered, it was brought to light, and he redressed the matter by executing new cruelties vpon the said parties, and vpon such as had consented and participated with them : and seeing himselfe escaped out of this daunger, he went forwards in his euill purposes and worse doings. In like manner the hatred encreasing against him, it happened that *FVRIVS CAMILLVS SCRIBONIANVS*, who was Lieutenant and Gouvernour of *Dalmatia* (incited by many principall men of *Rome*) openly rose and rebelled against him, and the legions of that prouince consenting with him, he called himselfe Emperour. This put *CLAVDIVS* into such a feare and amazement, as he was very fearefull and base minded ; and as sinne and an euill conscience is one of the chiefest causes in the world that maketh men cowardly and fearefull, he was so much discouraged, that *CAMILLVS* (who rebelled) writing vnto him, and perswading him to leaue

H 3

*Furius Camillus*  
rebelled against  
Claudius.

the Empire and to liue priuate, he remained doubtfull what to do; and caused certaine principall men to consult thereof: So as if the matter had gone forwards, it seemeth that he would haue had small courage to haue defended the Empire. But as CAMILLVS had no more right nor reason thereto then he, and as his purpose were not to redresse the Empire and reforme the euils committed by CLAVDIVS, but to make himselfe lord & a tyrant, and peraduenture do as ill or worse, God would not suffer it to take effect according to his desire: for it hapned that the same legiōs which had raised & chosen him, repēting of what they had done, the fift day after slue him. Some Authors (among which are SVETONIVS, and PAVLVS OROSIVS) report, that herein hapned a strange accident: for the Ensigne-bearers comming to giue their oath and obedience to the new Emperour by his commaundement, were not able to remoue the Ensignes with the Eagles from the place where they were set; so as moued by this prodigious spectacle, they all concluded to reduce themselues to CLAVDIVS his deuotion, and to slay CAMILLVS. And so was CLAVDIVS deliuered from this danger, but not from the feare and suspicion, but liued euer after in continuall passion and feare, insomuch that being one day in the temple making his sacrifices (as then was the custome) and by chance finding there a sword, which some man peraduenture without any ill intent or purpose had brought thither, and there forgotten it, he as a man which knew that he had deserued death, fearing all men, thinking that it was brought thither to effect some treason against him, was in such a perplexitie and feare, that presently in great haste he commaunded the Senate to be assembled, and with teares crying out, he complained therein, publishing himselfe to be a man of most miserable condition and vnhappie, and that he was in no time nor place assured, but in danger, and so held himselfe many dayes retyred, and came not abroade. By meanes of these things which were attempted against CLAVDIVS, MESSALINA his wife and her fauourites and confederates, tooke occasion to put many men to death, and to confiscate their goodes, vsing other cruelties to all manner of people, alleaging that they were guiltie of the conspiracies aforesaid, or in some of them, and this in a mischieuous and wicked maner: for many vpon suspicion without any tryall or prooffe, were condemned and put to death: and to the contrary, others which were guiltie, by bribes and gifts were deliuered; wherein although that for the most part CLAVDIVS was deceiued by those which he most trusted, yet the blame was layd vpon him, and the world hated him for it. For besides the remisse forgetfulness which he had of all things, and the trust which he reposed in such wicked men, he shewed himselfe cruell and bloudie: for oftentimes he would be present when torments were inflicted, and at the execution of these cruelties: a thing truly vnworthie of the state and dignitie which he held. He would sometimes also sodainely be in such a rage, that he seemed to be out of his wits, and so SVETONIVS accounteth his furie for follie and madnes, notwithstanding that CORNELIVS TACITVS writeth of him, that he was naturallie inclined to pitie and clemencie, so as in truth it is a strange matter to consider of the contrarietie of this mans minde. After all this (as IOSEPHVS, EVSEBIVS, and SVETONIVS affirme) in the ninth yeare of his raigne, he commaunded all the Iewes to be cast out of Rome which dwelt therein, whereof Saint Luke maketh mention in the Acts of the Apostles: and PAVLVS OROSIVS writing the same, maketh a doubt whether they were cast out for their discord with the Christians, or whether the Christians were expelled in the like manner: for SVETONIVS

TONIVS

TONIVS sayth, that they were cast out for that there was some stirre about the Christian religion. The next yeare following there was a most grievous famine in Rome, and almost generally in all the world; whereof besides other Authors, Saint Luke maketh mention in the Acts of the Apostles.

An vniuersall famine.

CLAVDIVS hauing now raigned some nine or tenne yeares, and matters passing therein in such manner, as I haue sayd; yet for all this the estate and greatness of the Romane Empire was not empaiied in his dayes (for hereof it seemeth that he and those which gouerned were carefull) but it defended, and in part enlarged it selfe: For besides the pacifying of the Ile of Britanny, Mauritania also in his time rebelling, which is a Prouince in Africa, wherein rained Kings, friends and confederates with the people of Rome, wherein he made warres by his Captaines SVETONIVS PAVLINVS, & GNEVS SIDIVS GETA, as DION witnesseth. Those countries were subdued and deuided into two tributarie Prouinces, the one was called Mauritania Caesariensis, which for the most part is this day the kingdome of Fez, but it extended it selfe so farre as Argel, Tunes, and Oran; and the other Mauritania Tingitana, which is much of that which we call Marocco, and Barberia, and the coast of Zale and Azamor, euen vnto Arzil and Taniar. At that time the Prouince of Numidia was infested by certaine barbarous Africans, which were ouercome by the ordinarie legions. In the like manner the Imperiall authoritie was conserued in the Prouinces of the East, CLAVDIVS placing therein Kings and Tetrarches at his pleasure, as the same DION recordeth. But besides all this, in all these parts (as well as in Rome) they indured great vexations and oppressions, and the disorders which his fauorites and libertines committed, and commanded to be committed, were very great, of the greatest part whereof his wife was the chiefe cause, who was so incontinent and dishonest, that she was not only a common adulteresse, but she procured and brought many others to be so also: and she her selfe would pray, and euen enforce men, and was of such credit with her husband the Emperour, and had such power ouer him, that no man durst to make it knowne, or to giue him intelligence thereof.

The two Mauritaniae made tributarie Prouinces.

Mauritania Caesariensis, the kingdome of Fez.

Mauritania Tingitana, the kingdome of Marocco.

The dishonestie of this woman mounted to so high a degree, that iudging (as it seemed) open adulterie to be but a light sinne and presumption, she deuised a wickednes neuer heard nor thought of before in such manner as she did it, which was to be married with another, as she was with the Emperour; and putting it in effect, CLAVDIVS being gone forth of Rome to Ostia to doe certaine sacrifices, she married in the forme and with the solemnitie accustomed, with a Romane, whose name was CAIVS SILIVS, whom they affirme to haue been the fairest and properest man of his time.

The loue which CLAVDIVS bare to MESSALINA was so great and the power which she had ouer him was such, that she thought that this might also passe in silence, or that he should dissemble it as he had done many other great abuses. But it now pleased God that she should receiue punishment for all her misdeedes, as he oftentimes permitteth wicked men after some great finnes, to commit other greater, to the end at once to be punished for all. And it was so, that his great friend and fauorite NARCISSVS, a libertine before named, discovered this deede to CLAVDIVS, with a multitude of other villanies committed by her: who awaking in some sort out of his heauie slumber and forgetfulness, notwithstanding that this matter had put him in great feare; yet after that he was well enformed of the truth, he came to Rome, sending first before him LVCIVS GETA, who was captaine of the pretorian Cohorts to confirme them in his seruice; and when he

H 4

was

The death of  
Messalina.

was come, he caused his wife MESSALINA to be apprehended, and many others which were culpable in this matter: and by the diligent industrie of NARCISVS iustice was done vpon both her and them. And so they were put to death by his direction before that CLAVDIVS commaunded the same, notwithstanding that he had so decreed; for it was feared that CLAVDIVS already began to yeeld and to be pacified, and so he shewed himselfe, as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth. It is a marvellous thing to consider of the carelesnes and forgetfulness of this CLAVDIVS: for although they came and told him that MESSALINA was dead, he neuer spake word, neither asked by whom, nor how she died, neither then nor after that time seemed to reioyce or to be sorrowfull for it; neither spake word good nor bad. SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS addeth another thing to this forgetfulness, which seemeth incredible, but he and others of great authoritie affirme the same, which is this; that the next day after that MESSALINA was put to death, sitting downe at the table to eate, he asked how it chaunced that MESSALINA came not to dinner: The like happened at other times concerning those which he had condemned and commaunded to be slaine, that hauing put them to death one day, the next day he was so forgetfull and carried from it, that he hath chaunced to fend for them and call them to his counsell, and others to come to play with him, as they had vsed to doe.

Claudius his  
monstrous forgetfulness.

The Emperor CLAVDIVS remaining thus a widower, after the death of his wife MESSALINA, by whom he had one sonne called first GERMANICVS, and afterwards BRITANNICVS, and one daughter whose name was OCTAVIA, he determined and gaue it out in words that he would marrie no more: for he said that he had been very infortunate in his wiues, and therefore now in his old age he would not try any more hazards, wherein he said the very truth. For in his youth he had been twise married, first with EMILIA LEPIDA; which was great grandchild to the Emperor OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS, and the second time, with LIVIA MEDVLLINA CAMILLA, of the auncient linage of the CAMILLI: the first wife before his marriage tooke effect, he put away; and the second died of an infirmities the same day which was appointed for their wedding: and afterwards he married with PLAVTINA HERCVLANA, whom after that he had by her one sonne named DRVSVS (who died a child) he forsooke, for dishonest and an adulteresse: and married the fourth time with ELIA PETINA, of the linage of the TVRRONES, from whom for some causes and discontentments, he was also diuorced, notwithstanding that he had by her one daughter called ANTONIA. All these mariages he had before that he was Emperor, and when he tooke vpon him the Empire, he was married with MESSALINA, whose death we now made an end to declare: and although (as I said) that he remained a widower, he protested that he would marrie no more, adding thereto that if he did, he gaue them leaue to kill him: yet afterwards forgetting himselfe (as in former time, of other matters) by the counsell of his libertine and fauorite PALANTE, he lastly married with IVLIA AGRIPPINA, who was exceeding beautifull, being his neece and daughter to his brother GERMANICVS, which was the widow of DOMICIVS NERO ENOBABVS, by whom she had a sonne named DOMICIVS NERO as his father. And because that the marriage with his neece within this degree of consanguinitie was prohibited and detestable among the Romanes, he procured that a law should be made whereby it should be lawfull, and his new wife tooke such order, with her old husband and Vncle, that within few daies after that she was married, she obtained of him that he should marrie his daughter

daughter OCTAVIA, with her sonne DOMICIVS NERO, and that he should adopt him and make him his son, preferring him before his owne son BRITANNICVS; and that in steed of DOMICIVS NERO he should be called CLAVDIVS NERO, which was performed accordingly. And not content herewith, that certaine principall Matrones which had been riualls with her, desiring to marrie with CLAVDIVS, one being fauoured by NARCISVS, and another by CALIXTVS, his libertines, the better to assure her selfe in her estate, she procured their death; and so for some certaine daies she liued in great power and fauour.

In this time the great work being ended, to wit, the vndermining of the mountaines, and making the great caues and mines to let the water to passe out of the lake FUCINVS, wherein (as I said) thirtie thousand men had wrought eleuen yeeres, the Emperour CLAVDIVS ordained, that for ioy, and to make an end of this worke, there should be in the same Lake a Nauall battaile, before that the water should be let out, which did so much resemble a battaile in earnest, that therein were 24. Gallies, which were builded there hard by for that purpose. DION saith that there were fiftie, which is not very vnlikely, considering the number which were therein; which, as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth, were 19000. men; many of which were slaues, or men condemned to death or banishment; the Emperour promising those which should preuaile and ouercome, life and libertie, and so they were commaunded to fight to the vttermost: and to that purpose the Gallies and men were diuided into two equall battailions, and their apparell, ensignes, banners, flagges and streamers were of diuers colours: the one part of them were called Sicilians, and the other Rhodians; as though the warres had bin between *Sicilia* and *Rhodes*. To see this spectacle thither came an infinite number of people from all parts of *Italie*, and out of *Italie*, which couered all the hills and mountaines neere to the said Lake, and the shore side thereof. And CLAVDIVS with his wife AGRIPPINA, & NERO CLAVDIVS his new adopted sonne, were most wonderfully and most richly attired in gold, stone and pearle: and so the battaile began, and was maintained betweene them most cruell and bloudie, the poore men desiring and endeououring of either part to haue the victorie, thereby to winne life, libertie and honour: and so it was obstinately fought and continued a great part of the day, the one killing and wounding the other most miserably, vntill at last the one part ouercame the other; and so was ended that most cruell and horrible sport. Which being ended, presently the next day CLAVDIVS commaunded the passage of the Lake to be opened: and the water beginning to issue out, it brake forth with so great force and vehemencie, that it seemed that the world would haue sunk; and it was such and in such manner, that it did much harme in all the borders thereabout; and so likewise great was the feare and amazement which CLAVDIVS and his wife AGRIPPINA, which were there by, endured; notwithstanding that they were vpon sure ground and in safetie. This was the end of this costly vanitie.

A wonderfull  
pastime, but  
cruell.

These things being past in such manner as we haue written, AGRIPPINA seeing her selfe much made of, and beloued by the Emperour CLAVDIVS, being growne proud of the power and fauour wherein she saw her selfe (which are two things which few men can enioy and vse moderatly) became so proud, haughty and ambitious (following the footsteps of MESSALINA) that she would commaund and alone beare all the sway in euery thing: whereupon she presently became to be hated and enuied by some of CLAVDIVS his fauourites, yea and by himselfe also, so that he began to be sorrie that euer he married her, and that euer he adopted

ted his sonne in law NERO for his sonne. Which AGRIPPINA soone perceiued, as well in that he began anew to make much of his yong son BRITANNICVS, as for words which he spake which signified as much: for vpon a day he said, ~~that~~ it was true that he had euer been infortunate in his wiues, but none of them had escaped unpunished: with other speechest to the same effect. Whereat AGRIPPINA conceiued so great feare and suspition, that to assure her owne life, and the succession to her sonne, she determined to procure her husbands death by poyson, and there wanted no ministers nor meanes to accomplish the same. For although that the Historiographers agree not herein, yet they all agree that poyson was giuen him, such as killed him: and the most part write, that it was a in-Mushrumpe, which was a meate which he vsed to eate with great appetite.

It was the iust iudgement of God that CLAVDIVS should die by eating: for he was so glutinous and insatiable in eating and drinking (amongst his other vices) that hee thought no time nor place sufficient thereto, and euer did eate so much, that most commonly surfetting, he vsed vomits to discharge his stomacke, putting a feather into his throte, a remedie which some gluttonous men doe vse, eating vpon assurance thereof, and carrying themselues more filthily, then they fell sicke. In which feather some authors affirme that the poyson was giuen him. And he died in the sixt and fiftieth yeer after the birth of CHRIST our Sauour, in the 14. yeere of his raigne, and the 74. of his age, the 13. day of October about the breake of the same day, and his wife AGRIPPINA concealed his death the most part of that day: and faining that he mended, she caused certaine vowes to be made for his health, vntill that she had confirmed the Empire to her sonne NERO, according to his adoption, which (seeing they then thought CLAVDIVS to be liuing) was no hard matter to be effected.

In the time of this Emperour CLAVDIVS the Christian faith was preached, and did much preuaile ouer the world; the Apostle S. PETER then preaching in Rome from the beginning of his raigne, although with great contradiction and difficultie. There happened also in his time, which all authors affirme, and chiefly EVSEVIUS, to be very straunge and marueilous, which was, that betweene

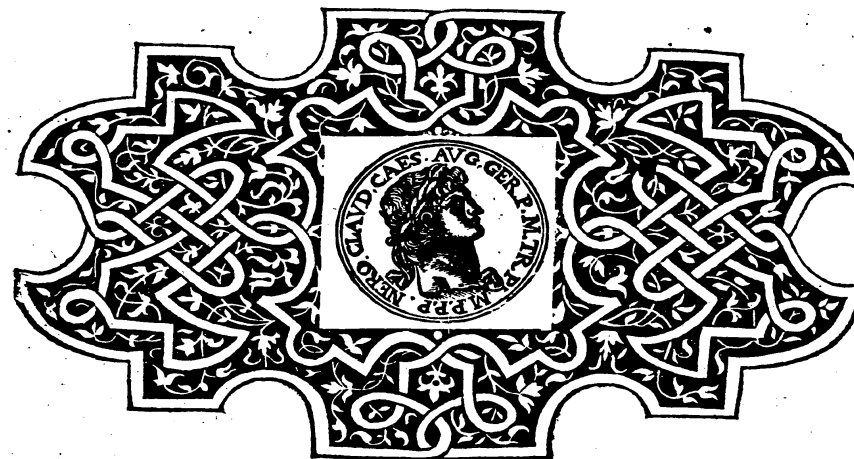
the Ile Thera and Therasia in the Egean Sea, there was discovered a new Iland of three hundred furlongs in length, where before was nothing but water of an ordinarie depth, and no signe of any Iland.

The Emperour  
Claudius poy-  
soned by his  
wife Agrippi-  
na.

A new Iland  
in the Sea.

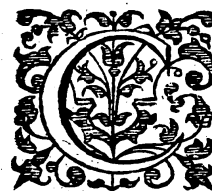
THE

THE LIFE AND ACTS  
OF THE EMPEROVR NERO,  
ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND  
SIXT ROMANE EMPEROVR.



THE ARGVMENT.

**C**laudius being dead and his death published, the Senate and people of Rome sware fidelitie to Nero: who by the endeuour and cunning of his mother Agrippina, was made Emperour. This man for the first five yeeres governed so excellently well, that all men said that a God was sent from heauen to governe Rome, notwithstanding that his mother vsed much crueltie, who ruled the Empire a long time. Nero afterwards growing in yeeres, and so beginning to be disobedient to his mother, encreased also in vices, and began to walke abroad by night alone, and to hurt such as he met, whereby he was in some danger, and escaped not unwounded. In his youth he dearely loued an enfranchised woman called Acta, and loued Poppa Sabina wife of his great friend Orho, whom in the end he obtained and enioied. And for that his mother shewed her selfe very contrarie to his desires, she became odious to her sonne, so the end to recover his fauour againe she made shew to be in loue with him: so that it was thought that he had the vse of her bodie: but she growing euery day more odious, in the end (faining certaine apparant signes of treason) he made her to be slaine. After her death, he wholly gaue the reine to all shame and licentiousnes, which was the occasion that the people of Rome was also corrupted, and openly vsed the like dishonestie. He overcame the Parthians, and subdued the Brittaines: after which victories giuing his minde to crueltie, amongst many other Actes put his master Seneca to death, banishing with



with his wife Octavia, married Poppea Sabina also, which he before held for his wife: in the end he made the one to be slaine, and the other he killed himselfe. He made a young youth named Sporus to be gelded, and publicly married him: And amongst his other mischivous practises, in the end he set Rome on fire, and stood with great pleasure to behold it burne. He built so great a Palace, that it contained a very great part of the citie of Rome, and took upon him to alter the name of the citie, and called it Neroniana. He so cruelly persecuted the Christians, that besides S. Peter and S. Paul, he put an infinite number of others to death. Under this Emperour, began the warre against the Jewes. Finally, growing intolerable, and odious to God and man, first, he understood of the rebellion of many nations, and perceiving the enimie to draw neere, and the sentence of the Senate pronounced against him to be apprehended, he was in such feare, that flying secretly from Rome, he was constrained miserably to kill himselfe. He lived 32. yeeres, and was Emperour 14. whose death was so gratefull to his country, to Rome, and to the whole world, that they clad themselves in ioyfull garments in steed of mourning: and in him ended the line of the Cæsars.



Such a successor had the Emperour CLAVDIVS, as hee deserved and knew how to chuse, and this was NERO, the most famous man for crueltie that euer was in the world: for although that otherwise he was very wicked, yet in crueltie he so exceeded all measure, that you shall neuer heare any man say, NERO, but you shall also heare the addition thereto, Cruell; notwithstanding that he had the most wise and vertuous Schoolmaster of his time, which was SENECA, of whom in his youth he learned the liberall Sciences, wanting no capacitie thereto; whose counsell and precepts were of force, for a time, to suppress his euill inclination, and were the occasion that in the beginning of his raigne, he performed many parts of a good Prince, in such sort that TRAIANE (as many write of him) afterwards said, that for the first five yeeres, NERO was peerelesse. But after that time, setting all shame aside, occasions with his power and libertie encreasing, he did things which did so much staine and deface his good deedes past, that there remained no signe or spark of any goodnes in him. Yet there wanted not some authors, which in part to excuse his doings affirme, that of enuie and malice writers made his vices and faults seeme so odious, among which was IOSEPHVS in his booke of Antiquities, after that he himselfe had laid open many of his cruelties and parricides. I will write what I shall finde written by most famous authors, as I vse to doe, and in order and processe of things and in time will follow CORNELIVS TACITVS, who in my opinion excelleth the rest. CLAVDIVS being dead, through the treason of his wife AGRIPPINA, as wee haue specified, after that she had by her authoritie and cunning gotten the peoples good will, and taken away all occasions that might hinder her sonne in attaining to the Empire, she published his death, which vntill then she had commaunded to be concealed. At which time NERO came forth of the Imperiall Palace, accompanied with BVRRVS the Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts, who was a man very priuate with AGRIPPINA, and also had the commaund of that Cohort which had the ordinarie guard of the Palace, and proclaiming him Emperour, they carried him to the Campe, where by all the Cohorts he was well receiued: and he hauing made a speech, and promising great payes and gifts to the souldiers, was by them presently carried backe againe to the Senate, wherein all the Senators, conforming themselves to the will of the men of warre, obeyed and receiued him for Emperour, with the ordinarie and accustomed solemnities, giuing him names and titles of great maiestie: among which, he refused the name of Pater patrie, for that he was of opinion that that title agreed not with his fewe yeeres, being then but seuenteen yeeres old. And so NERO obtained the Empire,

Nero in his first five yeeres was a good Emperour.

Lib. 20.

Burrus the Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts.

Nero was Emperour at seuenteen yeeres of age.

pire, which he ought not to haue had, and there wanted not some which murmured, that an adopted son should be preferred before a legitimate and naturall son, and would haue had GERMANICVS and not him: But these men were not of power to withstand him, for as he was obeyed in Rome, so was he in like manner in all the prouinces of the Empire. He then presently commanded the obsequies of CLAVDIVS to be solemnized, as the custome then was, most solemnly; and according to the superstitions of that time, they canonized him among the gods.

Great was the ioy wherewith NERO his raigne began, as well for the discontentment at the government past, as for that change and innouations are euer pleasing, and the desire commonly bringeth good hopes, which were confirmed by his good outward shew and apparances in the beginning. First he promised to gouerne according to the rules and institutions of AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, and began both in word and deede to shew himselfe, or (to say better) to faime himselfe, to be liberall, pitifull, iust, gentle, and tractable; doing fauours and moderating the impositions and tributes of the prouinces, diuiding amongst the people of Rome, and the pretorian souldiers, a huge sum of money and corne, bestowing other gifts vpon them: and to the Senators which were poore, he assigned pensions out of his eschequer; vsing all men with such humanitie and courtesie, that it seemed there was no reason to feare any part of that which afterwards ensued. He likewise shewed great clemencie & pitie, in the execution of iustice and punishments; so as one day, a warrant being brought to him to signe, for the putting of one to death, he making shew to be very sorrie for it, said, I would to God that I could not write: which words as though they had proceeded from a pitifull heart, his maister SENECA doth highly praise and extol. He entertained in like manner all men louingly and friendly, and in his disports and exercises, he permitted any to be present, so as it seemed that God had sent them such a prince as they desired. And aboue all in the beginning of his raigne, he honored & bare great reuerence to his mother, & gaue her greater power and command in the gouernment, then in deede he ought or was fit: for the truth is, she was a cruell woman, proude and hautie: and as such, through the counsell of PALANTE one of CLAVDIVS his mightie enfranchised men before named, without the consent of NERO, she caused IVNVS SILANVS Proconsul in Asia, to be slaine, for the hatred which she bare against him; the like she did by NARCISVS another famous Libertine, whom she also greatly hated. And her crueltie had extended further, but that SENECA and the Prefect BVRRVS, and another principall man whose name was AFRANIVS (by whom NERO in the beginning of his raigne was much ruled) did let & crosse AGRIPPINA in her wicked practises, so farre forth as in them lay: but she had such authoritie in all matters, and ouer them which had the managing thereof, as it could hardly be done: so long as she was in good grace with her sonne.

The matter standing in these termes, newes came to Rome, that VOLOGESVS King of the Parthians leuied forces to make war against the Empire, practising to make his brother King of Armenia, in which prouince from the time of AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, the Romanes had authoritie to place Kings at their pleasure: so as vpon this occasion the warres began in the second yeere of the raigne of the Emperour NERO, who sent thither VINIDIUS with new legions, besides those ordinarie legions which were in Asia, vnder the commaund of DOMICIVS CORBVLVS. But the war as then lasted but a while; for peace was concluded, VOLOGESVS desisting from his attempts, and giuing certaine principall men in pawne for the keeping thereof, such as we commonly call hostages. About this time began NERO to shew

The counterfeited vertues of Nero.

In his second booke of clemencie.

Agrippina caused Silanus and Narcissus to be slaine through the counsell of Palante a Libertine.

VVarrus with the King of the Parthians.

Peace with the Parthians.

Otho and Claudius Phenicius Nero his fauourites.

himselfe somewhat alienated from his mother, & to abate her great power and authoritie, beginning to shew her lesse obedience then theretofore: for he then fell in loue with a base enfranchised woman (but she was very faire) whose name was AETA; notwithstanding that his wife AVGVSTA was very faire & a vertuous womā. And herein to haue his will, against the will & liking of his mother (which sought to hinder him in this his loue, to the end that he should not be free from her power) he began to take into his fauour OTHO a noble man, of whose family there had bin Consuls, and CLAVDIVS PHENICIVS, the sonne of one of the most mightie enfranchised men in Rome; & these wrought meanes for him to obtaine his beloued AETA, which opened a passage to many other things which followed, whereby he began to be disobedient to his mother, who had had so great power ouer him and all others. And he commaunded the enfranchised PALANTE, who was a great fauorite of hers, to be depofed from all government in the Emperiall estate.

A GRIPPINA seeing this, procured and attempted by all waies and meanes possible, to recouer the grace and the degree which she had lost with her son: sometimes by giuing him counsell; at other times by entreaties and flatteries, accompanied with threatnings and feares: among which one was to do great honor, and to bestow many fauours vpon BRITANNICVS, who was the Emperor CLAVDIVS his son, and then was about 14. yeeres old: imagining that through feare and suspicion of this man, NERO would returne to her obedience, but his wicked minde freed him not from that danger, by those meanes which she imagined, for he deliuered himselfe thereof, by giuing him poison, wherof the poore BRITANNICVS died. Whereat AGRIPPINA was much amazed: but being either vnable or vnwilling to moderate her pride, she persecuted in the controuersie with her son, & presumed to contend with him (although vpon vnequall termes.) Whereupon NERO setting all shame and respect apart, commanded her guard of high Almaines to be taken from her, and her to be lodged out of the pallace, and did her other open disgraces, forbidding certaine persons to haue recourse vnto her, or to visit her: and he himselfe went very seldom to see her, and that very coldly, and with little loue. And being thus out of fauour (as few keepe true friendship with such, as are decayed and abased) the most of her friends forsooke her, and one, a very mightie Matrone whose name was IVLIA SILLANA, vpon a priuate grudge (producing false witnes) wrongfully accused her to haue conspired against her son the Emperor, & that she practised to haue made RVELIVS PLAVTVS Emperor; who by his mother descended from the Emperor AVGVSTVS CÆSAR. And the matter was so handled, that AGRIPPINA was in some danger, vntill that the accusation was found to be forged & the witnesses suborned, and this IVLIA the twister of this web, escaped with light punishment, which was but banishment. This gaue encouragement to a wicked fellow named PETVS, falsely to accuse PALANTE also (a libertine many times before named) and BVRVS the prefect, which were seruants and fauorites to AGRIPPINA, alleading that they practized to depose NERO, and to make CORNELIVS SILLA Emperor: but this also was discovered to be forged and false, and for this offence PETVS & his false witnesses were but only banished. All which passed in the third yeere of NERO his raigne, Saint PAUL the Apostle being then prisoner in Rome, who a little before was sent thither by the commaundement of FESTVS, gouernor of Iudea, which succeeded FELIX aforenamed: In which imprisonment (although he went abroade at libertie) he was detained two yeeres.

In those daies as the Emperor NERO grew in yeeres, so began he to waxe more light and vicious, and to discouer his euill inclination: for he would by night

The death of Britannicus.

Open contention betweene Nero and his mother Agrippina.

night goe disguised vp and downe the streetes in Rome, and would hurt and abuse such as he met, comming out of their houses; wherein he committed many notable insolencies, and offended many: and he himselfe being vpon a time vknowne, was in danger to haue been slaine, and was fore wounded. And as the vices and defects of princes, although that in their absence they be condemned and men murmur at them; yet in their presence they are most commonly excused, and sometimes commended. So NERO his fauorites did not seeke to withdraw him from this dangerous vice and ill behauiour: but they counsellled him to goe no more abroade without a garde, and companie; and doing so, they were the occasion of farre greater riots and disorders, then before: And some dissolute yong men (saining themselves to be the Emperor) tooke occasion to doe the like, so as there were infinite violences committed by him and them, by meanes wherof there was no small scandall and disquietnes in the citie, although that in the rest, vntill then, there was indifferent good order in all things, and iustice was administred ordinarily in Rome and in the prouinces; and the people did dissemble or had patience with the lightnes and insolencies of NERO, by reason of the distribution of money and other things, which he made generally to all, and for certaine rights and impositions which he commaunded to be abolished.

The fift yeere of his raigne being come, which as it seemed would haue prooued prosperous and peaceable both in particular and generall; VOLOGESVS King of the Parthians began anew to stirre against the Empire, for the same reason and cause concerning the kingdome of Armenia before spoken of. And CORBVLS, who was Proconsul in Asia, sent to entreate the Emperor that the ordinarie armie which he had, might be reinforced and encreased, for that by reason of the long peace, his legions were growne more slothfull and lesse profitable then was needfull for so dangerous a warre; and were also diminished, some by death, and many souldiers were waxen old: for which NERO tooke order, that new companies should be leuiued, and sent vnto him, and with them one of the legions of Germanie, which were euer held for the best and most experienced, as those which lay in the frontiers against the most fierce and valiant enemies. And so began the warres with the Parthians, wherein after some great encounters, and skirmishes which passed, fortune and victorie being variable, and winter being come, CORBVLS sent a captaine whose name was PACTVS ORPHITVS, who with a good part of the armie, had the garde of certaine countries and passages, whereby the enemy might enter the countrie, whom he commaunded that in any case he should not giue them battaile: and he lodged himselfe in the plaines with the rest of the armie. But ORPHITVS quite contrarie to that which was commaunded him, by the enemies prouocation, ioyned battaile with them, & was therein ouercome with great losse to the Romanes: for which CORBVLS was exceedingly sorrowfull, and it was no lesse grieved at in Rome. Whereupon CORBVLS reinforcing his legions, tooke the field before the ordinarie time, and very fiercely followed that warre, wherein passed many things which CORNELIVS TACITVS reciteth, and I for breuitie omit, to returne to NERO, of whom from henceforth there is no good thing to be spoken. I say then that while as his captaines made warre against the Parthians, and he gaue himselfe ouer to sensuality without contradiction in Rome, he fell in loue with the wife of his great fauorite OTHO, who in time came to be Emperor, called POPPEA SARINA, and by some POPPEIA, a most faire woman and of high linage, and endued with many graces and good qualities, but dishonest and

Varies with the Parthians.

inconitent;

Poppea Labina  
Nero his friend.

incontinent; and to the end that NERO without any let might haue her wholly to himselfe, giuing to her husband OTHO this, in requitall of all his good seruices, he sent him into *Spaine* to be gouernor of *Lusitania* now called *Portugall*, and he freely loued and gaue himselfe ouer vnto this POPPEA, forgetting and abhorring his owne wife OCTAVIA, and his other aboute named friend, called AETA a Libertine whom hee had much loued. Wherewith this POPPEA became so proude, that she taking scorne to be his friend, very instantly entreated and desired the Emperour, that diuorcing himselfe from OCTAVIA, he should marrie her: and seeing that AGRIPPINA NEROS mother, who supported and defended OCTAVIA, was a great let hereto, she endeouored all that she might, to kindle and encrease the discord begun betwene the mother and the sonne. Against which AGRIPPINA vsed all the meanes that she possibly could deuise to recouer the good will of her sonne, as to procure him to commit most detestable copulation with her owne selfe, from which he was deliuered and withdrawne by meanes of SENECA, as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth: yet SVETONIUS saith, that the onely feare of his mothers power and presumptious boldnes withheld him from it, although other authors doe not wholly cleere him from this sinne. Howsoeuer it was, by POPPEAS great diligence and his owne wickednes, he so much abhorred his mother, that he determined to kill her: but as it was a matter so horrible, he would haue it done couertly: and so he first proued and practised it with poison, which taking no effect, by direction and counsell of one of his sea captaines whose name was NICETVS, the plot was laide that shee should bee drowned in the sea in the coast of *Calabria*: whither NERO (faining a reconciliation with her) caused her to goe, and vnder color to doe certaine sacrifices, he himselfe went thither also. But this plot taking no effect, wherein certaine of her companie were drowned, & she with great daunger escaping, he seeing that secret practises auailed not, resolved to put her to death openly: and to that effect (through the counsell of the said NICETVS) he caused it to be bruted abroad that one by whom she had sent him word of the shipwracke and daunger wherein she had been at sea, would haue killed him; and for this purpose there was a poiniard let fall at his feete, he which brought it faining, that by his mothers commaundement he came to haue slaine him. Vnder this false pretext onely, he commaunded certaine Tribunes, of which this NICETVS was chiefe, to kill her: who being come where AGRIPPINA was, she presently vnderstoode the cause of their comming, and seeing them vnsheath their swords, authors write, that shewing them her belly, she said, strike me here first; for this part hath deserued it, seeing it conceived and brought forth such a monster as NERO: and so she soone died of the many wounds which were giuen her. And NERO who was there by, came to see his dead mother, and stoode beholding her body as if it had been the body of a beast; praising and dispraising her parts and members. And thus did the wicked sonne murder his wicked mother, who cannot be excused, but that she for her wickednes deserued the death which she died: And it cannot bee denied, but that herein NERO shewed most abominable crueltie; for nature doth abhor that a sonne should punish and be executioner to his owne mother, moued thereto by his owne wicked and euill disposition.

Nicetus tooke  
upon him the  
charge to kill  
Agrippina.

Nero put his  
mother to death  
by the hand of  
Nicetus.

The horrible  
crueltie of the  
sonne, and di-  
uellish ambitio  
of the mother.

Truely it is a maruellous thing to consider of the loue which this woman bare to her sonne: for it is written of her, that before that he was Emperour, it was told her by an Astrologer, that he should be Emperour, and that he should kill his owne mother:

mother: whereto she answered; Let him haue the Empire, and then kill her and spare not. So great was her pride and ambition, that to the end that she might bee mother to the Emperour, she would put it in hazard to bee slaine by her owne sonne: and so both the one and the other were accomplished.

The Emperour NERO hauing performed so good an exploit, as the murdering of his mother (so much are Princes deceiued and blinded with flatterie and adulation, that notwithstanding that all the world did see and vnderstand the matter, and how all had passed; yet most men in his presence approoued and applauded the same: and there were many vowes and sacrifices made to their gods for that he had escaped such a treason, and for the discoverie thereof; making him beleue that they held it for truth) cloaking his wickednes vnder this colour, hee came to *Rome*, where seeing himselfe at libertie, and free from the controulement of his mother (whose authoritie was euer great about him) he began to lose all shame of the world, giuing the reine to his beastly appetites, and to all kind of filthines and most abominable luxurie, which was such and so horrible, that to keep such honest decorum in our historie as is requisite, and not to offend the eares of the honest readers, I purpose to passe it over in silence. Wherin he spending great part of the time, all the rest he employed in lasciuious Comedies and other libidinous exercises, and oftentimes in bankers and feasting which lasted all the whole day, and the night also, and was prodigall in all, and in attiring and apparelling himselfe in most incredible rich and sumptuous attire. The ornaments of his Palace, and his expences and prodigalities were such, as the like thereof had neuer been seene. In Comedies and publike shewes, most of which were most vile and dishonest; he acted a part in person, and would that the noble yong men of *Rome*, and some of the most principall young Ladies should be present to heare and see the same. And about all he was so inclined to Musicke, and so much affected it, that besides that he was very skilfull in that arte, he gloried so much in singing, that many times hee refused to eate for hurting his voice; and to cleere it and make it better, he purged himselfe and vsed other remedies and medicines. Some write of him, that to that effect he wore a plaster or sheete of lead vpon his brest. Finally, NERO forgetting the dignitie and maiestie of his estate, gaue himselfe ouer to base and vile exercises and vices, which for that they were such, are not all described, and which afterwards brought him to the bottome and sinke of all sinne and crueltie, as we will declare. And as the subiects for the most part doe imitate the fashions and behaiour of their Princes and Lords; so presently in *Rome* and out of it, they began to practise and follow those vices and exercises wherein the Emperour spent his time: and the lawes, good customes, Artes and Sciences began to be corrupted and forgotten. Wherefore he accomplished the making of himselfe an enemy, and odious to all good men, although then there were but few, as it often happeneth.

While as he busied himselfe about these matters, the warres which his Cap-  
taine CORBVLVS began with the Parthians, about the title of the kingdome of  
*Armenia*, neuer ceased, as is aforesaid. In which after there had passed many feates  
of armes, the Romanes preuailing, the Parthians were wholly cast out of the pro-  
uince of *Armenia*: and NERO nominated and sent thither for King thereof (as a  
subiect to the Empire) TIGRANES, who was nephew to ARCHELAVS sometime  
King of *Cappadocia*, hauing of a long time remained in *Rome* in base and poore  
estate. This man was by some of the countrey receiued and entertained with  
goodwil, and others which held with the king of the Parthians murmured there-  
at,

Princes are  
euer abused by  
flatterers.

Warres with  
the Parthians.

at, as commonly it useth to happen: Wherefore there was giuen vnto him an ordinarie guard of foote and horsemen, and some of the Romane Cohorts to aide and assist him to defend that kingdome: and CORBVIVS being victorious came with his legions into *Syria*, which happened in the 7. yeere of the raigne of NERO. About this time there was so great an Earthquake in many parts of the world, that many great buildings fell downe; and therewith was the citie of *Laodicea* wholly destroyed and laid waste. Within few daies after this, the Ile of *England* and *Scotland*, then called *Britannie*, rebelled against the Romane Empire, being vnable to endure the insolencies and oppressions which therein by the men of warre of the Romane legions, lying there in garrison, were committed, PAVLINVS SVETONIVS being their Captaine: for from the diseases and vices of the head, *Rome*, did flow disorder and corruption through all the provinces which were members thereof. The cause of the insurrection in this Iland proceeded from hence; PAVLINVS being desirous to winne honor, and enuying the fame which CORBVIVS had gotten in the East, who was daily victorious in the warre against the Parthians, and he wanting neither courage nor discretion to doe the like, but matter and occasion; and seeing that in the Ile of *Britannie* there was neither time nor hope for his purpose, leauing such troupes and garrison therein, as hee thought sufficient, he went from thence with a great flecte to make warre in an Iland neere to *England*, then called *Mona*, and now *Man*, which was inhabited by a fierce nation. And notwithstanding that all succeeded well vnto him in that iourney, yet while he was busied thereabouts, the Britaines chusing among themselves a captaine, which was a man of great account and reputation, called PHRASVATVS or PRASVTAGVS, with the title of a King, as they ordinarily had in that Iland, although it were subiect; they rose and rebelled for their libertie, killing so many Romane souldiers as they could find, which had shut themselves vp in a temple; and afterwards onerthrowing a legion which came to their aide, they slew the greatest part thereof, and compelled PETVS, who had the commaund in the absence of PAVLINVS SVETONIVS, to flie to their Campe, where they presently besieged him, and so were masters of the field: CALPVVS, who for the Emperour was gouernour of the Iland, seeing himselfe vnable to defend the same, with the greatest speede that possibly he could fled into *France*, and abandoned the Iland. And the Britaines took such order, and vsed such expedition in this warre against the Romanes and their adherents, that within few daies in sundrie places were slaine 70000. men. PAVLINVS being aduertised of this so great calamitie, hauing effected the determination which he attempted of his owne authoritie, with the greatest speede possible returned into the Iland with his troupes, where he assembled together those which had remained constant in the Emperours seruice, and the remainder of the Romane souldiers which were left; and reprehending some, and encouraging others, without any longer delay, hee went to seeke his enemies and their captain PRASVTAGVS: who were now growne so hardie that they came to seeke him, and did so assure themselves of the victorie, that they brought their wiues in wagons and carres to see the battaile which they meant to fight. Which PAVLINVS SVETONIVS refused not; but like an expert captaine tooke such aduantage of the ground, and marshalled his men in such sort, and in the battaile fought so valiantly, that he obtained the victorie: yet was it one of the most fierce battailes, and fought with the greatest obstinacie that euer was seene: for of the conquerors there died a great number, but of the conquered (as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth) there were slaine few lesse then fourescore thousand

The Ile of Man.

The Romanes cut in pieces by the Britaines.

A great battaile.

sand men. But GILDAS an auncient Historian borne in the same Iland, setteth downe a much lesse number, who saith, that there were slaine thirtie thousand. With this great victorie, and with the new supplie which NERO sent, the Romanes preuailed in that Ile, so that from thencefoorth it remained in peace.

While these things were a doing, NERO daily encreased in his vice and wickednes, and principally besides (what is aforesaid) began to execute many new cruelties, commaunding many men to be slaine vpon light occasions, and some without any; notwithstanding that his Schoole-master SENECA, and BVRRVS the Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts, did stay and mitigate the same all that they might. But in the ninth yeere of his raigne BVRRVS died, and SENECA being by some brought into suspition with NERO (besides that vertue is euer hatefull to the wicked) began to withdraw himselfe from entermedling with the affaires of the government: and as a Phisition leaueth to applie medicines to the patient, of whose recouerie there is no hope, so did he forbear to conuerse with NERO, or giue him any counsell, faining his old age and want of health to be the cause thereof. And in like manner (as saith CORNELIVS TACITVS) others which had any sparke of ancient Romanes in them, withdrew themselves; being vnable to endure the sight of what passed and NERO committed. At this time NERO commaunded PVBLIVS SYLLA to be slaine in *France*, who was one of the most famous men of his time; and another whose name was RABELLIVS PLAVTVS, a worthie and principall man, in whom was found no other fault, or cause wherefore he should be slaine, but that he was vertuous, and therefore beloued of all men: and being such, vpon a time when NERO was so sicke that it was thought he would haue died, the people of *Rome* fixed their eyes vpon this man, naming and chusing him for NEROES successor: vpon which occasion NERO banished him from *Rome*, and now determined to release him from banishment by causing him to be slaine. And after this manner he slew in those daies a great number of other Romanes, which these authors doe name, and I leaue out, as a matter abominable; which hee put to death of crueltie and cruie, without any other cause.

A little after this, growing impudent through his customarie sinning, hee diuorced himselfe from his wife OCTAVIA; and not contented to put her away, he tooke another mans wife, and presently married POPPEA, whom (as we said) he held for his friend, hauing first taken her from OTHO which was her husband: and not contented to put away his good and vertuous wife, he caused her to be falsely accused of adulterie, hauing compounded with NICETVS his Sea-captaine (who murdered his mother AGRIPPINA, who as it should seeme a man fit for such seruices) that hee should confesse himselfe to be the man which had committed adulterie with her. And notwithstanding that this was plainly perceived to be a fiction, hee dissemblingly banished NICETVS, and OCTAVIA was also banished, and afterwards slaine by his commaundement: so as to the innocent was giuen a true punishment, and to the traitor a fained correction. At that time he also commaunded the famous Libertine PALANTE to be slaine, for the desire which he had to his riches: for in the time of NERO it was more dangerous to be rich, then to commit offences; and many were slaine because they were rich, and few were punished for their euill deedes.

NERO committing these and many other such like enormities, VOLOGESVS king of the Parthians, taking it in scorn that his brother TYRIDATES should be dispossest of the kingdome of *Armenia*, and that it should be by the Romanes,

Nero put away his wife, and married another mans.

be giuen to TIGRANES; began to leaue his forces, and determining to renew the warre, sent his said brother to recouer that kingdome, as he soone did; and sealed vpon many countries and parts thereof. Against whom CORBVLV, who was capitaine in the East, and had made the last warre, with all expedition sent two legions for a supply to King TIGRANES: and the warre beginning very hotly of either side, the Emperor at the earnest sute of CORBVLV, sent new troupes to reinforce the armie against the Parthians, and CESONIVS PETVS for their captaine. Who, with the greatest speede that he could, with many companies and great preparation for the warres, departed *Italie*, and following his iourney came where CORBVLV attended his comming; and diuiding his troupes with CORBVLV, each of them by himselfe followed the warre apart; in proceesse whereof CORBVLV gouerned so valiantly and with such discretion, that he not onely defended the limits of the Empire in that part which fell to his lot, but passed the Riuer *Euphrates*, and gat and surprised some holds in his enemies cuntry. And CESONIVS PETVS with lesse wit or experience, but more vaine glorie promising great matters of himselfe, began the warre: In the beginning whereof with apparance of good successe, hee entred *Armenia*, and extending his power farther then he ought to haue done, passed the Mountaine *Taurus*, taking some townes without considering whether he were able to hold the same or no, and sent of his troupes into diuers places with a desire to get and to do more then he was able to accomplish, or was fit to be done: So that (as CORNELIVS TACITVS writeth) he gouerned himselfe so ill, that when as VOLOGESVS came against him, there happened so many disgraces vnto him, and he vnadvisedly encamped himselfe in such a place, that he was besieged by VOLOGESVS in his camp, in such sort that being vnable to stay for the succour which was to come from CORBVLV vnto him, wanting both courage and discretion to defend himselfe, hee came to a shamefull and dishonorable composition for the Romane reputation, with the King of the Parthians: which was, That the King giuing him leaue freely to depart out of the cuntry with his armie, he should abandon the prouince of *Armenia*, and deliuer vp all such holds as he had taken: all which was performed accordingly, and he very shamefully went out of *Armenia*, in great disgrace, and with no small losse of his armie. The Emperor being aduertised thereof, sent for him to come to *Rome*, and to leaue his legions with CORBVLV; and when hee was come, he gaue him no other punishment, but in a word or two calling him dastard and coward; for comming to his presence, he said, that hee would speedily pardon him, to the end that the feare of punishment should not kill him.

CORBVLV remaining captaine alone (notwithstanding that the Parthians were growne proud by reason of their late victorie) prosecuted the warre in such manner, that they motioned treaties of peace, and sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, which after sundrie Ambassades & some truce taken, in the end a peace was concluded, profitable to the Parthians, although in shew and ceremonies honorable to the Romanes: which was, That TYRIDATES should remaine in possession of *Armenia*, but should giue ouer the title and royall ensignes, vntill he had been at *Rome*, there personally to receiue the same at the hands of the Emperor NERO. To confirme this agreement, he came into the Romanes campe, and in presence of all the armie, humbled, and prostrated himselfe vpon the earth before NERO his image, and taking the crowne from his head, he set it at NEROES feete: and afterwards being solemnly entertained and feasted, appointing a time for his comming

comming to *Rome*, he left a daughter which he had, for assurance thereof; and so departed to visit his brothers, VOLOGESVS King of the Parthians, and PACORVS King of the *Medes*, and to prepare all things necessarie for his iourney. Which although it were not so soone as it was appointed, and that there passed some things in the meane season, as we will presently specifie, yet to the end that we leaue not this matter vnperfect, it shall be fit (although somewhat afore the time) to speake of TYRIDATES his comming to *Rome*, for it was a solempne matter and worthie to be remembred, which was thus.

As NERO was a man desirous of fame and vaine glorie, so by letters and great promises, he inuited and procured TYRIDATES to come to *Rome*, which he performed, greatly accompanied, and was most solemnly receiued: and NERO attended his comming with sumptuous prouision made by the Senate and people, set vpon a high throne, with all the shew of maiestie and greatnes that could be deuised: at one end whereof, were all the pretorian cohortes and men of warre, armed with most faire and bright armor. TYRIDATES comming to the place where the Emperour NERO was, being alighted from his horse, mounted vp the staires to the scaffold where he sate, and comming neere him, fell at his feete; and NERO taking him by the right hand, raised him, and tooke from his head an ornament which he ware, and did put thereon a diadem and crowne of a King, vsing herein other pompous ceremonies. TYRIDATES being crowned with this solempnitie, after certaine feasting which were made him in *Rome*, hauing remained there certaine daies, departed towards his cuntry, carrying with him an incredible masse of money, which the Emperour gaue him for his comming. The peace with the Parthians being confirmed in this manner, NERO gaue himselfe more to his old vices then hee did before; and to doe the same more freely; and to be at more libertie and farther off from the authoritie of the Senate, he departed from *Rome*, with the most solempne and magnificent court and companie that euer was seene; although the greatest part thereof were conformable to his conditions. The report of this iourney was, that he went into *Gracia*, to cut the necke of a land in *Achaia*, which is a narrow land betwene the *Egean* and *Ionian* seas, which make *Peloponessus* now called *Morea*, to be as it were an Iland. And in his iourney, in *Naples*, and in other parts, he shamelessly came vpon the theaters and stages of the cities, and acted part of the Comedies, as one of the actors or plaiers, and sung tragedies and fables, and wanne many prizes and crownes, which were rewards giuen in those controuersies. And being come into *Gracia*, in the greatest busines for which he came, he did no more but appoint a day to begin his worke, and hauing made a speech to his people, he tooke a toole in his hand wherewith he began to digge the earth, and making this beginning, he sodainly (no man knowing any cause wherefore) left of what he had begun, without order for doing any more, and presently returned to *Rome*. Wherein he entred in triumph, as if he had wonne a great battaile, demanding it for the victorie aboue written; wherein he came mounted vpon the same chariot, wherein OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS had triumphed, enclosed and compassed about with musitions and plaiers, such as represented fables and tragedies vpon stages, being brought from all parts of the world for that purpose. And within few daies after that this was past, he pretended another iourney into the kingdome of *Egypt*, and all things being in a readines for that purpose, through a certaine diuination he gaue ouer his iourney. NERO being come to the beginning of the eleuenth yeere of his raigne, became so impudent, giuing himselfe wholly

ouer

New war with the Parthians.

Tiridates crowned in Rome by the Emperor Nero with great solempnitie.

Nero his iourney into Gracia.

Peace with the Parthians.

ouer to sensuality, that he did any thing without blushing or changing colour, and licenced an infinit number of others to do the like: and his wickednes mounted to so high a degree, that SVETONIVS testifieth of him thus.

*Super ingeniorum proagoga & nuptiarum concubitus, vestali virgini Rubrie vim intulit. Athen libertam paulum absuit, quin iusto matrimonio sibi coniungeret, summisq; consularibus viris, qui regio genere ortum peterent. Puerum Sporum ex cæcis testibus, etiam in muliebrem naturam transfigurare conatus est, cum dote & stamine per solenni nuptiarum celeberrimo officio deductum ad se, pro uxore habuit. Extatque cuiusdam non inscitus iocus, bene agi potuisse cum rebus humanis, si Domitius Neronis pater talem habuisset uxorem, Hunc Sporum Augustarum ornamentis ex cultum, lecticaque vectum, & circa conuentus mercatusque Græcie, ac mox Romæ circa Sigillaria comitatus est, identidem exosculans. Nam matris concubitum appetisse, & ab obrectatoribus eius, ne feroc atque impotens mulier, & hoc gratia genere præuuleret, deterritum nemo dubitauit, utique postquam meretricem, quam sama erat Agrippina simillimam inter concubinas recepit. Olim etiam quoties lectica cum matre ueheretur, libidinum incesse ac maculis vestis proditum affirmant.*

Amongst all his dishonest and filthie pranks, he neuer forgot the fierceness and crueltie of his heart, shedding blood, and killing an infinit number of men, and made boast and vaunted thereof; saying, that none of his predecessors in the Empire, did euer know their owne power but he. And one in his presence vsing this saying, vsed for a by-word, when I am dead let the world bee burned, quoth he, let it be before that I die, I pray God. Of so euil an inclination and enuious was this man to all mankind, which did fully appeare by that which he did within a litle while after this, which was, to set the citie of Rome on fire, as SVETONIVS, EVSEBIUS, EVTROPIVS, PAVLVS OROSIVS, and ISIDORE affirme: yet CORNELIVS TACITVS maketh some doubt thereof, whether that it were done by chaunce, or by his commaundement, and yet he himselfe affirmeth that no man durst to quench the fire for feare of him: and all affirme, that it lasted sixe daies and seauen nights, and that NERO went vp to the top of a high tower, to behold this spectacle, which was very pleasing to his sight, where he stood singing certaine verses of HOMER, which contained the burning of the citie of Troy. And the fire did consume somuch in the citie of Rome, that TACITVS writeth, that of fourteene great quarters which were in the citie, onely fower escaped free from it; and of the tenne, three were wholly consumed and burnt to the ground; and in the seuen there was neuer a house, whereof the greatest part was not burned, and many wholly. Finally, it was innumerable, and not to be imagined the houses, temples, riches, the spoiles of victories, the clothes and merchandises, and other things which this fire consumed: which to the end that the reader may the better vnderstand, he ought to consider, that Rome was then the greatest and most populous citie in the world, full of, and most frequented by strange Nations, and the most rich and beautifull that euer was, as that which in that time did draw to it and swallow vp all the money and riches of all the prouinces subiect vnto it, by taxings, tributes, impositions, briberie, and tyrannies. This lamentable desolation being ended, there remained in him no pittie at all, but all men held him to be the author thereof; although they durst not say so, and that he desired to haue of the ruines; for the stones, pillars, and other things which escaped the fire, he would not suffer to be carried a way by the owners, but tooke them for the building of his owne pallace and houses, which some daies before he had builded, and part thereof being burned with this fire, he afterwards reedified and made

Rome set on fire  
by Nero.

made without comparison fairer and greater then before; so as it seemeth an incredible matter, what PLINY, SVETONIVS, and CORNELIVS TACITVS write of the greatnes thereof, to whom I referre the reader for the particular description of that Palace, because it is a matter wonderfull, and which onely was sufficient to shew the riches of Rome. For it stretched from the Mount Palatine to the Mount Esquiline, which, as it seemeth, were distant a good deale more then a mile in bredth; it contained in it ponds of water so great, that they seemed to bee gulfes of the Sea, compassed round about with buildings and lodgings. It had in it also, besides gardens and orchards, excellent hills and woods, wherein were all manner of wild beasts. Moreouer the halles and dining chambers, besides that they were built of Marble, Alabaster, Iaspars, Topaces, and other excellent stones; the timber-workes thereof and the feelings were inlaid with gold and Iuorie, and mother of Pearle, and some stones of price. And some of these high places and chambers were round, and made with such art and skill, that, the floore remaining firme and fixt, the rooffe and vaults thereof went continually round like the skie, in such manner as sometime bird-cages are made; and some of these roomes were wrought with such art, that there were in the certaine ventalls and alimbiques of gold and Iuorie, which at certaine times did cast out sweete flowers, waters, and precious stones. This Palace like wise had bathes of sundrie waters hot and cold, and other ornaments and excellencies, such and so many as would be tedious to recite. Wherein and in other buildings which he made, he spent an inestimable quantitie of treasure, and in other which he began, which were strange and marueilous, which for breuitie I omit. And although (as is said) he had commaunded the citie of Rome to be set on fire, yet after that it was burnt, he vsed all diligence to reedifie it againe, in better forme then it was before, and had determined to alter the name thereof, and to call it *Neroniana*, after his owne name. But this his care sufficed not to cleere him of the infamie, which he had purchased among the people, for commaunding it to be set on fire.

After all this, the Emperour NERO by the instigation of the diuell, in whose power remained his finnes (the number of Christians in Rome then encreasing, through the preaching of the Apostles S. PETER and S. PAUL, which then were therein) he and such like being grieued with the holines and vertues of the Primitive Church, determined to persecute the same: and putting it in execution, a great number of Christians, both within and without it, were put to death by his commaundement. And this was the first generall persecution which the Church suffered. And although that after the death of CHRIST there wanted no persecutors; yet was it neuer persecuted by the Emperours publike edict vntill this time. Wherein, how great the constancie of the Martyrs was, and what sundrie kinds of martyrdom they endured, CORNELIVS TACITVS an infidell Historiographer, and an enemy to Christians, yet true in his historie, besides other Christian authors, shall beare witnes: who (like a Gentile murmuring at them) reciteth the persecution which the Emperour NERO made: whereof SVETONIVS also making mention, saith, that a most great number of Christian men and women were put to death: And among other cruelties, burnings, crosses, and other kinds of death, he reporteth that they were throwne to the dogges, by them to be torne in pieces: and to the end that the dogges should be the more eager against them, they clad and couered them with the skinnies of Beares and other wild beasts. This persecution of the church SVETONIVS and CORNELIVS TACITVS set downe in this place after the burning of Rome, in the eleuenth yecre of the

A description  
of Nero's Palace.

The first persecution  
of the  
Primitive  
Church.

the Emperour NEROES raigne, yet EVSEBIUS and other authors note it to bee in the last yeere of his Empire, wherein died the blessed Apostles S. PETER and S. PAUL by his commaundement. But it may be, and so I beleue, that this persecution lasted till then, which was little more then three yeeres; or whether it were onely in this time, it pleased God to preserue his holie Apostles vntill the time aboue said.

After that the Emperour NERO had executed the said crueltie against the Christians, which was the greatest that he euer vsed, there followed in Rome and the marches thereof, one of the greatest plagues of pestilence that euer was in the world; by the permission of God, as it is to be beleued, for the crueltie vsed against the Christians. But there was no amendment in him, neither any repentance, in that, nor in his other mischiefs: but rather waxing worse, he againe began his robberies and intolerable extortions in all his prouinces, which were such and so many, that they became vnpeopled, and many places were wholly ruined and desolate: for the ordinarie rents (although the summe thereof were incredible) being insufficient to maintaine the prodigalities and vnmearurable expences, which because they cannot be expressed at large, it shall suffice to make some bricfe mention thereof, the better to coniecture of the rest. Besides, what he without measure consumed in his building, and vaine works, and in the curious workmanship of that his famous house, which was a matter inestimable: in al the rest his disorder and excesse was incredible. First he apparelled himselfe with most precious and rich attire, and ordinarily plaid at dice and at other games great summes of money. When he went a fishing (whereunto he was extremely affected) and for his pleasure went to the sea and riuers, he commaunded the nets to be made of gold threed, and the ropes of most excellent fine silke. In his progresses which he made out of Rome, which were many, besides the other infinit numbers of people of his Court and baggage which he carried, and which followed him; he neuer had lesse then a thousand waggons drawne with Mules for his wardrope, excellently wrought and garnished; and those which led and ruled them, were apparelled in most rich attire, of gold, siluer, cloath of gold and silke, euen vnto the very Mules shooes, which were of pure siluer. Then the games and plaies which he made, were such & so many, that it cannot be counted what they might cost: for besides those which in Rome were ordinarie, as the Sword-players, combats, huntings of wild beasts, Lions, Elephants, Beares, Panthers, Tigers, and other beasts; the Comedies and Tragedies which in the Theaters and Amphitheaters were made and represented, and the sports on horseback, & with chariots of diuers formes, in the circuits and places of Rome, which were many, which hee made more often and with greater magnificence then euer theretofore; he inuented new sports with chariots drawne with Camels, and Elephants with Castles vpon their backs, with other nouelties and strange things, which to bring to passe it behooued a man to compass the world. As were his Naumachie, a fight with galleys vpon the water, making a Lake for that purpose by hand, which they also called Naumachia, making water to be brought from the Sea to fill the same, and therewith fishes to swimme therein, because it should be more naturall and at life. Then in the gifts which hee threw to the people, for him which could first take them, which they called *Misilia*, he would not giue such as were ordinarie, as other Emperours did, of money, birds, and other things of small value, but ioyntly therewith he commaunded precious apparell, gold, siluer, rich stones and pearles to be giuen; and to encrease this in all extremitie of things

The excessive prodigality of Nero.

Naumachia.

Gifts giuen by Nero.

things which could not bee cast in their kinde, hee caused certaine tables to be throwne, wherein was set downe what he should haue into whose hands they came, in wheate, heards, or slaues; which extended so farre as to giue heritages, fields, houses, lands, and other matters of great price. In all which that hath been said, he that will shall see what he might spend, and may imagine what his expences might amount vnto in other matters. So as this accursed man had no vice wherein he would not be extreame, and so would be in spending and dispersing, as he was in robbing and despiting the people: which his prodigality (as it was gratefull and pleasing to the vulgar sort) so I presume it was the cause why they so long time endured his tyrannie and wicked conditions.

But as these things were intolerable, after the 11. yeere of his raigne, many principall noble men of Rome conspired against him, the head and chiefe whereof was CAIUS PISO, the most noble man by birth, parentage and vertue, that at that time was in Rome, and according to his name, this conspiracie was called Pisoniana. But it was discovered before it tooke effect, and in steede of the remedie which was hoped for, it opened the way to the Emperours crueltie: for vpon this occasion he put to death so many principall men and of all sorts, as well those which were guiltie, as of those which hee would hold for suspected, that they were without number; among which died the witie and excellent Poet LVCAN, and his master SENECA. And feare and flatterie were of such power (which are things which commonly concur) that the Senate determined to doe sacrifices, and to giue solemne thanks vnto the gods for the health and safetie of NERO, and his deliuerie from this conspiracie; and they ordained feasts to be made therefore, and that the moneth of Aprill should lose his name and be called NEREO; and that there should be a new temple erected to the god of health, and other such like things. After this there was another conspiracie, the captain whereof was a Romane Knight, whose name was VINDE: but as the diuell would helpe and support his seruant NERO; so it was also discovered, and the confederates therein were by him brought to their death; and many others vpon that occasion. After which hee grew so fearefull, and therewith so cruell, that from thencefoorth his greatest studie and exercise was to put men to death, vpon any occasion whether forged or true, according to his fantasie. And so he slew a great number of principall men (as SVETONIUS and more at large CORNELIUS TACITUS doe describe.) Being nussed in these cruelties, he forgot not his other vices and exercises; among which one was to come personally into the Theater, and there to contend & strue for the prizes which were giuen to him that best could recite or sing verses and tragedies, and for other rewards of Musick which were giuen in that time, as if he had been the poorest Musition or singing man in Rome. And comming one day very merrie for a victorie which he had obtained in these Theatral Iusts and contentions, he tooke some displeasure against his beloued wife POPPEA; and as hee was very proude and ill conditioned, he gaue her a fume in the bellie, whereof being with child she fell so sicke that she died; and he, who was the cause of her death, was exceeding sorrie for it. After all this, in the 13. yeere of his raigne, the prouinces being no longer able to endure his tyrannie, and much lesse the armies which were in them, began to murmure and to thinke vpon meanes how they might rise and rebell against him, as within short space some of them did, which was in the 13. yeere of his raigne. Moued vpon the like occasion, the Iewes rose against the Empire, God permitting that they should be the first, and should perseuere in their rebellion, for a publike and euident

Piso conspired against Nero.

The Senate did sacrifice for the health of Nero.

Nero killed his wife Poppea.

The Iewes rebelled against Nero.

dent punishment which should be inflicted vpon them, for the putting of our Sauour CHRIST to death. For this warre which was begun against the Iewes, VESPASIAN was appointed captaine generall, a man very famous both in peace and warre, and who afterwards was Emperour, who had for his lieutenant (which is the second place after the generall) his sonne TITVS, who in proceffe of time was also Emperour. VESPASIAN began this warre very valorously, and it was afterwards one of the most famous warres that euer was in the world; wherein as shall be declared, the citie of *Ierusalem* was wholly destroyed. This historie is excellently well written by IOSEPHVS a Iewish historiographer, who serued in that warre, and was taken prisoner by VESPASIAN: and by EGESIPPVS a Iew by birth, but a christian by profession; besides many other authors which treat and write thereof.

VESPASIAN hauing by force of armes taken some cities in *Indes*; the enuie and hatred daily encreasing against NERO, with the causes which he gaue of the same, all Nations conspiring to rebell and rise against him; the prouinces of *France*, and the legions which were therein, first began, chusing IULIUS VINDE for their captaine who then was there. The newes hereof came to NERO being then in the citie of *Naples*, whither he went for his vertuous recreations, such as he was accustomed to vse: whereat he seemed not to be much moued, and (as it was surmised) it offended him not, because that thereby he might haue occasion to robbe and sacke all the prouinces of *France*. But the newes still encreasing, he began to stand in some doubt, and came to *Rome*, where he was certified that a part of *Spaine* called *Tarragona*, was also risen against him, with SERGIUS GALBA proclaiming himselfe Emperour; who was a man very famous for his noble linage, charges and dignities which he had valorously executed. Which he did, as some write, being perswaded thereto by letters from IULIUS VINDE, who (as I now said) was risen in armes in *France*.

Insurrection against Nero.

With this newes of *Spaine*, the Emperour NERO was so much troubled, that after that he had lien a good while (as though he had been dead) vpon his bed without speaking any one word; he rose vp as a man desperate, and tearing his clothes knocked his head against the walles; without hearing or receiuing counsell or comfort from those which would haue giuen it him. And this fury being past, he began to take order for the leuying of forces, and to require imprests and aides thereto: but he was so much hated of all the world, that no man came very willingly to his seruice; rather perswading one another to the contrarie, and not to come. And things standing in this state, as NERO busied himselfe about leuying an armie, and thought in himselfe what cruelties and punishments he might inflict, there came certaine newes vnto him, that the legions which lay vpon the frontiers of high *Dutchland*, whose captaine was RUFUS VIRGINIVS, were also risen against him, as well as those of *France* and *Spaine*. With this newes NERO lost all courage and hope to defend himselfe; and the Senate and people of *Rome* were therewith so much troubled, that without any soliciting, but onely of their owne meere motion by common consent, they determined to abandon NERO, and refuse to yeeld him any obedience, whereof ensued his death so shamefull and vile, as he deserved; which was in this manner.

SVETONIUS writeth, that when the newes came of the insurrection of the legions, NERO was at dinner; and that presently so soone as hee heard it, hee threw the table to the ground, and in despaire to bee able to defend himselfe, taking certaine poison in a boxe of gold, he withdrew himselfe to certaine gardens

which

which he had, where he deuised sundrie waies and meanes to escape this present calamitie; sometime thinking to flie out of *Italie* to the King of the Parthians, with whom he was in great league of friendship euer since the coronation of his brother TIRIDATES King of *Armenia*; other whiles he thought to yeeld himselfe to SERGIUS GALBA, and to craue mercie at his hands: but finding no meanes nor remedie for the one nor other (for few were they which repaired vnto him, or came at his calling) he was of opinion to goe forth into the publike places of assembly in *Rome*, clad in mourning attire, & there to craue pardon for his ill forepassed life; and if they should not graunt him to continue in the Empire, yet at the least that they would bestow vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome of *Egypt*; and to this effect, were found certaine orations already drawne in his closet; but he durst not put this deuise in execution, fearing to be flaine by the people; so great already was the tumult in the citie. Passing that day and part of the night in these doubts and feares, he laid himselfe vpon his bed, although he tooke little rest, determining with himselfe the next day to put in execution that counsell which should seeme most profitable. And hauing slept a little, he awoke about midnight, and was giuen to vnderstand that the Cohorts which had the garde of the pallace were gone, and had forsaken him. He amazed at so great a noueltie, sent for certaine his greatest and most priuate friends to their houses: but as betweene wicked men there is no certaine true friendship, neither was there any due to him, neither had he deserved any; so from none of them he receiued any good answer: wherefore with some of his seruants and those very few (protected by the darknes of the night) he went forth of his pallace, and in person went to many of their houses, at none of which they would open the doores, neither giue him any answer: so as he who within few daies before was feared and adored of all the world; returned sorrowfull, despised, and in feare of all men. And returning to the lodging from whence he came, he found it ransackt and robbed, euen to the very boxe of poison which he had reserued for his last refuge. Which when he saw, in despaire of his life and desiring to die, he began in great hast to call for a certaine sworde player which serued him, whose name was SPICILLVS MIRMILON, and commaunded him to kill him. And as neither this man, neither any other would doe it, he cried out with a loud voice, saying, Now I perceiue that I haue neither friend noremie. And in this furie he went with a determination to drowne himselfe in the Riuer *Tiber*, and making a stand, he asked of those which were with him, where he might hide himselfe, vntill that he had bethought him what to doe: presently an enfranchised man of his, offered to keepe him secretly hidden in a farme which he had foure miles from *Rome*. And so NERO taking this for his last refuge, mounting to horsebacke, in the darke of the night went out of *Rome* with foure men onely, which accompanied him, in the most couert and disguised manner that he could: and with great feare and trouble came to the village whither they carried him; and leauing his horse hidden among certaine trees, he went couertly through certaine Canes and Reedes; and before that he came to the house whither he was to goe, the same FAONTES which brought him, counselled him to goe into a caue which was there, where they vsed to digge sand: whereto he answered, that he would not bury himselfe aliue. And in the end he went into the house, creeping on all fower at a hole which they made through the wall; and comming into a chamber, he cast himselfe vpon a poore bed which was there, and being both hungrie and thirstie, he desired to haue some thing to eate: but there was nothing

Nero brought into extreame miserie.

to be had but a piece of browne breade and a little water; the bread he would not eate, but dranke of the water with incomparable feare and sorrow to see himselfe there.

As these things passed with NERO (as I haue said) so soone as it was day, his flight was presently discouered, and the Senate assembled, and by their common consent he was adiudged an enemy to his countrie, and being condemned to die, was commaunded to be sought for euery where: for the execution thereof, the men of warre of the Pretorian and Urban Cohorts, consented thereunto, by perswasions and promises which were made vnto them. With which newes, so soone as the determination of the Senate was published, a seruant to the said F-  
ONTES which brought NERO to his farme, went out of Rome, to giue him to vnderstand thereof: for hee knew the secret way. And being come where the Emperour was, he found him making preparation to kill himselfe, through the perswasion of those which came with him, seeing that there was no other meanes for him to escape. He hearing the sorrowfull newes which was brought him, amazed and euen out of his wittes, tooke the poiniards which he had brought thither, and feeling their points and edges, with shew to doe that which they had counsell'd him, growing fearefull and a coward, againe put them into their sheathes, faining that yet his fatall hower was not come. And sometimes he prayed and entreated, that some one of those which were with him, would kill himselfe, to the end that he might follow his example: at other times he would reprove himselfe for his base minde and want of courage, vntill at last hearing the noise of certaine horsemen, which by the commaundement of the Senate came to seeke him, he set a poiniard to his throate, wherewith, with the helpe of one of his seruants, he wounded himselfe, of which wound within a little while after, he died; making such gestures and countenances, as made all those which were present amazed thereat. And so ended the enemy of mankind, the venom and poison of the earth (for so PLINY calleth him) after that he had reigned fourteene yeeres, being two and thirtie yeeres old, in the seuentieth yeere after the birth of CHRIST. This NERO was a man of a goodly constitution, neither high nor low, of a faire countenance though somewhat wanton; his eyes greenish, a round visage, reddish haire, with a thicke and full necke, and had a great belly and little legges, and was a man of a sound complexion: for notwithstanding that he was giuen to all vice and excesse, yet in fourteene yeeres that he reigned, he was neuer but thrise sicke.

Nero slew him-  
selfe.

His death being knowne in Rome, the ioy which the Senate and people conceiued thereof, was incomparable; and all came forth into the streetes to congratulate one with another, with bonnets vpon their heads, which was a signe of libertie; for so did the slaues vse to weare when their maisters made them free. But with all this (as NERO had been a great feaster, a spender, a giuer, and was subiect to other vices, which many men loued more then many other mens vertues) yet there were some which for a long time honored his sepulcher and did ordinarily set flowers vpon it. And the King of the Parthians sent his Ambassadors afterwards to Rome to confirme the peace and amitie: who with great instance, earnestly desired that the remembrance of NERO might be held in honor and reuerence. And as the vaine and idle people vse to sowe false reports, so many beleued that NERO was not dead, but that he lay hidden and should returne againe to the Empire, as though that he had been enchaunted. Saint AVGVSTINE also in his booke *de ciuitate Dei* saith, that some were of opinion that

that NERO was antichrist, which vanitie gaue occasion that twentie yeeres after that, there rose a man in Asia, naming himselfe NERO, which caused great trouble and alteration, being assisted by the Parthians: although that in truth there remained no house of NERO, neither sonne nor daughter, adopted or naturall, and he was the last Emperour of the house and familie of the CÆSARS, founders of the Empire; so in him ended his linage, notwithstanding that the name continueth vntill this day.

In Nero was  
ended and ex-  
tinguished the  
linage of the  
Cæsars.

THE LIFE OF SERGIVS  
GALBA ONELY OF THAT  
NAME, AND SEVENTH  
EMPEROR OF ROME.



THE ARGVMENT.



Sergius Galba succeeded Nero, and in his old age was aduanced to the Empire. This man was of the noble family of the Sulpitij, and was very intemperate in his diet, and of no great good fame, concerning Sodomie, and gouerned the Empire by the counsell of three of his familiars. This man before his coming to the Empire subdued many prouinces, and was very seuer in the execution of the martiall discipline. He was learned in the liberall sciences, but chiefly very expert in the lawes. He was unfortunate in his children, for those which he had died before him; and he whom he adopted whose name was Piso Licinianus was slaine a little after him. This old man died through the sedition of Otho, who sent certaine souldiers to cut off his head in the publike market place: whither he came armed to repress the tumults. His body

body was left at the mercie of the people; yet in the end it was buried by one of his bondmen. He lived seuentie and three yeeres, and ruled the Empire seauen moneths and seauen daies. His death seemed to be very acceptable to the people, as to those which are ever desirous to see nouelties.



**N**ERO being dead in such manner as we haue declared, with great gladnes and generall consent of all men, SERGIUS GALBA was created Emperour; who in the time of NERO was nominated and proclaimed by the Armie which was in *Spaine*; and he was the first that receiued the Empire from the hand of the Armie, the Senate consenting thereto and approouing the same; hauing no affinitie or alliance with the house and linage of the CÆSARS, neither by nature nor adoption: For vntill this time the Empire succeeded by inheritance and succession from one to another, being kinsmen by nature or adoption. To declare the life and fortune of SERGIUS GALBA before that he was Emperour, would require a large discourse, for he came to it at the age of 72. yeeres, and enioyed it not one whole yeere: so as seeing that I write an Imperiall historie, I will not for so short a discourse (as was his raigne) make so long a preamble. Let it suffice for him, and so much as shall appertaine to our historie, to know, that SERGIUS GALBA was of a most noble linage in *Rome*, descended from the familie of the SVLPITII, by surname GALBÆ, and from other noble and ancient families (as these blazoners recount them euery one according to his will and fashion) whereof he was wont much to boast, that by his father he was descended from IVPITER, and by his mother from PASIPHÆ, wife to MINOS king of *Creta*, of whom is reported that notable fable of a Bull. And you shall also know that in his life time hee had administred and obtained many Magistracies and dignities in *Rome* and abroad, whereby he wonne great estimation to his person both in peace and warre: for being borne about the 40. yeere of the raigne of OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS, or within little more or lesse, he liued after in the times of TIBERIVS, CALIGVLA, CLAVDIVS, and NERO, and was well knowne and honoured by them all, which could not be, without great wisdom and valour, to be able to support and encrease his honour in times of such confusion, and vnder so tyrannous Princes; although imitating them, hee eschued not some of their vices, for which he was noted and defamed. So as speaking indifferently of this Emperour, we may say, that he was betweene good and bad, and so it seemeth that CORNELIVS TACITVS noteth him: yet PLVTARCH, who writeth his life grauely and at large, amongst other defects in his raigne, laicth the fault vpon the time, and the euill conditions of men in that age, and of GALBA hee treateth as of a good Emperour. And he and others write, that he was learned in the liberall Sciences, and much inclined and giuen to learning and knowledge, particularly in the lawes and customes. He was but once married, and then with a principall woman, whose name was LEPIDA, and she being dead, and two sons which he had by her, he would neuer marrie any more. And this shall suffice for the notice of the person and qualities of GALBA. Now let vs speake of his raigne, which although that it was brieft and short in time, yet it was not so in aduentures.

After that GALBA had rebelled in *Spaine*, in such manner as is said, and that the name of Emperour was giuen him, and by him accepted; in the meane space vntill NERO died, and afterwards in the short time before he knew of his death, he

The linage of  
Sergius Galba.

he was in great trouble and extremitie: for although that presently in the beginning all went well with him, and he tooke a house and held the state of an Emperour, taking a guard, and chusing for his counsell, with whom he might conferre and consult of matters of importance, certaine of the most principall and wise men of the legion whereof hee had the charge, and had made and giuen offices and dignities; and the inhabitants of the prouince made their repaire to him to do him seruice: yet vpon a sudden al was in a hurly burly; for part of the Cohorts began to repent them of what they had done, and were at the point to haue abandoned him. And it also happened that a certaine seruant to one of NERO his enfranchised men hauing been procured thereto, resolved, and mist but a little to haue killed him, in a passage as he was going to certaine bathes. And about all, the death of IVLIVS VINDEX, which then ensued, troubled him most; who, as we said, rebelled in *France*, and had induced him to make himselfe Emperour, which VINDEX slew himselfe, for that his troupes had fought with RVFVS VIRGINIVS his forces, who was capitaine of the legions in *Germanie*, which also rebelled; which battaile was against the will of both the captaines; and IVLIVS VINDEX his forces being overcome, and of them 22000. slaine, he therefore killed himselfe. These newes being added to that which is already said, did trouble GALBA so much, that he was in despaire of the Empire, and of his life also. But in this time (for it was in a manner all at one instant) newes came from *Rome* of the death of NERO, with certaine notice, that the Senate and Pretorian Cohorts had chosen and accepted of GALBA for Emperour. Which newes one ICCELLVS a Libertine brought him, for which hee afterwards did him many fauours: and messengers encreasing, much people with these tidings repairing to his seruice, hee tooke his way towards *Rome*, accompanied with men of warre. And vpon the way VIRGINIVS RVFVS capitaine of the legions in *Germanie*, sent to yeeld him his obedience; who vntill then had shewed himselfe newtrall, attending to know the will of the Senate, notwithstanding that he had declared himselfe against NERO. This old (although new) Emperour trauiailing towards *Rome* (as it commonly happeneth in such things as are done with little consideration) his coming to *Rome* was nothing like so agreeable and pleasing, as was his election: for before him there came certaine newes, which gaue occasion of discontentment, which were that he was not onely cruell, but also couetous; as Princes are much noted both in their doings and sayings. And it was also reported, that such cities of *Spaine* and *France*, as had not in time repaired vnto him to offer their seruice and obedience, hee had condemned in great summes of money, and had charged them with great tributes, and that of some of them he had commaunded the wals to be throwne down, and the gouernours to be put to death. Being in *Rome*, with this secret discontentment receiued, although with publike ioy and solemnitie, he began to take vpon him the administration and gouernment of the Empire, and ordained and did some things as a wife and valorous Prince, and tooke good order to assure himselfe against those which had rebelled: for in *Africa* he caused CLODIVS MACER to be slaine, because hee practised to make a tumult in that countie, by the meanes of TETRONIVS GRATIANVS; and for the same cause he made to be slaine in the frontiers of *Germanie* FONTEIVS a capitaine, whom VALENS FABIVS and CORNELIVS AQVINVS, Lieutenants to the legions in *Germanie*, slew. And in *Rome* was also put to death NEVFIDVS SABINVS, who was a Prefect, because that after NERO was dead, hee practised to make himselfe Emperour. Which executions although they were not to be reprooued, yet they

did discontent and grieue many. Also the common people being affected to the feasts and dissolute sports of NERO, and being accustomed thereto, loued better those his vices then the ancient vertues of GALBA. The Pretorian and Vrbane Cohorts, seeing that the Emperor GALBA did not performe the promises which were made vnto them, began likewise to murmure; yea and also to repent them to haue giuen him their obedience. They were also much discontented, for that he had brought with him a legion of Spaniards, and lodged them certaine daies in the citie, wherewith they held themselues wronged and grieved. But that which made him hated and abhorred of all men, were his fauourits, which principally were three; vnequall in conditions and behauiour, but equall in power and fauour with him: the one of them was called TITVS IVNIVS, and had bin his Lieutenant in *Spaine*, and then was Consul; the other was CORNELIVS LACVS, an infamous man and ill beloued, whom he made Pretorian Prefect, which was the greatest dignitie and authoritie next to the Emperours; the third was ICCELLVS MARCIANVS, which was he which brought the newes into *Spaine* of the death of NERO. By the counsell of these men he was gouerned, all the short space that his raigne endured. And this was such, that without any constancie or resolute stedfastnes (as became a Prince) he did things many times one contrarie to the other, according to the will of some of them: so as sometimes he shewed himselfe sharpe and rigorous; and at other times slow, remisse and negligent, condemning some vnheard, and pardoning others without any reason, at the instance of those men. And as they for their deserts were ill beloued; so commonly with the Prince which is gouerned, all those which haue not the like authoritie with him, are discontented; by this reason he made himselfe ill beloued. Where-to this was a helpe, that hee sought to moderate and diminish the excessiue gifts and rewards which NERO was wont to giue without measure or reason. And besides what is already said, his vnweildie old age began to be had in contempt, so as euery man durst presume to murmure at him, and to doe any thing against his authoritie. And matters standing in this state in *Rome*, those abroad were in as little quietnes: for seeing that the Armie and prouince of *Spaine* had made an Insurrection and chosen an Emperour, either of enuie or discontentment, there were in most parts Commotions, partialities and desire of alteration, and principally in the *Roman* armie which was in high Dutchland, the captaine whereof was RVFVS VIRGINIVS before named: for these legions waxing proud, by reason of the victorie which they had obtained against the armie of IVLIVS VINDEX, and making no account of ORDEONIVS FLACCVS, who was their Commaunder and Lieutenant to VIRGINIVS; and holding themselues for suspected, and in disgrace with the Emperour GALBA, because they were the last that came to his seruice, they determined to bee the first that should refuse the same. And the first day of Ianuarie being come, wherein they did vse to sweare, and to doe homage of fidelitie to the Emperour, they refused to doe it to him, but to the Senate; and sent to the Pretorian Cohorts at *Rome*, to giue them to vnderstand, that they would not obey that Emperour which was created in *Spaine*; and that the Senate should chuse such a one as to them should seeme fit, whereto they remitted themselues: Yet SVETONIVS saith, that they referred this choise to the same Cohorts. The legions in high Dutchland standing vpon these points, those in the low Dutchland were as little obedient, whose captaine was VITELLIVS, who hauing sounded the goodwill of the souldiers (notwithstanding that hee was sent thither by GALBA, and had receiued that charge from him) through the

The legions in  
Germany re-  
fused to doe  
homage to  
Galba.

desire to raigne, violating his faith, as IVLIVS CÆSAR was wont to say, that vpon that occasion it was lawfull to breake any contract, hee practised to get the Empire to himselfe. And for as much that he afterwards came to be Emperour, it shall not be amisse to giue the reader to vnderstand what hee was, which is thus. This VITELLIVS was a man of great reputation and authoritie; which hee had gotten in the offices and Magistracies which he had held in *Rome*, and out of it, in the time of the Emperours CAIVS CALIGVLA, CLAVDIVS and NERO, with all which he had been very priuate, more for his vices, and some abilities of his person, then for any vertues. With CALIGVLA he was in grace, for that he was a great Auriga; for so were they called which had the charge and rule of chariots and waggons: with CLAVDIVS, for that he was a great gamester: with NERO, for the same, and such like qualities. And besides this, as hee was very subtil and cunning, hee obtained in those times great dignities and offices, of Prefect, a Priesthood, and also to be Viceconsul in *Africa*, which hee wisely executed: and in the end GALBAGAE him this Captainship in Dutchland; where succeeded that which we will declare. His principall linage and descent was of the familie of the VITELLII, whereof because there are sundrie opinions, some making it very ancient, and others to be of later time, I will make no question thereof: the same happened to his fathers and ancestors; for some said that he was of meane degree. SVETONIVS in his life treateth thereof more at large, to whom I referre the curious reader: for what is said, sufficeth for my purpose, thereby to vnderstand what shall be said hereafter.

The Emperour GALBA being giuen to vnderstand what passed in the armies of *Germanie*, and knowing that besides that he was old, he was not regarded because he had neuer a sonne that might succeed him, he resolved to put in execution what he sometime before had projected, which was to adopt and chuse for his sonne, some personage of such age and authoritie, as might be sufficient and capable of the Empire, and who in his life time might protect him, and after his decease succede him. His fauourits, and such as were priuate with him, vnderstanding this his determination, each of them apart pretended to giue him a sonne of his chusing, so as there arose contention among them vpon this occasion. Principally OTHO gaped thereafter, and thought to haue obtained this adoption (he, from whom we said, that NERO tooke his wife POPPEA and sent him into *Spaine*) alleaging for his desert, that presently after GALBAS rebellion against NERO, he was the first that came to his seruice. Great part also of the Pretorian and Vrbane Cohorts fauoured him (which the Historiographers indifferently call the Armie which lay neere to *Rome*) and most of all TITVS IVNIVS assisted him, who was one of GALBA his fauourits, and was Consul with him that yeere: so as OTHO did assure himselfe that no other should be adopted but hee. But GALBA hauing settled his minde, as was most expedient for the good of the common-wealth, without any other respect; and likewise disliking the disposition of OTHO (which sented of NEROES conditions) tooke no regard of what was said vnto him; but vpon a day when no man thought of any such matter, being in the Senate, hee tooke PISO LVCINIANVS by the hand, who was a man both very wise and vertuous, and in whom did concur all the qualities and good conditions that might seeme fit and requisite for an Emperour: and calling him sonne he adopted him, after the manner then accustomed; and with a great traine, in great pompe, he went with him to the Campe, and made the Armie to sweare obedience vnto him, and to receiue him for such: which hee did without giuing

Piso adopted by  
Galba for his  
sonne and suc-  
cessor.

giuing any rewards to the souldiers, or promising them ought, whereto they were accustomed; but onely made a graue oration with great maiestie after the ancient manner; and so he was coldly accepted and receiued among them, they performing more with silence, then with any signe of gladnes either in countenance or in speeches: and with the like coldnes hee was accepted by the Senate, for now Rome was not capable of equitie or ancient seueritie. GALBA hauing made this adoption, conceiued that it would haue been the meane to haue preferred and protected his life: but it prooued in effect to bee the occasion and remainder of his confusion and vtter perdition. For OTHO seeing himselfe deceiued in his hope of adoption, and finding the people well affected towards him, for the hatred they had conceiued against GALBA, resolved to effect his purposes by force and treason: which hee presently practised by all the meanes possible with the Pretorian souldiers, by great gifts, and greater promises which hee made vnto them. And he so cunningly handled the matter (for so little faith and loialtie was vsed in those daies) that in lesse then eight daies he had plotted his treason; and it was concluded that they should rebell and create him Emperour, as they did, with the death of the poore old GALBA.

It was so, that GALBA being with certaine his priuate friends in his palace doing sacrifice; this OTHO being there with him, stole secretly away from him to a place appointed, where a number of souldiers of the Pretorian Cohorts attended his comming, which tooke him vpon their shoulders, calling him Emperour, and drawing their swords (to giue the greater terror to the people) went with him towards their campe. This being related vnto GALBA, who doubted not any such matter, extremely perplexed him; and as his counsels were sudden, so were they inconstant and variable. For some were of opinion that his best course was to put himselfe in armes, and to goe publicly abroad; for with his presence hee might haue staied the matter from proceeding any further: others, that it were best for him to fortifie himselfe in the Capitoll, and there to stay vntill he should see to what issue the matter would grow. The poore old man wauered and was doubtfull what resolution to take, the messages which were brought him were so diuers: for some made the matter nothing, and others very dangerous. In the end deceiued by a false report which they brought him (alleaging that the Armie had not onely refused to receiue OTHO for Emperour, but had slaine him) hee road armed with his guard, and some others which repaired vnto him, euen vnto the principall place in Rome; where all the people were assembled to see what would be the end of so great an accident. At that instant there entred at the other side a great troupe of horsemen, which OTHO had sent from the Campe, where he was chosen Emperour, against GALBA, and to kill him: which although they came with a resolution and a commaundement to kill him, yet comming within his sight and knowing him, they stood amazed a preie while, doubting what they should doe. At this time was GALBA most perplexed, not knowing whereon to resolve, and the multitude and prease of people was so great about him, that they swaied him sometime to one side, and sometime to the other: and as it commonly happeneth in such misadventures and tumults, that then the counsell is praised and approoued, when the time is past wherein it might haue been put in execution; and standing in doubt whether hee should returne to the palace, or enclose himselfe in the Capitoll, hauing had sufficient time for either, when he would haue done the one or the other, he could not: For being abandoned by the greatest part of those which did accompanie him, those which were sent by

OTHO

OTHO, set vpon him, after they had stood a good space doubtfull, as I said, and there was he by them slaine. PLUTARCH saith (although some others report it after another manner) that when those which came to kill him drew neere vnto him, he thrust out his necke, to the end that they should cut it off, willing them to doe it, if so it were expedient for the good of the Common-wealth, and of the Romane people. And so indeed it was stricken off, and his head was set vpon the point of a Launce and presented to OTHO, and from him was carried vp and downe the Campe; and his bodie remained in the place without a head, for any man to tread vpon, vntill at last it was buried by a bondman of his. And the same day by OTHO his commaundement, was PISO LVCINIANVS put to death, whom GALBA (as I said) had adopted for his sonne and successor: and so was TITVS LVNIVS also, who was Consul, and others of his fauourits, whose heads were all caried to the Campe to OTHO, whom all men now obeyed for Emperour; and being laid together with GALBA his head, euery one gloried to haue embued his hands in their blood. And so ended the life of the Emperour GALBA, hauing held the Empire but onely seuen moneths. His death was in the yeere of our Sauour IESVS CHRIST 71, and 73. of his age. He was a man of a good constitution of bodie, greenish cied, hauke nosed, very balde by reason of the great paine of the gowt wherewith hee was afflicted; his fingers and toes were weak and crooked; he was a great feeder, very incontinent, and much giuen to women.

*Galba was slaine by the direction of Otho, and his head was presented vnto him upon the point of a Launce.*

## THE LIFE OF MARCVS SILVIVS OTHO, FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND EIGHT ROMANE EMPEVOVR.

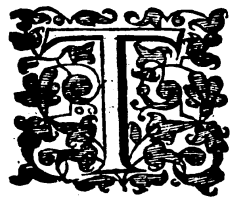


THE ARGVMENT.



*The borne of a most noble familie, tooke the Empire after Galba, although his euill fortune would not suffer him to enioy the same any long time: for at the same time that Otho was made Emperour in Rome, Vitellius was proclaimed Emperour in Germanie. And for as much*

much as the one would not give place to the other, in the end they came to blowes, and after sundrie battailes, Orho being the loser, not knowing what other course to take in his adversitie, slue himselfe; which all seemed not answerable to the life which he had led, which was more like to the effeminate of a woman, then the courage of a man. This man ruled the Empire foure moneths, and died in the xxx. yeare of his age. He was so deere to his owne souldiers, that whilst his bodie was burning after the maner then of the Romanes, many of them slue themselves with their owne hands.



HE Raignes of GALBA of whom we haue now ended our discourse, and of OTHO, and VITELLIVS his successors, of which we are to treat, were so short, so vnquiet, so confused, and gotten by such wicked and vnlawfull meanes, that more properly they might be called Tyrants, then Emperours, and so some writers do tearme them: neither do they put them in the roll and catalogue of the Emperours, of which are Saint ISIDORE and BEDA. And the great

Magicien APOLLONIVS THIANEVVS, who liued in that time vsed to say, that GALBA, OTHO and VITELLIVS were *Thebane* Emperours: and this he said, for that the *Thebanes* held the Empire a verie small time, and so did these as little the Empire of Rome. PLVTARCH in the life of GALBA, compareth them to the Kings in a Tragedie, which last no longer then the time that they are represented vpon the Stage. But howfoeuer it was, they obtained the names of Emperours, whether the Senate gaue it them for feare or flatterie, I wil not decide: but passing on with PLVTARCH, CORNELIVS TACITVS, and the rest which write of them, I say that the same day wherein GALBA was slaine, there was no man of any account which went not to the Camp where OTHO was, to yeeld him obedience and to flatter him, as their soueraigne Lord and Emperour, commending the Cohorts and Armie for that which they had done, in putting GALBA to death, and for the election of OTHO.

OTHO was a man very valiant and wittie, and was the sonne of LVCIVS OTHO who had bin Consul, of an auncient and honorable linage, and was so like vnto TIBERIVS in his gesture and countenance, that some held him for his sonne. His mother also was of a noble family, and so were her progenitors and aunces-tors. Hereof writeth SVETONIVS, and PLVTARCH in the life of him, by which and by CORNELIVS TACITVS may be vnderstood what was the course of his life before that he came to the Empire, or had the name of Emperour, which in brieue I haue before declared, and therefore hold it needlesse to make repetition thereof. OTHO besides the occasions which (we said) he had to rise against GALBA, they write that he had this for one, which was, that an Astrologer which he caried with him when he was sent by NERO into *Spaine*, did foretell him and assure him that he should be Emperour of Rome. Being in the Camp in such maner as before is recited, compassed about with Senators and the principall men of Rome, he came to the Senat: hauing first commaunded the Pretorian Prefect of the citie to assemble the same, where besides the ordinarie blessings and applausings, they gaue him the name of AVGVSTVS, and all the other names and prehem-inences which the other Emperours desired to haue. And hauing therein made a brieue Oration, wherein he signified that he was compelled and forced to take vpon him the charge of the Empire, promising to gouerne the same by the counsell and aduise of the Senate, he went from thence through the midst of the place (which was all bloudie and full of dead bodies) to IVPITERs Capitoll, and thence to the Imperiall Palaces; and so was OTHO aduanced to the Empire, who

was the first that by the cohorts (which were the Army lodged too neere the citie of Rome) was chosen and made Emperour, and from whom came the custome to create Emperours, after that they had forsaken GALBA, before which time they were euer the Emperours ordinarie guard. This was an accursed and most pernicious introduction for the Romane Empire, and for the Emperours themselves also, as experience did afterwards make manifest.

In performance of OTHO his promises, and to make a good beginning and shew of a good Prince, he commanded much confiscated goods to be restored to their owners, and to such men as NERO had banished, and did other things in the like maner, which were exceeding pleasing to all the people, in such sort that they tooke such loue and liking vnto him, that they continued euermore faithfull vnto him vntill his dying day, although in truth his life lasted but a little while after. While as these matters passed in Rome, the legions and army which in both high and low *Dutchland* (as I haue said) were disobedient to GALBA, their Captaine VITELLIVS hauing by gifts & promises purchased their fauour and good will, after some treaties, which TACITVS and PLVTARCH describe at large, concluded to create him Emperour, and without attending the will and pleasure of the Senate, they made him so: so as in a maner, at one instant OTHO was aduertised thereof, and VITELLIVS knew what passed in Rome.

The Germane legions presuming that VITELLIVS whom they had chosen should continue Emperour, for their reason alleaged that they had as great authoritie to create an Emperour, as the legions in *Spaine*, and the Senat, the cohorts, and army at Rome pretended to haue the supreme power, and that in them rested the absolute authoritie to choose and create the Emperour, which was OTHO only. And although that OTHO by this meanes seemed to haue the greatest interest and best title, yet whether his guiltie conscience did put him in feare, or that it grieved him to thinke of the euils which were likely to ensue (as he afterwards shewed) he sought meanes by letters and messengers to come to a composition and agreement with VITELLIVS: but nothing was concluded, and the dissension daily increasing betweene them, either partie made preparation for the warres. And certaine tidings being brought that VITELLIVS his forces came marching towards *Italy*, vnder the conduct of two Captaines, whose names were VALENS and CECINNA (VITELLIVS remaining somewhat behind them attending more aid) OTHO departed fro *Rome* with a faire & well ordered army, of all the Romane Nobilitie, the Pretorian cohorts, & the legions which were in the Nauies, by sea vpo the coast of *Italy*, which he sent for to that effect, & such others as he then could leuie: and in this maner he marched from Rome verie mightie in number of men, though not much accustomed to the warres, leauing FLAVIVS SABINVS brother to VESPASIAN for gouernor thereof, who (as is said) followed the warres against the Iewes, and so he continued his iourney against VITELLIVS, whose forces were already come to the Alpes, to the number of 70000 men, whereof fortie thousand were commaunded by VALENS, and the rest by CECINNA, VITELLIVS remaining in *France* expecting the remainder of those in *Germany*, and the legions of *Britanny* which also came to do him seruice. These two Armies drawing neere the one to the other, the ciuill warre began betweene them, and was very cruell in many parts, or to say better, that warre was prosecuted which was begun betweene GALBA and NERO. Rome in a good space had not bin infested with any ciuill dissensions, although it escaped not free from sundrie misfortunes, by reason of the euill Princes which raigned therein; by which

Galba, Orho, and Vitellius, called Thebane Emperours, and compared to Kings: vpon a Stage in a Tragedie.

Orho his descent.

Orho was the first that was made Emperour by the Pretorian Cohorts.

Vitellius made Emperour by the Legions in Germany.

Warre betwene Orho and Vitellius.

meanes the present euils which were very great, brought the battailes fought betweene MARIVS and SILLA, IVLIVS CÆSAR and POMPEY, AVGVSTVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS, and others which depended thereof, into remembrance; with which these whereof we now treat may well make comparison, both for alteration in estates, for number of men, and effusion of blood; I cannot say whether, for continuance of time, in countries and prouinces or no: for after these warres began, there died by the sword foure Emperours (as it hath bin, and shall be declared) which were NERO, GALBA, OTHO, and VITELLIVS, besides VINDEX and other Noble men which were slaine: and besides VINDEX his legions, which (as we said) were ouerthrowne in *France*, there were great encounters and battailes fought, and extreame cruelties committed: and these warres lasted vntill that VESPASIAN came to be Emperour, no part of the Empire remaining free from this furie, whereof I can set downe but the summe and most notable accidents which hapned therein.

Four Emperors  
slaine in the  
ciuill warres.

OTHO comming to the citie vpon the side of the riuer *Po*, remained there, sending his forces before him vnder the conduct of good Captaines, which were ill obeyed by their souldiers, being growne proud for that they had made an Emperour, imagining that no man ought to haue the commaund of them: the like want of obedience was in VITELLIVS his army, and for the same reason, and the warres waxing cruell betweene these two Captaines and their armies, they made such haste, that leauing apart the great skirmishes & other encounters, there were within few daies space two or three notable battailes fought betweene them, one of which was nere to the citie of *Placentia*, the other nere to *Cremona*, and the third nere to a place called *Castor*, in which were slaine a very great number of men, and in all these three battailes OTHO his Captaines and the Romanes had the better, although that of either side the word was, *Rome*, and the Empire.

Battailes be-  
twene Otho  
and Vitellius.

After which VALENS and CECINNA which were VITELLIVS his Captaines, and which vntill then had made warres apart, ioined their forces together, reinforcing their armies with new souldiers and supplies, determining to set vp their whole rest in one battaile, if the enemy would giue it them. At that time (as PLVTARCH reporteth) OTHO very ioyfull for the victories obtained by his Captaines, came to his army in *Bebriacum*, where it then lay, nere vnto *Cremona*; and seeing that his enemies (notwithstanding that they had bin put to the worse and were broken) made shew to desire to fight againe, tooke counsell whether that of his part he should do the like or no: the greatest part and wisest men were of opinion that he should prosecute the warres, without hazarding any battaile; for that his enemy endured want of many things, and with their losses past, had likewise lost much reputation; and many countries were reuolted from VITELLIVS and held for OTHO: besides that, VITELLIVS could send them little reliefe; and to the contrary his army was well provided of all things necessarie, and *Rome* and all *Italy* were whole at his deuotion. And besides all this, the prouinces of the East stood firme for him, and the legions in *Serua*, *Bulgaria*, *Hungary*, and *Austrich* were vpon the way comming to his aid; so as he had no reason so often to tempt his fortune, & therefore he ought to defeat his enemy by delaies, or else to stay for greater power, wherein there was no doubt of victorie. But those which were haucie and desirous to fight, alleadged many reasons contrarie hereto, that he ought not to lose the occasion, and the good successe of fortune, neither to suffer VITELLIVS to come to his army, and to put it out of the feare wherein it

it

it was, with many other reasons, to the end that the battaile might be giuen, and OTHO being inclined thereto, approued and commaunded the same to be put in execution: for in truth he did so much abhor the warre, that he held it for a lesse euill to lose the victorie, then long to continue therein; and being resolu'd vpon this counsell, he returned to *Brixelle*; for it was agreed that he should not personally be in the battaile, and his army went to seeke VITELLIVS his forces, which were not farre off. And as of either partie they were desirous to fight, so they came to a battaile, wherein in the beginning, OTHO his army was deceiued by meanes of a shew of peace which his enemies made: whereupon they gaue the charge very slowlie, and authors report the maner thereof very diuerslie, as it vseth to happen in the like chances; but all affirme that both the one and the other fought valiantly, sauing the pretorian cohorts, which were those in whom OTHO reposed his chiefe trust, through whose default and cowardise, OTHO lost the battaile, and VITELLIVS was victor, and with great slaughter of his aduersaries became maister of the field.

OTHO his Captaines with such others as by flight escaped from the battaile, retired themselves to their camp, and fortified the same, in hope to haue been relieved by their Emperour; notwithstanding that many fled to sundrie parts: but he hearing the newes of the ouerthrow of his people, brought by those which fled vnto him, notwithstanding that he knew that in the camp there were reasonable good forces, and that he had oportunitie to temporize, and to stay for the legions which out of *Misia*, *Hungary*, *Austrich*, and *Dalmatia*, came to his aid, and were nere at hand, yet he regarded not any of those remedies, but with his owne hand resolu'd to end the ciuill warres, which as it passed (for that it is a notable matter, although I shall be somewhat tedious) I will declare, as PLVTARCH and TACITVS do report it, and SVETONIUS TRANQVILLVS also after the report of his owne father who was then there present, which was thus. The heauie tidings of this ouerthrow being published, all those which were in the citie (which were many and they very good men, and the greatest part of the Senate of *Rome*) came to OTHO his lodging, fearing and suspecting that which afterwards ensued, by reason of that which they had heard and vnderstood by him before: all which with shew of great courage offered to dye for his seruice, and endeouored to animate and recomfort him, but all this (notwithstanding that he knew that great part of his army remained, and that more forces were coming vnto him, and that there wanted neither courage in his people, nor meanes to continue the warres) sufficed not to alter his determination; so much did he abhorre ciuill discord and contention. And giuing answer to all the reasons & perswasions which they vsed vnto him, he made vnto them a verie notable Oration, signifying, that he would neuer haue begun the warres against VITELLIVS, but in hope of peace, which he had practised and procured before he tooke armes; and that he had no vse for those legions and forces which they said came to his aid, seeing that his enemy was neither HANNIBALL nor PYRRHVS, or any other common enemy to the people of *Rome*, but the Romanes themselves, and the Lords thereof; so as the conquerours and conquered did wrong their countrey if they continued any longer, seeing that the ioy and gladnes of the victorious was to the sorrow and detriment thereof: And that he no way could bring such profit to the Roman Empire, by winning battailes in warre and controuersie, as by making a sacrifice of himselfe for the peace, seeing that by his death only concord would ensue and be established, therefore he was content that VITELLIVS should be Em-

Otho his  
Oration.

Otho diuided  
his money and  
jewels among  
his seruants  
and friends.

Otho slew him-  
selfe.

perour, without doing any further harme, and that he desired no reuenge nor rule to the cost of his citzens, neither to diminish his Common-wealth by the losse of such armies: and that as others had purchased honor & fame by well gouerning & supporting the Empire, so he would likewise procure himselfe a good name by leauing it valorously, to the end that he would not damnifie it. And finally speaking these words, & giuing other very good reasons, permitting & perswading all those which were with him to go and serue VITELLIVS: and night being come, hee retired himselfe to his chamber, where hee commaunded all his money and jewels to be taken out, which he diuided among his seruants and friends. Which although that they would not, yet he commaunded them to goe to their rest: and he did the like, laying first the sharpest of two poiniards which he had vnder his beds head, and being laid in his bed he slept part of the night, in presence of those which were in his chamber, the doore standing open: and awaking about the breake of the day, and seeing one of his seruants remaining, he commaunded him to goe forth, and then presently taking the poiniard in his hand, as I said, he smote himselfe therewith vnder the left side, with such force that the wound was mortall, and giuing one onely groane, was heard by his seruants, which hastily ranne vnto him, and found him struiuing with death, and died presently vnder their hands. By those which were present, and those which presently repaired thither from all parts of that citie to him, there was so great lamentation made for him, that it seemed that the heauens had rent asunder: so much was this man beloued in so few daies. And his bodie being presently burned, according as the custome then was, hard by the fires side, some of his people slew themselves. And so ended the Emperour OTHO manfully and valorously, according to the opinion and law of the Romanes: scarcely foure moneths after that he had vsurped the Empire, in the 38. yeere of his age, and the 71. after the birth of Christ, without leauing after him any sonne or daughter. He was a man but of a small stature, and had crooked feete; but he was so neate and so curious in attiring himselfe, that the care which he tooke therein, was more befeeming a woman then a man. He euer ware a periwig, and suffered no iot of his beard to grow, shauing it euery day with a rasour, and so vsed such other effeminate toyces, much dissonant from the manly minde which he shewed at his death.

The newes of his death and of the victorie forepassed was brought to his enemy VITELLIVS in *France*, who hauing intelligence of the losses which his captaines had receiued, was comming with all the forces that he was able to make to ioyne with them, and to reinforce the armie. In those daies S. L I N V S who

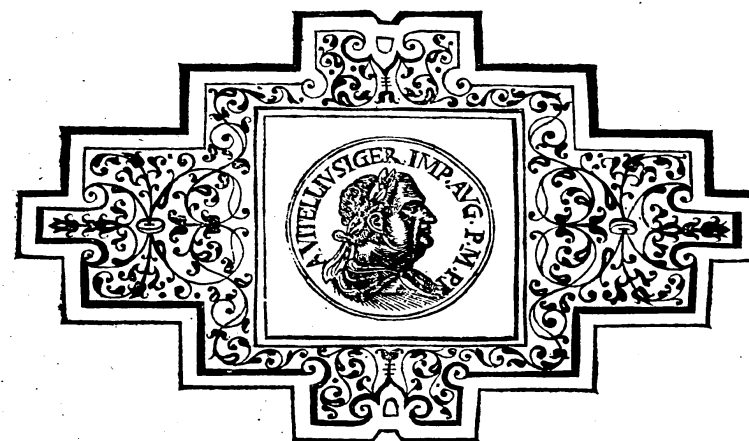
was S. P E T E R S successor held the chiefe seate in the Church of *Rome*,

wherein was a Church and congregation of Christians, which made their prayers to God for those which persecuted them.

## THE



## THE LIFE OF AVLVVS VITELLIVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND NINTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.



### THE ARGVMENT.



FTER Otho, *Aulus Vitellius* borne of a most noble familie succeeded in the Empire wherein he was unfortunate: for he ruled the same but eight moneths. This man was of a cruell heart, and of a bountifull minde. In his time *Vespasian* being in the East, was made Emperour by his souldiers; who comming to a battaile in Italy against *Vitellius*, tooke him prisoner, and binding his hands behind him, leading him publicly abroad halfe naked, and his face all dirty, they slew him with many wounds, in the same place where he had put *Sabinus Vespasians* brother to death. He liued 57. yeeres, and raigned (as is abovesaid) little more then halfe a yeere: By whose miserie it plainly appeareth how variable the motions of fortune are, and that oftentimes a kingdome is lost through the same meanes whereby it was vniustly gotten, as appeareth in this Emperour: for *Vespasian* did by him as he had done by his predecessor *Otho*.



S the contention for the name of Emperour continued betweene OTHO and VITELLIVS, as by that which is already said may be vnderstood; OTHO being dead all turned ouer to VITELLIVS, which happened in this manner. The furious lamentation made for the death of OTHO being ended, all the men of warre both Legionarie and Pretorian with all the rest made repaire to the lodging of VIRGINIVS, who had been

Captaine of the Germane Legions, which fought against VINDE his armie, when they both made Insurrection against NERO. And being all assembled together, they entreated and desired him to take vpon him the name of Emperour, offering him their seruice, and to die in the action: and if that hee pleased not to accept thereof, yet at the least that hee would be their Ambassadour to VALENS and CECINNA, and obtaine their pardon of them. VIRGINIVS RVFVS, who was a wife and valorous man, answered hereto with the best words that he could deuise, alleaging that to him it seemed follie to accept of the Empire from the hands of those which were ouercome, hauing refused the same of the Germane Legions, which now were victors, when in the life of NERO they had offered it him. And as concerning the ambassade which they requested him to perforce for them, he gaue them a doubtfull and vncertaine answer, still putting them in hope thereof, vntill that he was gotten into his lodging, and out againe at a backe doore, and gat him to a secret place where hee hid himselfe vntill that furie was past. But a certaine principall man whose name was RVBRIVS GALLVS, afterwards accepting of that iourney, went to VITELLIVS his Captaines to treat thereof; and peace and pardon was graunted and concluded, as well with these men as with the armie ouercome neere *Bebriaco*, and all came to the obedience of VITELLIVS in his absence. The like was done by part of the Senate which came with OTHO, and was then in *Modena*. And in *Rome* so soone as the death of OTHO was knowne, FLAVIVS SABINVS being Prefect of the citie, assembled the Senate, who conforming themselves to the time (which was now to profer seruice and to flatter) with the accustomed solemnitie proclaimed and accepted of VITELLIVS for Emperour, giuing him the name of AVGVSTVS, and *Pater patrie*, with other honourable titles and Epithetes, and determined to giue great thanks and praises to the armie for that which was done. The newes of all this came to the new Emperour VITELLIVS in *France* vpon the coast of *Italy*, which how pleasing it was vnto him, may be imagined; wherewith he hastened his way with admirable pompe and pride; his people through all the cities as they passed, committing many disorders and insolencies.

The Germane Legions which were in *Italy*, growne proud through the victorie which they had obtained, and for that they were the authors of VITELLIVS his Empire, committed outrages neuer scene nor heard of in that countrie before, whereof the harme and losse which the people sustained was vnmeasurable, as TACITVS and SVETONIVS report: And VITELLIVS comming proud and victorious into *Italy*, either could not, or would not remedie these disorders. And to the end that in some sort he would seeme to doe iustice and shew himselfe a Iusticer, he caused all the Pretorian Cohorts, which had had any thing to doe about the death of GALBA, and making of OTHO Emperour, to be disarmed, and deprived of the name and honor of Souldiers, and commaunded their armes to be taken from them, and one hundred and twentie of the most guiltie he condemned to death; and being sought and found, a iust sentence and example was executed vpon them, if it had proceeded from a iust Iudge. VITELLIVS thus trauiailing towards *Rome*, desired to see the place where his Captaines obtained the victorie against OTHO his armie, and being but fortie daies after the same, the fields lay full of dead bodies which yet were vnburi; and as many of those which were with him could not endure the euill smell thereof, the cruell tyrant reprooued them saying, That there was no sweeter smell in the world, then the smell of an enemy when he is dead, and most of all of a citizen: A speech for certain

Vitellius confirmed Emperour by the Senate.

The cruell speech of Vitellius.

taine very inhumane and cruell, which is written to the end to be abhorred, and ought to be read with the like affection.

VITELLIVS being come to *Rome*, as vpon the way many scandales and outrages were committed by the sundrie nations which came with him, with infinite robberies and harmes done in the countrey; so was his entry into the citie fearefull and horrible: for he entered into it as into an enemies countrey that was conquered, mounted vpon a faire great horse, clad in militarie and warlike robes and attire, the Senate and people of *Rome* going before him as though that he had triumphed ouer them; he riding compassed about with standards, with the Eagles, and sundrie other ensignes, and his whole army both of foote and horse, armed in the best armour and furniture that could be gotten. In this manner he went to the Capitoll to make his prayers to IVPITER, and afterwards he went in the same manner to his Palaces: and the next day commaunding the Senate to be assembled, he came thither, where he made vnto them a most fit speech, magnifying with little wit or discretion his acts and aduentures, and promising great goodnes of himselfe; and by them was humble answered, obeyed and honoured as Emperour, and their soueraigne Lord.

Departing from the Senate and taking his way towards his palace, all the people of *Rome* (being accustomed to flatter and to make offers of their seruice) met him, making shew of great ioy, applauding and blessing him: and as new accidents euer bring good hopes, so all were of opinion that VITELLIVS would proue a good Emperour. These first solemnities being ended, he made himselfe presentlie to be chosen high Priest, and perpetuall Consul; and tooke vnto himselfe certain dignities such as he thought good, and commanded that Magistrates should be chosen for ten yeares before hand: so absolutely and tyrannoullie purposed he to haue vsurped in all things if he had had time thereto. And thinking by his industrie to haue prolonged his life, he banished from *Rome* and all *Italy* all the Iudiciall Astrologers called Mathematicians, because they had said that his raigne should not endure one yeare to an end. After this falling to his old humors and licentious inclination, he began to giue himselfe to the exercises and vices of NERO, and such like, which were playes, and dishonest sports vpon the Theaters, with publike feasts, wherein he consumed an infinite deale of treasure, desiring to make the beginning of his Empire acceptable and pleasing. In which time he made so great bankets, as neuer any Emperour had made the like before him, wherein was giuen to his guests (which were a great number of people) such things as neuer were thought or heard of, wherein he spent inestimable summes. During these pleasures and afterwards, he executed great cruelties, in such sort, as if his raigne had lasted long, he would haue made himselfe equall with NERO, whom he did imitate: for he did put many to death contrarie to all law and equitie, seeking forgeries, and false accusations against them; with some of which he had held streight friendship and familiaritie, one of which came to visit him being sicke, who calling for a little water to drinke, he with his owne hand cast poison into the cold water and poisoned him. At another time he commaunded two yong men being brothers to be slaine, for no other cause, but for that they came to intreate him to pardon their father, whom he had condemned to dye. And vpon a time a Romane Knight being caried by his commaundement towards the place of execution, he commaunded him to be staid, because he said that he had nominated him for his heire by his will and testament, and seeing his will, and finding that iointly with him he had made a bondman of his, whom he

Vitellius his entrie into Rome.

Vitellius banished the Mathematicians from Rome.

Cruelties committed by Vitellius.

had enfranchised his heire with him, he commaunded him to be slaine, and the poore libertine also, without any other occasion. He also vsed the like cruelties with some poore and meane people, of which vpon a time he commaunded a great number to be slaine, for no other occasion, but for that in certaine sports which were vsed on horsebacke, and in chariots, wherein were fundrie men apparelled in sundrie colours, they tooke part with those which were clad in greene, which was called the Prasian faction, he being affected to the contrarie colour which they called Venetian, which was grey: which two colours and factions (although there were white and red also) yet these were the chiefe among all the rest. And among these colours the good will and fauour of the Romane people was so diuided, that this affection extended it selfe euen to the Emperours themselves, as now to VITELLIVS who fauoured the grey colour, as NERO and CALIGVLA before him had affected the greene: and sometime (as it shall be hereafter declared) about these vanities there followed great riots, and murders. These and other such like iniuries and tyrannies committed VITELLIVS in Rome, and some of his Captaines and fauourites did no lesse: for hauing obtained the victorie, euery one reuenged himselfe on him whom he hated; and sometime they fained displeasures, thereby to haue a colour and cloake vnder which they might robbe and oppresse the innocent: such are the fruites of ciuill warre and victorie. Besides this, the violences and oppressions which were committed in Rome were very great, and in the marches thereof, perpetrated by the men of war which he brought with him, and were lodged in the countrie staying to see him settled in the Empire.

While as VITELLIVS made so ill a beginning in the citie of Rome, suffering himselfe to be led and ruled by Libertines, and them which were odious to all men; after that *Italie, Spaine, France, and Africa* were come to his obedience, in the East the legions which were there for the defence thereof, although that in the beginning they refused not his commaund and raigne ouer them; yet they presently began to mutine, and shortly after resolved to make VESPASIAN their Emperour, who in this time (as is aforesaid) made warre against the Iewes, which began about the end of the raigne of NERO; the issue thereof passed in such manner as followeth. VESPASIAN, who for his worthie acts in his life past, was much esteemed in this warre, gained greater estimation: for he obtained many victories, and besieged and tooke many cities in *Iudea*, and *PALESTINA*; vntill that at last being readie to besiege the citie of *Ierusalem*, the Emperour NERO died: and vnderstanding of his death, and being doubtfull of what would ensue, he continued the warre for a space, vntill he might see, who should succede in the Empire, and knowing that GALBA preuailed, he tooke no care to proceede any further or to oppresse the citie, but preferred what he had gotten, and kept the enemy in awe, awaiting what course the new Emperour would hold, and so he sent his sonne TITVS to Rome, to treat of this matter, and to offer him his obedience. Who being hindred by contrarie weather, when he came to the coast of *Achaia* in *Gracia*, was aduertised that GALBA was slaine by the direction of OTHO; wherefore he held it for the best course to returne to his father, and so he did: and as OTHO his raigne continued but foure monethes as is aboue said, and in the same followed the ciuill warres betweene him and VITELLIVS, VESPASIAN continued as newtrall, although that he acknowledged OTHO for Emperour, vntill that VITELLIVS obtained the victorie, and OTHO was slaine, which was nothing pleasing to him, neither to the captaines in the East, neither

neither to their armies, for the disliking they had that so dishonest a man as VITELLIVS should be Emperour: and so that day wherein they sware fealtie to their new Emperour, with the accustomed solemnities, in presence of the same VESPASIAN (CORNELIVS TACITVS writeth) that the legions performed it with great silence and heauines. And VESPASIAN, prosecuting the warre with great honor and fame, and hauing now resolved to besiege the citie of *Ierusalem*; the murmuring and discontentment somuch increased against the new Emperour VITELLIVS, aswell in the armie which VESPASIAN commaunded, as in those in *Syria*, in *Egypt*, and other ordinarie legions in the East; that they all fixed their eyes vpon VESPASIAN, resolving to create him Emperour against VITELLIVS: whereto was a great helpe, the certaine newes which came that the legions in *Myssia* and *Pannonia*, had the same determination: for (as is before reported) they came to the aide of OTHO when his armie was defeated, and he slew himselfe; and continuing in the same resolution, they disobeyed VITELLIVS, desiring and nominating VESPASIAN for Emperour. In such sort that vpon these motions, there passed some messages and letters betweene TIBERIVS ALEXANDER, which was gouernour of *Egypt*, and LICINIVS MUCIANVS gouernour of *Syria*; which concluded that VESPASIAN should be Emperour, although that he refused it. And this matter being begun by TIBERIVS ALEXANDER gouernour of *Egypt*, in the citie of *Alexandria*; VESPASIAN was in his absence proclaimed Emperour, and all the armie confirmed the same with great applause, doing their accustomed homage: which hapned the first day of Iuly in the seauentie and two yeere after the birth of CHRIST. And this was accounted for the beginning of the raigne of VESPASIAN, and within eight daies or little more or lesse his armie did the like, entreating him first to accept thereof in good part, and he refusing and gaine saying it (as EGESIPPVS and IOSEPHVS doe testifie) they forced and compelled him with their drawne swords in their hands threatening to kill him if he refused the same. And hauing accepted thereof and performed all the solemnities requisite in so great an accident, VESPASIAN as a valorous and excellent prince, with the like wisdom and valour as he had liued being a subiect, began to shew himselfe a Lord; and to provide for all things with great authoritie and discretion, sending Ambassadors and writing letters to all parts of the world. And within few daies after this, all the armies and prouinces of the East came to his obedience & seruice; and the like in *Europe* did those of *Myssia*, *Bulgaria*, *Serua* and those of *Hungarie* and *Austriche* then called *Pannonie*; and also those in *Slauonia*, then called *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum*, whose auncient names I will sometime vse vntill such time and place as they shall lose the same. The like I haue done and will doe in the most of the prouinces of the Empire. All things happening so prosperous and luckily to VESPASIANVS, hauing determined with MUCIANVS gouernour of *Syria*, TIBERIVS ALEXANDER gouernour of *Egypt*, and with his owne sonne TITVS what was best to bee done, it was decreed that TITVS should remaine and continue the warres against the Iewes; that MUCIANVS with the greatest part of the legions, should with all speede take his journey for *Italie*; and that VESPASIAN should goe to *Alexandria* in *Egypt* to make prouision from all parts, and with greater power passe ouer into *Italie*, there to make an end of the warre, if it were not before hand done by MUCIANVS. This being concluded, it was commaunded to bee presently put in execution. But while as LICINIVS MUCIANVS was traueilling towards *Italie*, ANTONIE, who was captaine of the legions in *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*, hauing intelligence of what

Vespasian made Emperour, which he refused, compelled to accept thereof by whom and in what manner.

Antonie captaine of the legions in *Slauonia* came into *Italie* against Vitellius.

was passed, desiring to doe VESPASIAN some notable seruice, and to execute the hatred which he bare against VITELLIVS, and in great haste marched with his legions, and such as he could get from *Mysia* and *Pannonia*, and came to make warre in *Italy* against the Emperour VITELLIVS, who already was in armes.

Of the election of VESPASIAN and of other things (as we haue said) and of euery particular which passed thereof, within few daies VITELLIVS had aduertisement, who in *Rome* exercised himselfe in banquetting and vices, although that many daies he could not enioy the same. And desirous to make resistance against so great force and danger, he began to leuie the greatest power that he was able, besides those which he had already, which he yet had not discharged: and knowing with what haste and determination ANTONY Captaine of *Illyricum* came forwards, without staying for LICINIUS MUCIANVS, who came with as great haste, he sent VALENS and CECINNA his Captaines before named, which had serued him in the warre against OTHO with so great an armie and power, as seemed sufficient to make head against him & LICINIUS MUCIANVS also. He also provided fleets and Captaines for the Seas extraordinary. And on euery side the warre began, so as it would be too long to repeate al the particular accidents that happened therein: the sum and effect therof was, that the two armies approaching the one neere to the other, there grew a ialousie that CECINNA one of VITELLIVS his Captaines, practised some agreement with VESPASIAN his Commanders, and this being knowne in the armie he was slaine by the old souldiers. And ANTONY knowing this, as hee had a great desire to fight before that MUCIANVS should come (after sundrie great encounters and skirmishes, which happened betweene them) came to a maine battaile with the Vitellians, neere to the citie of *Cremona*, which was fought in such manner and was so bloudie and cruel, that of ANTONY his side who was conquerour, there were slaine 4500. men, and of the Vitellians which were ouercome about 30000. So notable a victorie being obtained in the behalfe of VESPASIAN, *Italy* which vntill then had remained wholly for VITELLIVS and tooke his part, was suddenly diuided, and many cities took part with VESPASIAN. It is a marueilous matter & worthe of an excellent historie to recite the accidents which happened within few daies therein, and the cruell war which they waged; which CORNELIVS TACITVS writeth more at large then any other writer, which I cannot expresse for the breuities sake which I follow. But the issue therof was, that the Emperour VITELLIVS his Captaines, which were ouercome & escaped from the battaile, reinforcing their armie and gathering together their people, made such resistance against VESPASIAN his Captaines as they were able, although they were not of force to stop their passage to *Rome*, as hereafter shall be declared. For ANTONY being victor, with the same greatnes of minde and expedition wherewith he began the warre, endeoured to obtaine the victorie, seeking meanes to put it in execution. So soone as VITELLIVS in *Rome* was giuen to vnderstand of the ouerthrow of his armie, affrighted with such newes (although that for all that, hee neuer gaue ouer his vices and beastly exercises) made election of new Captaines, which were IVLIVS PRISCVS and ALPHENVS VARRO, and that they with thirteene Cohorts should guard the passage in the *Apennine* mountaines; and should also seeke to stop ANTONY his passage for *Rome*, and MUCIANVS also, who as it was said, was already arriued in *Italy*. And of the rest of his forces which he held for the guard of the citie, he made his brother LVCIUS VITELLIVS Captaine thereof, and used all possible meanes to leuie men of all sorts. But the matter went so

that

A cruell battaile.

that feare made VITELLIVS to desire to come to some composition and agreement howsoeuer it were: And being offered by letters from the Captaine ANTHONY, who was victorious, and also from MUCIANVS, that if peaceably hee would resigne the Empire, his life should be graunted him, and place and meanes sufficient allowed him for his maintenance. Whereto hee gaue care and tooke counsell thereupon, with FLAVIVS SABINVS VESPASIAN his brother, who in all these troubles remained in *Rome*, and neuer withdrew himselfe from VITELLIVS, and he had also with him DOMITIANVS VESPASIANVS youngest sonne, who afterwards was Emperour: and it was decreed and concluded in the temple of IVNO, where hee sware and promised to renounce the Empire, and would presently haue put it in effect, which he twice spake openly: so great was the feare wherein he was. But those which were of greater authoritie about him did so much gainsay it, and chiefly the Pretorian Cohorts, that he again took hart and altered his determination. Which when FLAVIVS SABINVS knew (to whose house were drawne together a great number of the most principall and noble men of *Rome*, as to his brother, whom they made account should be Emperour) he was much moued therewith. And knowing that in the behalfe of VITELLIVS there came some to apprehend or kill him in his house, being induced thereto by those which were with him, went forth of his house with strong hand, although with lesse power then was requisite for so great an action, and went to the Capitoll (which was the chiefest strength of *Rome*) and seised on the same, where he was presently besieged by VITELLIVS his friends. And as it commonly happeneth, you shall finde many which will giue honourable and magnificent counsell, but few are those which will put themselves in the daunger, neither will lend their hand to put it in execution: so, few of those which had perswaded him to enter into this action, did come to his aide, or made any repaire vnto him. And the next morning he was assaulted with great furie, in the defence whereof was no good order, but rather with little agreement: and as in such misfortunes and disasters it happeneth, all will direct and commaund, but few will execute; so as by meanes of ill fighting and worse direction, the Capitoll was by force entred and burned, and al those which were therein slaine, and FLAVIVS SABINVS taken prisoner, who within a litle while after was put to death by the commaundement of VITELLIVS; and young DOMITIANVS his nephew and sonne to VESPASIAN, escaped by flight, and so might SABINVS haue done that night (as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth) if hee would haue come forth of the Capitoll: for there was no sufficient guard to haue letted him: but he with too little wit and too much presumption was lost, as is said.

After that SABINVS was dead, as VITELLIVS knew that ANTONY drew neere to *Rome* with his forces, he againe began to procure some agreement, and to that end sent letters and messengers vnto him, & his feare and basenes came to so low degree, as that he sent the vestall virgins, which were virgins enclosed like Nunnes in a Cloister, which was a thing the most religious and most ceremoniouslie garded of any thing in *Rome*: But ANTONY being wroth for the death of SABINVS, would giue no care to their words, neither come to any composition, but kept on his way vntill he came neere *Rome*, where VITELLIVS his forces attended his coming, resolutely determining to defend themselves, and there being both without and within a most huge number of the best men in the world, ANTONY assailed it in three parts, and VITELLIVS his people sallied out against him in as many, and there began at each of them one of the most

cruell

A composition offered to Vitellius, conditionally that he should resigne the Empire.

Rome entred,  
taken, and  
sacked, and by  
Vitellius.

cruell battailes in the world, which CORNELIVS TACITVS excellently well recounteth, affirming, that it lasted the greatest part of the day: and in the end that citie (which was head and ladie of the world) was woon and taken by those which were her owne naturall people; and those which were subdued endured that which in like cases happeneth, and much more, as slaughters, robbings, violences, and extreame disgraces, as against enemies which they deadlie hated for the death of SABINVS, for that he was their Lords brother, and for the obstinacie and furie wherewith they had fought.

The death of  
Vitellius.

Anno Domini  
72.

When VITELLIVS saw that the citie was entred, thinking to escape by flight, he went forth of his palace, and finding no safe way, I know not with what hope, he returned thither againe, and finding it abandoned without guard or defence, in the best manner that he could he hid himselfe in a secret place, where he stayed not long before he was found by a Tribune, and being taken by him, without attending any further determination or counsell, they bound his hands behind him, and cast a roape about his neck, and cutting and tearing his cloathes from his back, halfe naked they led him through the streetes of Rome, vntill they brought him to the principall place therein, and by the way they did him an infinite number of iniuries and disgraces, and there he was slaine by the multitude of souldiers, no man being able to auerre for certaine who either began or ended. And this was the end of this tyrannous Emperour, and with him died his brother LVCIUS VITELLIVS, and one onely sonne which he had at his death. He had not bin Emperour much about eight moneths, as most authors affirme, although that SVETONIUS setteth downe a longer time, for he maketh his account that VESPASIAN was chosen Emperour in the East in the eight moneth of VITELLIVS his raigne, which was some moneths before his death, which was in the 57. yeare of his age, and the 72. yeare after the birth of our SAVIOVR. What hapned after his death shall be referred to the historie of VESPASIAN, seeing that it was in his time. VITELLIVS was so tall, and of so corpulent a bodie, that he was therewith deformed. His face was verie red, by reason of the much wine which he dranke, and was very gorebellied, and went a little lame of one leg, through a brufe which he had receiued by a Cart.

THE



# THE LIFE OF FLAVIVS VESPASIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND TENTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.



## THE ARGVMENT.

**V**itellius being ignominiously slaine, the good Vespasian attained to the Imperiall dignitie, who restored tyred Rome to such rest, that it seemed to be returned to the auncient dignitie and greatnes, from whence the vices and wickednes of many former Emperours had made it to fall. This man before that he tooke the Empire, was no lesse wise then valorous in the Art Militarie: so as he grew to be so excellent, that notwithstanding that he was not borne of any very noble house, yet for his vertues he deserved to be made Emperour. In his time were ended the warres of Ierusalem, under the gouernment of his sonne Titus. He made many Prouinces tributarie to the Romane Empire, which vntill then neuer paid tribute. He beautified Rome, not onely by repairing the ruines through the fire made by Nero, but he also builded a new Amphitheater and Temples, which he adorned with most faire marble, and most beautifull Statues: for in his time painting and caruing flourished. He was very courteous & gentle, and amongst his other good qualities, this was one: to forget iniuries, and not to regard what malicious tongues said of him. He was very cleanly, and neat of his bodie. In his diet he was very temperate, and fasted one whole day in every moneth. He was noted for no other vice but auarice, whereof he excused himselfe, alleaging, that he found the Imperiall Treasure empty, through the pilling of the former tyrants. He lived 69. yeares, and reigned 10. and dyed of the flux. Truly it seemeth that this Emperour was borne

M

for

for the good of the Romane common-wealth, to the end that after the crueltie of so many Tyrants it should not be wholie ruinated.



Vespasians  
linage.

Vespasians  
offices and  
dignities.

S faire weather commeth after tempests and stormes; so was the raigne of VESPASIAN after the troublesome and stormie times of the detestable Emperours TIBERIVS, CALIGVLA, NERO, and the tyrannies and ciuill warres of GALBA, OTHO, and VITELLIVS, wherewith the Romane Empire was so diuided and shaken, that it was readie to come to ruine, if VESPASIAN had not remedied and supported the same by his great goodnes, valour and wisdom. VESPASIAN was of the linage and familie of the FLAVII, meane and lowe, and not inobled with any titles and dignities. He was 59. yeares old when he was chosen Emperour, and came to be knowne and wan reputation and credit in the times of CLAVDIVS, CALIGVLA and NERO, and obtained offices and dignities in the warres, and in the gouernment of cities. In *Thracia* he was Tribune of the souldiers; and being Questor or Treasurer, the Ile of *Creta* now called *Candia*, fell to his lot. He was Edil and Pretor in *Rome*, and afterwards was Lieutenant to the legions in *Germany*, and from thence he was sent to be Gouvernour and Captaine of *Britanny* when it rebelled, where, as EVTROPIVS and SVETONIVS report, he fought aboue 30. times in battailes and skirmishes in his owne person: so as for his desert there were armes and triumphant ornaments giuen him, such as they did vse to giue to such as did triumph. After all which he was Consul in *Rome* two moneths in the end of a yeare, and was afterward Proconsul in *Africa* in the time of NERO, and in the end was sent thither by him. to that warre against them, which he followed when he was chosen Emperour against VITELLIVS, his armie compelling him thereto, as it is alreadie said. He had at that time two sonnes, the one called TITVS which was with him, the other DOMITIANVS which was in *Rome*, both which he had by FLAVIA DOMICILLA his lawfull wife, daughter to FLAVIVS LIBERAL, by whom he had had a daughter which was dead, whose name was DOMICILLA also. And this is the summe of his life, before he came to the Empire: but returning to our historie, it passed in this manner. VITELLIVS being so reprochfull and ignominiouslie dead in *Rome* (as is aforesaid) although that with his death the warre ceased, yet the fruites and effects thereof were not ended: for the conquerours committed so many slaughters and robberies vpon those which had taken VITELLIVS his part, that there was no part of *Rome* wherein was not effusion of bloud, so as that citie endured (by meanes of this battaile) the like or greater miserie, then in the warres and procriptions of MARIVS and SILLA, or any other whatsoeuer in time past. But so soone as MUCIANVS came to *Rome*, who was principall Captaine, sent by VESPASIAN, and that DOMITIANVS was returned, who euer since the death of his vnclé SABINVS, and the burning of the Capitoll lay hiddé, these murthers and reuenges ceased, and there began some order to be taken in the Common-wealth. The Senate was assembled, and the gouernment of VESPASIAN was accepted and approued, and there were granted and giuen vnto him the names and titles which were vsuallie giuen to other Emperours; and messengers with all diligence were sent vnto him, to aduertise him of the victorie, and to yeeld obedience in the behalfe of the Senate. And for that that he being absent could not take order and prouide for the estate of *Rome*, his sonne DOMITIANVS,

MITIANVS, MUCIANVS and ANTONIE, which then were of greatest power, began to take order for the gouernment, not without confusion and emulation betweene them, vntill the coming of VESPASIANVS, which by reason of the daungerous sailing in the winter time was deferred. DOMITIANVS was called CÆSAR, and made Pretor of *Rome* with Consularie authoritie, and because he was the Emperours sonne had the preheminance and chiefe place in all matters, although he proued not afterwards to be such as he ought to haue been: for besides that hee was vicious, hee was disloyall and disobedient to his father. The Senates Ambassadors and others which were sent from *Rome*, found VESPASIAN in the citie of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, with his legions and men of warre readie to passe into *Italy* against VITELLIVS, knowing nothing that he was dead, and staied there with the King of Parthians Ambassadors, which offered him 40000. horsemen. In the like manner there were Ambassadors from other Kings and Terrarches of the East, some subiect to the Empire, and some free, which came to the like intent: but knowing that there was no such neede in *Rome* to cause him to carrie thither so great forces, he gaue thanks to the King of Parthians Legates, and the rest of the Kings for their offers, and determined to take his passage so soone as conueniently he might: And so as a wise Emperour forgat not to take order for the defence and augmentation of the Empire, resolving to send his sonne TITVS to make an end of the warres by him begun against the Iewes and the holy citie of *Ierusalem*, to whom besides the ordinarie legions, he gaue three other legions, wherewith TITVS continued the warres with great resolution, and by gods permission, the Iewes were in his time by the hands of the Romanes, and through their owne ciuill dissension, plagued and oppressed euen to their totall confusion, as hereafter in briefe shall bee declared. VESPASIAN could not so soone depart from *Alexandria* as he desired, by reason of the contrarie weather by sea vnfit for Nauigation; in which time there arose in *Rome* great troubles, emulations, enuie, and contentions betweene the Captaines MUCIANVS and ANTONIE, each seeking to be preferred before other: MUCIANVS, for that he was the principall Captaine sent by VESPASIAN, and had borne great sway in his election; and the other, for the great victories which he had gotten in his seruice against VITELLIVS and his Captaines. The euill practises of DOMITIANVS were also partly cause of these tumults, who conueniently could not be restrained, considering who hee was. But the commotions and insurrections which then were in *Germanie* and part of *France*, did much more trouble them that swaied the gouernment: for all was in an vprore and in armes against the Empire, which had a former originall in the time of VITELLIVS, although that then wee could not recite it: the originall and occasion thereof was in this manner.

Tumults in  
*Rome*.

In the prouince of *Battania*, now called *Holland* (a prouince in low *Germanie*, which the *Rhine* diuiding it selfe maketh an Iland) was a principal audacious man, whose name was CLAVDIVS CIVILIS, who vnder colour of taking part with VESPASIAN against VITELLIVS, when the war began betweene them, leuied some forces of that country, & induced the Friselanders and their captaine, whose name was BRINO, to doe the like: and being thus in armes, they assailed those of the Romanes lodgings which held of VITELLIVS, and taking them at vnawares, slew many of them, being left weake by reason that VITELLIVS withdrew the greatest part of the forces fro thence when he went against OTHO, as before hath bin declared. So as they draue all the Romane garrisons out of that prouince, and there

An insurrec-  
tion in *Holland*.

there after ensued many encounters and skirmishes of either side, vntill that VESPASIAN preuailing in *Italie*, FLACCVS HORDEONIVS, being for VITELLIVS capitaine of those legions in *Germanie*, was slaine by his owne souldiers, proclaiming VESPASIAN, and the legions remained without order or capitaine. And CLAVDIVS CIVILIS with the forces of *Holland* and *Freeſeland*, ioyning with another capitaine called CLASSICVS, imagined that in the confusion of those trouble-some times, they might free their countries; or to say better, make themselves Lords thereof, as many haue done: and drawing to their faction certaine of the legions which remained firme for VITELLIVS, they made an insurrection against VESPASIAN, publishing abroad that he was dead, in such sorte that within few daies, some cities in *France* reuolted, so as it was feared that some great alteration would haue ensued in the Empire. Which, as I said, put MUCIANVS and ANTONIE in great doubt, for DOMITIANVS who should haue had the greatest care, spent his time in his vices and pastimes. After many counsels and consultations held about this matter, QVINTILIUS Cerialis was sent for capitaine into those parts, who both valiantly and wisely followed the warres, and reduced those legions to the seruice of the Empire. Which being deceived, had ioynd with CLAVDIVS CIVILIS, and obtained notable victories therein, although hardly gotten and very bloudie, which CORNELIVS TACITVS recounteth at large. And being in the heate of this warre, holding it to be of great importance, MUCIANVS and DOMITIANVS departed from *Rome*, with the greatest power they could raise, to the end to giue reliefe where neede should require: who being come to the *Alpes* had intelligence that Cerialis had obtained another notable victorie in a great battaile: by meanes whereof, and of the same of their comming, all those countries yeelded their obedience, and the *Germanes* laying downe their armes, desired peace. Notwithstanding this, DOMITIAN, although there were no neede, had a desire to march forwards, and to take the gouernment and forces which Cerialis held and commanded, and wrote sundrie letters to him requesting the same: whereupon he was suspected, that he did it with intent to rebell against his father, and so writeth CORNELIVS TACITVS. Others suspected that he did it of enuie against his brother TITVS, and to make himselfe equall with him. But his deuises whatsoeuer they were, tooke no effect. For Cerialis dissembled & would not yeeld his captaineship and gouernment vnto him, and MUCIANVS stopped his passage from going any further: for Cerialis within few daies had pacified the countrie, and DOMITIANVS returned to *Rome* to receiue and entertaine his father, who (he knew) was comming, and within few daies came, hauing sailed from *Alexandria* to *Rhodes* in shippes, and from thence in galleies, and passing all along the coast of *Gracia*, visited and saw all the cities thereof which were in his way, till his arriuall in *Italie*, and so came to *Rome*, where he was most solemnly receiued (which IOSEPHVS most elegantly relateth) For as his comming had been long time desired and wished for; so was it very gratfull and pleasing to all men, and he presently began to doe things conformable to the desire and hope which they had conceiued of him, in ministering iustice, in reforming the lawes and customes of *Rome*, rewarding those which had serued him, and pardoning and punishing with singular clemencie those which were his aduersaries: in conclusion, he made a goodly and laudable beginning of his Empire, and perseuered and ended therein, as shall appeare.

In the meane time while as the Emperour VESPASIAN parting from *Alexandria* came to *Rome*, his sonne TITVS prosecuting the warres against the Iewes, and

Domitianus  
suspected.

Vespasianus  
comming to  
Rome.

and hauing subdued the marches round about, came and besieged the citie of *Ierusalem*, at such time as from all parts of the world an incredible number of Iewes were come into the citie, to celebrate the feast of the Paschall Lamb. Of the siege and destruction thereof, because it was a notable matter, and prophesied before, and was famous afterwards, it shall not be amisse in few words to declare the end thereof: and for as much as in truth, it was the most strictly and obstinately besieged, and best defended citie that euer was in the world, the Iewes persisting in their obstinacie and rebellion by Gods permission, in reuenge of the death and passion of his onely sonne IESVS CHRIST our Sauour God and man: all which IOSEPHVS, EGESIPPVS and CORNELIVS TACITVS write at large, to which I remit the curious reader, besides many others which are more brieue: and being by TITVS besieged in such manner, that no man could fallie out of it, or enter into it. For the which, not contenting himselfe with the multitude of his men of warre and prouision, but within few daies compassed it round about with trenches and ramparts, such as were sufficient thereto, making the souldiers of his armie set their hands to the worke: so as he besieged it in this manner the space of five moneths, in which time there were so many assaults, skirmishes and slaughters, as by the numbers of the dead, which we wil tell you, may appeare: and such as I neuer read or heard that the like had passed before any citie, with such obstinacie and resolute force the besiegers assailed it, and the besieged defended themselves. In all which TITVS performed the dutie of a most excellent Capitaine and a valiant Knight, sometime giuing direction and commaunding, and also when neede required fighting, that, as IOSEPHVS testifieth, in this conquest he slew twelue Iewes with his owne hands. The hunger which afflicted this citie of *Ierusalem* in this siege, is wonderfull to reade, and to be considered: for all ordinarie sustenance being spent, although they made the greatest spare thereof that was possible, they gaue themselves to eate all things that might yeeld any taste, without any difference, good or bad, eating the flesh of horses, asses, dogs, cats, rats, snakes, adders, and other so vnclane and strange things, that it seemeth incredible to all humane creatures. But this maketh it to be beleueed, for that all the writers both Christian and Heathen affirme, that there was a mother which killed and ate her owne sonne, whom she had at her breast. Finally, after the death of an infinite number by the sword and famine, vpon the eight day of September (hauing been besieged round about, about five moneths, and about foure yeers after the warre was begun by VESPASIAN in the raigne of NERO) the citie of *Ierusalem* was entred by force of armes, and a most huge number of those which were therein slaine: and so had they all been, but that TITVS moued with compassion, commaunded the execution vpon women, and such as bare no armes, to cease. But although that this slaughter was staied, yet in the prouince and the citie there died of hunger and the sword (as EVSEBIUS, PAVLVS OROSIVS and other authors affirme) fixe hundred thousand men able to beare armes. And if wee shall giue credit to IOSEPHVS, who was an eie-witnesse to most part thereof, there died eleuen hundred thousand; and there were captiues and were sold, ninetie seven thousand. EGESIPPVS, who is of no lesse credit and authoritie, agreeth with him in the number of the captiues; but in the number of the dead he setteth downe 100000. lesse, which seemeth to be an error but in the letter: both which doe yeeld the reason of so great mortalitie to be, as is said; which was, that so great a number was gathered together in *Ierusalem* to the feast at Easter, and had retired thither as to the head of all that prouince, there to die or defend the same.

*Ierusalem* besieged by TITVS.

The extreame  
famine in the  
citie of *Ierusalem*  
when it  
was besieged.  
A mother killed  
and ate her  
owne sonne.

*Ierusalem* taken by TITVS.

Solomons  
temple de-  
stroyed.

Jerusalem de-  
stroyed and laid  
waste, so that  
there remained  
not one stone  
upon another.  
A. D. 70.

The Iewes ta-  
ken in Ierusa-  
lem, sold and  
dispersed ouer  
the world.

Vespasian and  
Titus came in-  
to Rome in tri-  
umph for the  
warres of the  
Iewes.

Tiridates King  
of Armenia  
ouerthrowne  
and put to  
flight by the  
Alanes.

And also that famous temple was burnt, and those most strong and high walles of the most famous temple of *SALOMON* were throwne downe, and all the citie laid waste, desolate and wholly destroyed, as sundrie Prophets had before prophesied. And this iust and deserved destruction of *Ierusalem* happened in the second yeere of the Emperour *VESPASIAN*, and the fortieth yeere after the death of *CHRIST* our Lord, and the seuentie three after his birth, being (according to *EVSEBIUS* and *PAVLVS OROSIVS*) one thousand one hundred and two yeeres after that the temple was first built by *SALOMON*, and five hundred ninetie and one yeere, after that it was reedified in the time of King *DARIUS*, hauing been destroyed by the Babylonians. In this account I follow *EVSEBIUS* his computation, to auoide disputation about the difference which is among the authors: All writers affirme, and it doth cleerly appeare by *PLINY* and *CORNELIVS TACTVS*, that *Ierusalem* had neuer been so rich, nor so populous, nor so sumptuous in wals, temples and buildings, as when *CHRIST* suffered his passion, & when it was destroyed: And so that citie and the holy temple were ouerthrowne and laid euen with the floore, without one stone remaining vpon another, according as our Sauour *CHRIST* had told his Disciples, they shewing it to him and extolling the greatnes and building of that temple, as the holy Euangelist reciteth more at large: and so it lay vntil that the Emperour *ADRIAN* began to reedifie it, although not in the same place, neither such as it was before, as hereafter shall be declared. And so that prouince which had been gouerned by the Romanes as their friends, and in a manner free, was made captiue and tributarie; and the Iewes being captiues were sold and dispersed through all parts of the world. This warre being ended by *TITVS* in such manner, as is before specified, his father and al *Rome* greatly reioyced thereat, and to them both the triumph was graunted by the Senate, because that they both had followed that warre. And *TITVS* leauing all things in good order in the East, came victorious to *Rome*. And within few daies after, both the father and the sonne came thereinto triumphing, with one of the most solemne and stately triumphs that euer was seene in *Rome*. The which who that will see more at large, shall finde it written by *Iosephus* in his seuenth booke of the warres of the Iewes.

Whileas *TITVS* was busied about the matters aboue said in the citie of *Ierusalem*, the Alanes a people of *Scythia*, of which hereafter we shall speake much, had their abode aboue the lake *Meosis*, neere the Riuer of *Tanais*, which in a most huge number abandoned their countrie, for that it was barraine and vnfrutefull, or for that it was not sufficient to sustaine them, and came into the countrie of the Medes, robbing and sacking that countrie, and marching forwards came into *Armenia*, where they did the like. And *TIRIDATES* King thereof, fought a battaile with them, wherein he was ouercome, and by great good fortune escaped from being taken: which when *TITVS* vnderstood, hauing then fully executed his enterprize against *Ierusalem*, marched with his forces to the reliefe of *TIRIDATES*, (although that then wee had not time to expresse the same) as to assist a King which was vassall and friend to the Empire, and came to the citie of *Antioch*, as *Egesippus* writeth: but the Alanes vpon the onely report of his comming, returned to their countrie, contented with what they had gotten by theft. *VESPASIAN* being in *Rome*, enioying the Empire in peace had his sonne *TITVS* continually with him, and knowing and hauing good experience of his wisdom and good conditions, did most matters by his counsell and after his opinion, and in all matters held him for his companion in the Empire; and

and made him his fellow in office in the Censurie, and in the Tribunate, and afterwards in seuen Consulships a row. *VESPASIAN* following his good beginning, neuer in all the whole course of his life omitted any thing that was fit for a good and excellent Emperour, aswell in preserving and enlarging the Empire, as in beautifying and reforming the same; in correcting the abuses and euill customes, as in execution of Iustice and other vertues; and chiefly he tooke great care for the publike edifices and buildings, wherein he spent much treasure, and made the Capitoll which *VITELLIVS* had burned (when his brother *SABINVS* was slaine) to be reedified and new builded, farre more faire and excellent then euer it was before. He also repaired the whole citie of *Rome*, of those ruines which remained by the fire which burnt it in the time of *NERO*, as in his life we haue declared. Besides this, he built a most maruellous temple to the goddess *Pallas*, the workmanship whereof was so rich, so perfect, and so excellent, that the like thereof had neuer been seene in *Rome*. For touching the painting, caruing, and inlaying, all the most excellent workmen of the world (these arts being then at the highest) shewed their skill therein, and left memorialles of their hand-working, as *PLINIVS*, and *Iosephus* reporteth who was an eie witnesse, who affirmeth that men came from all parts of the world to see the richnes and excellencie of this temple. *VESPASIAN* also built an Amphitheater, of singular and most perfect workmanship, which is yet to this day to be seene in *Rome*, although ruined and defaced, which is a building of maruellous and sumptuous greatnes, round in forme, as if two Theatres were ioyned together like to halfe-circles: in the middelt of which were represented the plaies, shewes, wrestlings, combats with wilde beasts, and also combats of sword plaiers: And euery thing was wrought and framed in such manner, that by meanes of their rowes and seates, it was capable of an infinit number of people, without letting the one the other, which wee may comprehend by the Theater which *OCTAVIANVS CESAR* builded, in remembrance of his Nephew *MARCELLVS*, of which wee reade that there were in order seates for fouerescore thousand persons. And *VESPASIAN* did not onely consume great gifts and pensions vpon such as were maisters and excellent workmen; and no lesse but rather greater, vpon learned men, and such as were expert in arts, and to the Rhetoricians and maisters in eloquence, both in Greeke and Latin hee gaue great fees and pensions out of his Exchequer; and also to Poets and other excellent learned men, he bestowed notable fauours and rewards: so that it is certaine that he not onely shewed himselfe liberall in these things afore said, but to all persons and in all places. And in the prouinces where he knew that any publike buildings were destroyed or decayed, by reason of the ill gouernment in time past, he commanded them to be reedified and repaired at his owne charges out of the subsidies and tributes. The like care he tooke for some cities, which in his time were destroyed by earth-quakes. And because that he would not forget to repaire and amend the liuing bodies aswell as the dead, he endeouored to reforme and set in good order, the great number and tediousnes of sutes and pleas in the lawe, chusing new Iudges and Arbitrators, which should take order with, and set agreement betweene the contrarie parties, and within few daies should decide and determine controuerfies and pleas in sute, and ordained and established most excellent lawes and statutes.

After that the good Emperour *VESPASIAN* had taken such good order in all his actions, wherewith he made the time of his raigne most happie, he tooke

*Provinces  
brought into  
subiection by  
Vespasian.*

*Comagena  
made a tribu-  
tarie province  
by Vespasian.*

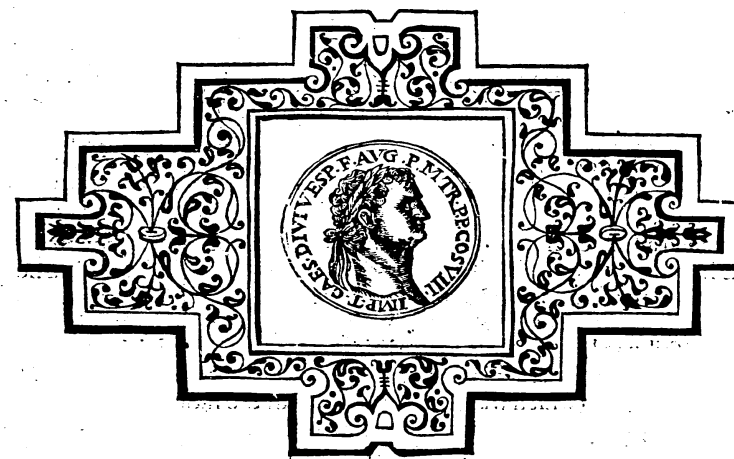
*The life and  
manners of  
Vespasian af-  
ter that he was  
Emperour.*

*Vespasian no-  
ted of conse-  
quence.*

especiall care to increase and augment the same. And we also read that he made many Prouinces subiects and tributaries, which vntill then were in a manner as friends and obedient, but yeelded no tributes, or did other seruices: among which in *Asia* the lesse were the Prouinces of *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, and *Cilicia*; and in *Asia* the great, *Comagena*, which lieth Eastwards from *Cilicia*; and heere in *Europe*, the Prouince of *Thracia*, and the citie of *Byzantium* which is now called *Constantinople*, with the Iles of *Rhodes* and *Samos*, and other Countries & Prouinces which he also made tributaries. For what cause or reason he did so, I finde it not written; but duly weighing and considering the acts and doings of this Emperour, I presume that he did it not without iust occasion in them all. *IOSEPHVS* setteth downe the cause thereof in the Prouince of *Comagena* only, and in what sort it was made tributarie, and how that *ANTIOCHVS* the King thereof being overcome and taken in battaile by *CESSONIVS PETO* Gouvernour of *Syria* for the Empire, sent the same *ANTIOCHVS* prisoner to *Rome*. But *VESPASIAN* remembring himselfe that he held friendship with this King when he liued in the East, and although that he held it fit and requisit to dispossesse him of his countrey, yet he would not deale hardlie with his person: for being comming vpon the way, he sent commaundement that he should not be brought to *Rome*, but commaunded him to be caried to the citie of *Lacedemonia* in *Gracia*, and that he should liue there, and that sufficient prouision should be made to maintaine him and his children in royall estate, and so that King led his life afterwards in that citie, and the Prouince of *Comagena* remained tributarie to the Empire. What else happened in the time of *VESPASIAN*, the Authors which I follow, haue not written, peraduenture because they were of small importance. But as concerning his vertue, bountie, and good government, they haue written more at large then I haue done, such and so many were they: and because I will not be too scarce and brieft in this matter, I will say somewhat for a remembrance and an example to good Emperours. First, the manner and rule of his life after that he came to the Empire was this: he awoke every morning before day, and in his bed did reade and heare letters and memorials of diuers matters and affaires; and then he commaunded the dore to be set open for his friends and such others as would come into his chamber, in whose presence he arose and made himselfe readie, without that any Page or seruant did help him therein, but to bring his cloathes to his hands; and then he stood a good space giuing audience to such as he had to deale withall, prouiding for all things, and making therein such dispatch as was conuenient; then he went into his litter or chariot, as the manner then was, and for his exercise went into the fields of *MARS* or some other part, and sometimes he went on foote. After all this, he retired himselfe to his lodging, to his secret exercises and pastimes: after which he vsed the bathes, whereto men in those dayes were much affected, which being ended, he returned to his busines, and to prouide for all things necessarie, wherein he spent the greatest part of the day. He was very moderate and temperate in his diet, and after supper was very pleasant and merrily disposed, delighting much to vse sharp and brieft speeches, whereof *SVENTONIVS* reciteth some. He was a Prince of great modestie, patience, and singular clemencie, enduring and dissembling with those which did murmure and speake ill of him, pardoning and forgetting iniuries and offences, the examples whereof (which were many) I omit because of breuitie. *VESPASIAN* was noted and murmured at for being ouercouetous: for it is certaine that he made his rents to be collected rigorously, imposing new taxes and seruices, seeking extraordinarie and

and new meanes to gather money. Whereof *AVRELIVS VICTOR* and other authors excuse him, alleging that hee was forced and compelled thereto: for that he found his Exchequer poore, and the Imperiall treasure wasted and spent; so as for his maintenance it was very requisite to raise it to some certaine summe and quantitie. Which maketh it seeme to bee true, seeing that he was extremely franke and liberall to all men, and spent and liberally parted with that which hee so gathered. Finally, howsoeuer it was, he is reckoned in the number, and for one of the good Emperours: and with singular wisdom and valour he gouerned the Empire nine yeeres; at the end whereof (being seuentie and nine yeeres old) the flux tooke him, and he died in peace and quiet, in the yeere of our Lord fourescore and one. He was a man of a middle size, well compact in his limmes, and of a good complexion, and liued euer sound and in good health: for the preservation whereof, he ordinarily vsed frictions on his armes and his legges, and euery moneth fasted one whole day, without eating any thing.

## THE LIFE OF TITVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND ELEVENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**V**espasian being dead, his sonne Titus succeeded him, who reserved the name of his father. This man in his youth applied himselfe much to the studie of good letters and Sciences, and delighted so greatly in writing, that he with great facilitie counterfeited all manner of letters: and he being generall, the long warres of Ierusalem were ended. Comming afterwards to the Imperiall dignitie, he wholly altered his former conditions, and became most mercifull and most bountifull. His liberalitie was such, that he said that he had lost a day wherein he had not done some deed of courtesie. He was also of so gentle nature, that he said to his brother Domitian, who

who (it seemed) conspired against him, that he should not seek to get that by fratricide, which hee might obtaine by his goodwill. He liued 41. yeeres, and ruled the Empire little more then two. His death was so grieuous to the citie of Rome, and to all the prouinces subiect to the Romane Empire, that all affirmed with one voice, that the father of the Empire, and delicacie of mankind was departed out of the world.



Soone as the Emperour VESPASIAN was dead, his eldest sonne TITVS (called by his surname VESPASIANVS) without any contradiction was receiued and obeyed for Emperour, as well for that his father in his life time had made him his companion in the Empire (as some authors say that hee did participate with him, and gaue him the name of Emperour) as also for that in his testament and last will, he appointed him for his successor: yet his brother DOMITIANVS did proudly affirme, that his father had nominated him and not his brother TITVS, and that his fathers wil was falsified. TITVS was a good and an excellent Emperour, although that his raigne was but short: for it lasted but little more then two yeeres: so, that for his naturall goodnes and noble condition, he was called the loue and delight of mankind, although that before hee was Emperour he was flandered for some occasions: some imagining that hee would haue prooued wicked and peruerse. But truth and vertue, although for a time they may be suppressed, yet at length they will preuaile and ouercome enuy and infamie: and as the cleere Sunne disperfeth the darke clowdes, so did TITVS cleere himselfe of the suspitions conceiued against him, with the brightnes of his vertues and good deedes. He came to the Empire at the age of 39. yeeres, and somewhat lesse, in which he followed the warres and gat great experience both in peace and warre. First in his infancie he was brought vp in learning and other vertuous exercises, and thereby grew to be very learned both in Greeke and Latin, and expert in many Arts. He was a very good horseman, and most skilfull in Musicke, a very good singer, an eloquent Orator, and could make verses with wonderfull ease and readines: he had a singular memorie, and was endued with an excellent wit, and was so speedie in writing in ciphers and abbreviations, that he excelled all his Secretaries and Notaries; and would so liuely counterfeit any mans hand and writing, that it was said of him, that he might haue bin a notable counterfeiter or forger. Being endued with these graces & sufficiencies in his adolescence, before that his father came to the Empire, he bore armes in the wars, and was Tribune both in *Germanie* and *Britanny*, and purchased the reputation of wife and valorous. After which, being come to *Rome*, he vfed to plead and defend causes and actions (which was then the exercise of the most principall men) and afterwards in time hee was made Questor or Treasurer. In proceffe of which time he married twice: the first with *ARRICIDIA* the daughter of a Romane Knight, whose name was *TERTVLLVS*, who had been Prefect of the Pretorian Legions; and after her death being a widower, hauing neuer a child, he married the second time with a woman of great bloud, whose name was *MARTIA FVLVIA*, whom he afterwards put away, after that he had a daughter by her. And the warres beginning against the Iewes, he went thither with his father, hauing the Captainship and charge of a Legion: and matters succeeding in such manner, as is already said, he made the finall end thereof. And although that some practised to bring him in suspicion with his father, falsely alleaging that he would haue rebelled against him; yet after those victories he came into *Italy*, and sufficiently cleared

Titus was endued with noble vertues.

cleered himselfe, and triumphed of the Iewes; and (as wee haue said) obtained so much grace with his father, that hee made him his companion, and in a manner equall with him in the Empire. And it happened that in his fathers life time hee made himselfe ill beloued, and murmured at for some occasions; whereof one was, that they charged him with the couetousnes and auarice of his father, for the new impositions which he laid vpon the subiects of the Empire: whereof although that he might well haue done it; yet he manifested not his innocencie, because the fault should not be imputed to his father. The other was, for that he caused *AVLVVS CINNA* and certaine other principall men to be put to death, although that hee had iust occasion to doe it, as *SVETONIVS* sheweth in *AVLVVS CINNA*: and other authors in others.

TITVS also discredited himselfe for bringing of Queene *VERONICE* from *Iudea* with him for his friend or concubine, whom hee so deerely loued, that hee entertained her in a manner as his wife: and there is an author which affirmeth that he slew *AVLVVS CINNA*, through icalousie of her. All which being laid together, when by the death of his father hee came to the Empire, they doubted that hee would haue prooued a wicked Emperour: but his goodnes and vertue presently made him so cleere, that those clowdes of suspicion vanished. The first, and peradventure the greatest was, the forcing of his will and bridling his desires and affections, by withdrawing himselfe from the company of *VERONICE*, for the euill example and infamie which thereof followed him, although that hee loued her exceedingly much, and was by her beloued in the same degree. Hee also gaue ouer his other pastimes, which he held vnfit and vnseemingly an Emperour, and began to liue and behaue himselfe very honestly and honorably, and to shew his liberalitie, clemencie, and singular curtesie. Whereof I hold it requisite (although I keepe not order, seeing his time was so short) to make some mention; that seeing that his bountie, clemencie and wisdom made his Empire voide of accidents, warres and motions, which vsually please the reader, they may speake of the vertues and greatnes of this Emperour. First for a shew and ostentation to the world (which great Princes sometimes should make, because that thereby they make themselves in some sort beloued of the common people) he repaired, and made some new great buildings, and he also made games and sports, wherein (according to *EVSEBIVS*, *EVTROPIVS* and *SVETONIVS*) were slaine 5000. wild beasts, and therein also fought a great number of Sword-players. He caused also to be represented a Naual battaile in one of the auncient Naumachias, whereof mention hath been made heretofore. And as he was by nature most noble and liberal, all the fauours, graces and rewards which his predecessors had made and graunted, which none of them would confirme, but graunted some new, he granted, and by a decree confirmed. And besides this, to any supplication made vnto him, he neuer gaue euill answere, neither suffered any man to depart from him discontented, or without hope to obtaine his demaund. And being reprooued by some of his Councell, for promising more then it seemed he was able to performe: he answered them, that it was not fit nor decent, that any man should depart from him sorrowfull and discontent with his entertainment. He was naturally so desirous to doe good and to helpe others, that one night after supper remembering himselfe, that that day he had giuen nothing, with a sad and heauie countenance he turned towards those which were in his companie, and said: My friends, I haue lost this day: which were speeches truly worthy to be noted and to be engrauen in the minds of all great Princes. He was also so desirous to pleasure

sure and giue contentment to all men (holding alwaies his grauitie and authoritie) that in all his speeches and discourses with any kinde of people whatsoeuer, he alwaies shewed himselfe affable, pleasant, courteous, and conuersable.

In some ill fortunes which in his time happened in *Rome*, as one was (as saith *PAVLVS OROSIVS*) a great fire, wherewith were burned a great number of houses, and also a great plague, he not only vsed the diligence of a carefull prince, but also shewed the loue and affection of a pittifull father, helping with his owne rents to repaire and new-build that which the fire had consumed, and causing those which were wounded to be cured with great diligence; and those which died of the pestilence, to be buried. The clemencie and gentlenes of this prince extended to so high degree, that he not onely pardoned many, and moderated the rigor of the lawes in cases of ordinarie crimes: but two great men of *Rome* hauing conspired against him, and being thereof conuict, so as they could not deny the fact, he would make no other inquisition, put them to any torments, or otherwise punish them, but onely warned and aduised them in secret that they should alter their euill purposes, willing them to vnderstand and consider that the Empire was giuen by Gods prouidence and ordenance, and by the fates, and not by any humane industrie: and if they would or desired any other thing, it should be better to sue to him, and he would not deny it, and saying this, he pardoned and vsed them louingly, and afterwards entertained them with other compliments, which *Svetonivs* writeth, so as he tooke such order that they did repent and amend them; and he did better assure his life then if he had put them to death: For therein he should haue had greater cause of feare, and more would haue hated him. The like temperance he held with his brother *DOMITIANVS*, who neuer left to lay snares to entrap him and to lie in waite for his life, and to practise his death, and to incense the armies and Cohorts against him: yet for all this he would not put him to death, as he might iustly haue done; neither feclude him from him; neither diminish his reputation and authoritie wherein he liued, but made him his companion in the Empire, and proclaimed him for his successor. And the better to conuince and mollifie him, sometimes retiring him into a secret chamber alone, with teares in his eyes, he would admonish and require him, that he should not attempt to obtaine that by treason and fraticide, which he shortly should haue voluntarily, & that which he already enioyed with him by his goodwill. And for conclusion, this excellent prince *TITVS* in the short time that he reigned, gouerned with such wisdom, and in such manner, that he was through all the whole Empire extremely beloued, and generally obeyed and serued by all men: So as during all his whole raigne there were no contempts, insurrections, warres, rebellions, nor contentions. But as men for their sinnes were not worthe of so good a prince, so by Gods secret iudgement he was taken away from amongst them: for being taken with a strong burning feuer, within fewe daies hee died thereof, in the same village wherein his father died, neere *Rome*, being of the age of one and fortie yeeres, two monethes and twentie daies, although that *EVTROPIVS* setteth downe some monethes lesse, which may be through error in a letter.

So soone as his death was knowne, there was the greatest lamentation and sorrow that euer was seene in *Rome*, and the Senat being assembled, there was more spoken to his honour and commendation, being dead, then was of any man that euer liued before him, or was euer spoken in his presence in his lifetime, which happened in the yeere of our Lord 83.

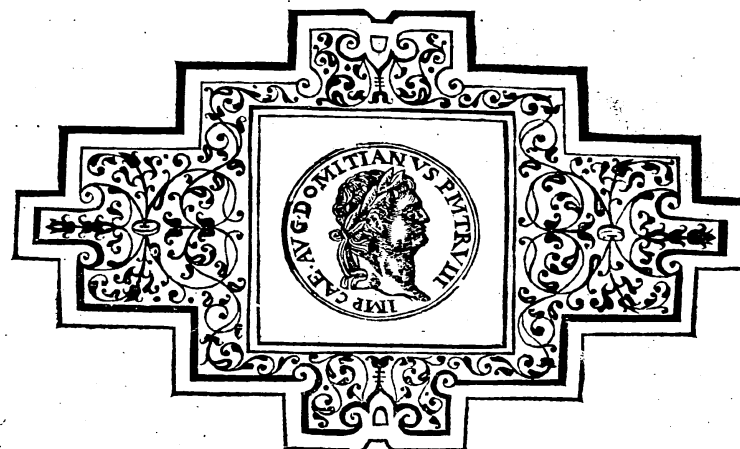
Snares laid by  
Domitianus to  
entrap his brother  
Titus.

The death of  
Titus.

THE



# THE LIFE OF DOMITIANVS, ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND TWELFT ROMANE EMPEROVR.



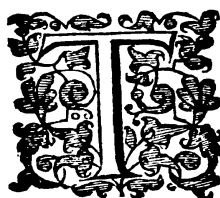
## THE ARGVMENT.

**D**omitianus brother to Titus, after his death was made Emperor, who in the beginning of his gouernment, shewing much goodness, was mercifull, pittifull, and aboue all, most iust. He preuailed in all the warres that he began, and in *Rome* finished many edifices already begun, and built many more from the ground: so as in the beginning of his raigne he purchased a very good name, and the credit of a very vertuous and good man. But afterwards altering his conditions, he became so cruell, so iniurious and so conuictious, that putting men to death for very small and ridiculous causes, he vsurped the goods of the dead, alledging that he was their heire. He persecuted the *Jewes*, and particularly those which were of the line of *Dauid*, hauing vnderstood that from him should descend a man which should be Lord of the whole world. He was also a great persecutor of the christian religion, so that in his time many holy men were martyred. He made such warre with the *flics*, that a courtour being demanded, who was aboue with the Emperour, answered, that there was not one flie with him. He made great shew of *Astrologie*, and was a great friend to those which made profession of that facultie, yet he dealt hardly with an *Astronomer* which told him that he should die shortly. He liued five and fortie yeeres, ruled the Empire fifteene; and by the conspiracie

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conspiracie of one Stephen who was steward of his house, and certaine others, amongst which his wife was one: he was slaine in his pallace. The common people was neither sad nor glad of his death, but the gentlemen and Senators were so well pleased with his death, that euen the very same day they made all his staines to be throwne to the ground, which he would haue made of no other thing but of pure gold.

Domitianus was wicked, and farre unlike to his brother Titus.



O the good Emperour TITVS, his brother and successor DOMITIANVS was farre vnlike; for he was wicked and peruerse, although that in the beginning hee did some things which were agreeable, and gouerned the Common-wealth reasonablevprightly; vsing deeds of clemencie, humilitie, and liberalitie, deceiuing the world with fained bountie, cleane contrarie to all that hee did afterwards. When he came to the Empire, he was of the age of thirtie yeeres (little more or lesse) in his younger yeeres, he liued in meane estate, and in euill fame, for the dishonestie of his person. After that his father was Emperour, in his absence, he was called CÆSAR, and to him was giuen the greatest dignitie and authoritie in Rome, which hee vsed licentiously and dishonestly, committing adulteries, other vices and insolencies: and vpon a day, hee deposed twentie seuerall persons from their charges and gouernment, and gaue them to others: so as his father (when he vnderstood thereof) said, that he maruelled, that his sonne DOMITIANVS had not sent one, to haue succeeded him also: and warres then growing in *Battania*, he attempted that which we then declared. But when his father was come to Rome, to dessemble and cloake his wicked conceites, he gaue himselfe to studie, and to the exercise of poesie, although with little affection: for before that time hee neuer regarded it, or any other learning, and so afterwards left and abhorred it, although that during that time hee vsed it onely to flatter. For the small time which hee spent in poesie, SILIUS ITALICVS, QVINTILIAN, and PLINIE in the proeme of his naturall historie, doe commend him: and MARTIAL forgetteth him not in his Epigrammes. And much lesse did DOMITIANVS giue himselfe to the practise and exercise of armes, but was much affected to shooting with bowe and arrowes; wherein hee was so skilfull, that he would oftentimes for his glorie cause a Page to spread his hand open for a marke against a butte, and he standing a good distance off, would sticke his arrowes betweene the boies fingers without hurting him; and in like manner would doe many other strange things therewith, which SVETONIVS reporteth as an eie-witnes, wherein and in dicing was his most principall exercise and pastime. After the death of his father and brother, for whose goodnes sake he came to be Emperour, without any contradiction, he gouerned the same contrarie to his naturall inclination, as may appeare by that which he did afterwards. But because we will not deprive him of the commendation, which his good deedes deserued, before that we will speake of his accursed cruelties, wee will first speake of that which was good and commendable, seeing hee liued in such manner, that his actions were intermixt with some spotted of euill: wherein I cannot obserue any order or time, as I alwaies desire to doe, because that the authors which I follow write it so confusedly and out of order.

Domitianus his good accedes.

First, he made great shew of liberalitie, and iointlie therewith of clemencie, iustice, and equitie, of either of which we will produce some examples. He shewed himselfe so cleere and free from couetousnes, and so willing to giue, that he

he refused certaine heritages which certaine free personages would haue giuen him; and gaue ordinarilie gifts and rewards, and forgaue penalties and tributes, and erected certaine pillers and publike buildings, which were very excellent, and of wonderfull great cost, among which this was one: He repaired and new builded the Capitoll, which againe had bin burned, wherein he made to be builded a sumptuous Temple to his god IVPITER, and other Temples and wonderfull buildings. And to obtaine the loue and applause of the people, he ordeined so many shewes and games which were so rare and costly, that it is wonderfull to reade, and tedious to write them. First he made a lake, for a Naumachia or battaile by sea, wrought all by mans hand, which was so great as it was sufficient therein to containe many galleyes, wherein were such battailes, that they wanted nothing to proue them to be in good earnest and not counterfeit. He had also a most great number of Sword-players and Goales, and great rewards for those which did runne with chariots. He had turneyes and battailes of horsemen and footemen, and huntings of an infinite number of wild beasts, in such sort as other Emperours had done, and more then any other: for he had also women which like men fought with wild beasts, whereof SVETONIVS, IUVENAL, and MARTIAL, make mention. He also made games and feasts which they called secular, which were made but euery hundred yeares, which were the most solemne of all others: for then were accomplished a hundred yeeres since the time that OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS had celebrated them, although that the Emperour CLAVDIVS at another time commaunded them to be made, without obseruing any order or time, wherein he made the addition of the two new colours, which the horsemen did before vse to wear, whereof before hath been made mention, which were purple, and gold colour. And besides all this abouesaid, he caused di'putations and arguments to be held, wherein great rewards were diuided betweene Poets and Orators both Greeke and Latin, and all kind of Musick. There were also Comedies, dumb shewes, tragedies, and wrestling games. In conclusion, there were made by his commaundement all those feasts, games and reuels that euer had been seene or knowne in Rome vntill that time, besides many which were newly inuēted. Among all which he made a distribution among all the Romane people, which they called Congiarij, of 300. deniers to euery person: and during the time of these reuels (which was not short) he made many banquets and publike feasts, and there were throwne to the common people all kinds of coines, and clothes, with other things which were cast from aloft out at the windowes, this was called *Missilia*. I will not herewith forget one pleasant thing, whereof SVETONIVS writeth, which was, that in the beginning of his Empire he was wont euery day one houre to be in some chamber or secret place alone, wherein he did nothing all that while but catch flyes, which he afterwards filed vp vpon a stileto or long sharp needle: So as vpon a day one asking whether any bodie were within with DOMICIANVS, answer was made, that there was not so much as a flye within with him, meaning, that he had killed and throwne them all away.

Secular games made but once in an hundred yeeres.

Gifts giuen by Domitianus.

Domitianus delighted much in catching of flyes.

DOMITIANVS did not only those things which were pleasing to the people, as making of feasts and sports, but he in all other things tooke so good order, shewing himselfe diligent in hearing complaints, and doing iustice, and particularly in punishing such Iudges as receiued bribes and rewards, as well the Romane Magistrates, as the Presidents and Gouernors of Prouinces. And herein concerning Iudges he perseuered, not only before that he discouered his crueltie and

wickednes, but euen afterwards: and although that he were euill of himselfe, yet he forbore not to punish euill Gouvernors, and so SVETONIVS affirmeth, that Gouvernors were neuer so temperate, iust and vpright at any time as in his. He also made himselfe to be chosen Cenfor, wherein he greatly endeouored to reforme and amend the abuses and euill maners of the Romanes, as though that his owne conditions had been good, and so he made many other good orders, and did iustice in all things: and of the other side shewing himselfe mercifull and pitifull, in such sort that if he had persecuted in that maner of gouernment which he began, he had this day been held for a very good Emperour. But neuer any man fell from good to euill so notable, and making so strange an alteration as he did, whereof in that which we haue before said, he gaue some indice and forewarning. For in those good things which he did, he vsed such pride and elation, and shewed himselfe so vaine-glorious, that a man of any iudgement might well perceiue, that what he did, proceeded not from any good mind, or from his naturall inclination, which he manifested in some his words and speeches: chiefly when he was made Emperour (without shame or blushing) he vaunted and said in the Senate, that he had giuen the Empire to his father and to his brother, which they had now restored vnto him, this being as false, as by the historie before doth appeare. And those his statues which they commaunded to be set vp in the Capitoll, he would not consent that they should be made of any other thing, then of cleane gold, and so in other things he shewed extreme pride. But he did one thing which was so accursed and abominable, that to make mention thereof onely, is a sufficient prooffe of the incomparable pride of this man: for he commaunded and ordeined by a publike Edict, that in all Letters and Edicts they should call him God and Lord, which both the christian and heathen authors do affirme: For which sinne and wickednes it pleased God to suffer him to fall into those abominations which he afterwards incutred, as couetousnes, crueltye, and other abominations, whereof before that we will speake, it shall not be amisse in summe, to treat of the warres which happened in the time of his wickednes, although he prosecuted them not in his owne person, which were three or foure with strange nations, and one ciuill warre.

The first warres abroad were against the *Sarmates* in *Europe*, which inuaded the Empire, with which and also with those of *Asia*, there ioined many of the auncient Scythians. That Prouince is scituate in the north of *Germany*, and stretcheth to the sea called *Mare Sarmaticum*. On the East it is bounded with the riuer of *Tanis*, and the lake *Meotis*: and on the West with the riuer *Mistula*. Vnder this Prouince are now contained *Muscouia*, *Russia*, *Polonia*, *Lituania*, and some other Prouinces. This warre was cruell and dangerous, and in the beginning it went ill with the Romanes therein: for in a battaile were slaine the Generall of the Romanes, and one whole legion, but DOMITIANVS afterwards reinforcing his armies, the *Sarmates* were compelled and constrained with losse of many of their people to retire themselves. He had twise other warres with the inhabitants of the great prouince of *Dacia*, the inhabitants whereof (as *Plinie* affirmeth) were called by the Greekes *Getae*. That prouince contained all that which is now called *Walachia*, and *Transsylvania*, and other countries. Of this warre SVETONIVS, EVTROPIVS, and PAVLVS OROSIVS make mention, but none of them reporteth how it passed, neither for what cause it was vndertaken, although they affirme that it was very coslie to the Romanes: for in the first warre wherein OPPIDVS SABINVS being Generall, who had been Consul, whom EVTROPIVS calleth

APPIVS,

APPIVS, he was ouercome, and the greatest part of his people slaine. And in the second, CORNELIVS FVSCVS Commaunder of the Pretorian Cohorts, had the like fortune, whom DOMITIANVS made Generall of that warre. In both the one and the other were great encounters and battailes, wherein was spilt much of the Romanes blood, as PAVLVS OROSIVS relateth, and he saith that CORNELIVS TACITVS treateth thereof very largely and copiously in his histories, but that perished with the rest of that authors workes, whereby we know not the discourse of those warres: but they all write that DOMITIANVS triumphed of that prouince. And he also triumphed of a people in *Germanie*, which they called *Catti*, with which he also waged a doubtfull warre. And during the time of these warres, wholly discovering his wicked inclination, DOMITIANVS neuer ceased to commit murders, robberies, violences, and other vices, as hereafter you shall heare. Wherefore hauing freed himselfe from the warres aforesaid, there arose a ciuill warre and more dangerous, which was, that LVCIVS ANTONIVS, called also SATVRNINVS, being Generall in *Germanie*, rose against DOMITIANVS, vsurping the name of Emperour, making profit of this occasion, that DOMITIANVS for his euill life was ill beloued: against which SATVRNINVS, DOMITIANVS sent APPIVS NORMANDVS for his Generall. This warre was very doubtfull and much feared: but coming afterwards to a battaile, LVCIVS ANTONIVS was slaine, and APPIVS remained victor. And herein happened a most straunge and wonderfull accident, which was, that the same day wherein this battaile was fought in *Germanie*, it was knowne in *Rome* how euery thing particularly did passe: and DOMITIANVS that same day, seeking to know the author of those newes, could not finde him, and therefore beleued that it was false; so as preparing himselfe to goe to those warres in person, messengers came which brought certaine newes of the victorie, and they auouched that it was at the same instant, according to the newes then in *Rome*.

After the warres were ended, which we haue recited, and during the time thereof, DOMITIANVS put to death many principall men, Senatours, and such as had been Consuls, for so light and fained causes, that thereby hee cleerely manifested the fierce crueltye of his minde. ELIVS LAMIA he commaunded to be slaine, for that hee vsed to vtter pleasant speeches and iests: which although he suspected, yet were they offensive to none. He commaunded SALVIVS COCCETIANVS also to be slaine, because that he celebrated the birth day of his vnckle the Emperour OTHO: And METIVS POMPOSIANVS, because that hee heard that his constellation did prognosticate vnto him Imperiall dignitie, and for that hee had giuen to some of his slaues, the names of HANNIBAL, and MAGO. And in like manner, SALVSTIVS LVCVLLVS, for that hee caused certaine launces to be made of a new fashion, which according to his owne name hee called *Luculleian*. He put IVNIVS RVSTICVS to death, because he published a treatise in praise of PETVS TRASEA, and of VIBIVS PRISCVS which were very wise men, which had bin of a faction contrarie to his father.

How little loue this tyrannous Emperor bare vnto learning, may well appeare by that which SVETONIVS and other authors write of him: for he commanded to be banished out of all *Italy*, the Philosophers, and with them (as EVSEBIVS writeth) the Astrologers, of which banishment AVLVS GELIVS and PHILOSTRATVS make mention, and PHILOSTRATVS saith, that some fled into *Spaine*, and others into the deserts of *Libya* and *Scythia*: and hauing expelled the Philosophers and wisemen, proceeding in his crueltye, he slew an infinite number of people

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Domitianus  
had his statues  
of pure gold.

Sarmatia what  
countries it  
contained.

Dacia how it  
is called at this  
day.

Domitianus  
did put many  
Noblemen to  
death, with the  
causes.

Domitian banished  
Philosophers and  
Astrologers out  
of Italy.

ple(as SVETONIVS reporteth)for very ridiculous causes: And his furie was such, that some of those which he purposed to put to death vpon the next day, he entertained ouer night in his chamber, and shewed them many fauours with a cheerefull countenance. And among these his cruelties, he gaue himselfe to luxurie and incontinencie, and other dishonest exercises, conuersing and keeping ordinarie companie with dishonest women; and herewith committed many robberies and straunge extortions, seising vpon mens wares and goods for fained crimes, and those so light, that they deserued not to be accounted of. He would faine himselfe to be heire to those which were dead, seising vpon their goods, and produced some to depose that they had heard the deceased in their life time say, that they meant to leaue him for their heire. With which deuises, and so many more as he could imagine or deuise, hee neuer left robbing and dispatching men out of the way, as well in *Rome* and *Italy*, as in other prouinces subiect to the Empire. But amongst all other nations, those which endured the greatest oppression and tyrannie were the Iewes, by Gods permission for their finnes: for all those which were of that religion, or liued after their fashion and custome, although they were not so, he made them pay a certaine new and rigorous imposition and tribute by the head, ouer and aboue all that any other nation paid. And SVETONIVS and also EVSEBIUS write, that as HERODE when CHRIST was borne, so was hee in feare that out of the stocke of DAVID one should come, which would bereaue him of the Empire: for he was informed that it was written, that from DAVID should descend a man which should rule and command the whole world: Wherefore hee commaunded with all diligence all those amongst the Iewes, which were of the linage of DAVID, to be sought out and slaine: yet EVSEBIUS writeth that he pardoned two, which were of that linage. And to set his seale to all his wicked deedes, being induced by the diuell, or some of his angels, he gaue himselfe to the persecuting of the Catholike Church, and by his letters and edicts both in *Rome*, and out of it, an infinite number of Christians were banished and put to death; vpon which hee executed horrible kindes of cruelties, written by EVSEBIUS, PAVLVS OROSIVS, and other Catholike authors: And this was the second generall persecution of the Primitiue Church, wherein S. Iohn the Euangelist was banished into the Ile of *Pathmos*, where he saw the vision of the Apocalypse. How long this persecution endured, I cannot say; but by EVSEBIUS it seemeth that it lasted little more then two yeeres: for he afterwards in the thirteenth chapter of his third booke, saith, that DOMITIANVS did moderate this persecution, and commaunded it to cease. So as by that which is written, and hath been scene, DOMITIAN was one of the worst Princes that euer was in the world, and so bad, that hee vsed to say, that the vice of the flesh was but a kinde of honest exercise, and such were those wherein hee vsed to passe his time. For these causes and many other which I omit, wherein DOMITIANVS spent foureteene yeeres of his raigne, hee came to bee extremely hated and abhorred of all men. And as now it was growne to a custome in *Rome*, not to endure wicked Emperours long, and as God also permitteth that sometime wicked Princes come to euill ends; so those which were most priuate and neereft about him conspired against him; the chiefe and captaine of which, was one STEPHANVS, who was steward to his wife and Emperesse DOMICILLA, whom they affirme to haue been partaker in the conspiracie and practise to put him to death, and they afterwards slew him in such manner, as I will tell you.

The crueltie  
and inconti-  
nencie of Do-  
mitian.

The feare of  
Domitian.

The second per-  
secution of the  
Primitiue  
Church.

In

In that season, while this conspiracie was a plotting, there appeared certaine signes in the skies, whereof all men conceited and prognosticated, that the death of DOMITIANVS was at hand, and hee also stood in extreme feare thereof, as he which tooke great heede to auguries and signes, and presumed much to be an Astrologer and Diuiner. And amongst other signes which then were scene, there appeared for many daies together round about the Sunne a great bright shining Crowne that did compass it about, which resembled the Raine-bow against foule weather; but that it was a whole Crowne and did compass the Sunne in such manner, that it bereaued and eclipsed the same of his brightnes: Which signe all men did interpret to signifie a chaunge and alteration in the Empire, with the death of DOMITIANVS. And for as much as STEPHANVS in Greeke signifieth a Crowne, there were some which diuined that the said STEPHANVS was hee which should kill him, notwithstanding that they knew nothing of the practise. By meanes whereof, and of other things which then were scene, DOMITIANVS was in such feare and despaire, that as vpon a day there was a great tempest, and there happened certaine flashes of lightning, which hee and all others did presage to be against him: and he being very angrie, they write that he said, Let IVPITER then smite whom hee will. Whereof the feare which I tolde you of, was the principall cause: for euen then was the time accomplished which the Astrologers, casting his constellation, had told him that he should die. But one thing aboue all the rest made him most amazed, which in truth was very strange, and for such (although it be of small importance) I will declare, which was this: that hee liuing in this feare, sent for an Astrologer, who in that time was very famous, and asked him many questions thereupon: who answered him, that by his art he found that his death was neere at hand. Wherewith DOMITIAN was so wroth, that hauing determined to commaund this Astrologer to bee slaine, hee asked him, if hee knew what end hee himselfe should haue. The Astrologer answered him, that by his constellation hee knew, that hee should shortly be torne in pieces by dogges. And DOMITIAN thinking to make him a lier in that which hee had said, and that, that which hee had prophesied of his owne death, should not come to passe, commaunded him presently to bee slaine, and his bodie to be burnt, and his ashes to be buried, to the end that dogges should not teare him. And hauing begunne to burne his bodie, there fell such a tempest and raine as quenched and dispersed the fire; and the bodie of the poore Astrologer remaining halfe vnburnt, there came certaine dogges which tare it in pieces, as he had prognosticated. Which (as I thinke) was, by Gods permission, a practise of the diuell, as he which knew the secrecie of the conspiracie, which then was in hand to kill him. Now STEPHANVS and his comforts hauing agreed vpon the day, wherein they determined to giue DOMITIANVS his deserued death, one morning this STEPHEN came into his chamber, bringing a poiniard hidden vnder his arme, which for that purpose he had some daies before fained to be sore, and carried it bound: and comming to the Emperour (who was suspicious enough and very fearefull) hauing oportunitie to come to his presence, by reason of his office, with much dissimulation he told him that he had brought him certaine intelligence of a conspiracie against him. Which when DOMITIANVS heard, as he was very ialous thereof, and beleeuing his words to be true, without any further consideration, he withdrew himselfe apart to talke with him about this matter: and standing in that manner, the rest which were of the same confederacie, being all his ordinarie seruants, and at hand, this STEPHEN gaue him a memoriall,

Signes prognosticating the death of Domitian.

An Astrologer foretold Domitian of his death, and of his owne also.

N 4

The death of  
Domitianus.

riall, such as he had fained and deuised; wherein he discouered a conspiracie, naming therein such as hee thought good. And DOMITIANVS beginning to reade therein with great attention, STEPHEN at his pleasure stabbed him into the groyn; and the Emperour feeling himselfe wounded, began to call and to cry out aloud: and as hee was very strong and valiant, before that STEPHEN could giue him another wound, hee closed with him and threwe him to the ground, and struing to take the poiniard from him, he cut and mangled his owne fingers therewith: And by this time before that any succour could come to him, there ranne vpon him SATVRNINVS, CLORIVS, PARTHENIVS, MAXIMVS, and others which were of that conspiracie, being all his owne seruants, and there giuing him many wounds, they killed him. And so had DOMITIANVS such an end as his deedes deserued, which happened in the yeere of our Lord 98. in the fūe and fortith of his age, and the fifteenth of his raigne, and left no sonne to succeede him: for although that in his fathers time, hee had had a sonne by his lawfull wife, named DOMICILLA, that sonne died being a childe. DOMITIANVS was a man tall of stature, and in his youth of a fine and proper constitution, a good countenance, great eies, and somewhat redde: but comming to age, he lost his proportion and good grace, by reason of a long sicknes which he had, whereof his legges became litle and slender, and afterwards hee had a great gorbelly, and a very bald head. His death was taken in Rome in diuers manners, for it grieved the pretorian souldiers very much: so as if that daie they had had any Captaine that would haue but made the motion, they would haue slaine all the conspirators. The common people tooke it indifferently, shewing neither ioy nor sorrow. The Senate was not onely well content therewith, but conceiued exceeding ioy thereat, and assembling themselves that same day, they caused all his statues to be throwne downe, and all the inscriptions and memorials of him to be cancelled and defaced.

## THE



## THE LIFE OF COCCEI- VS NERVA, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND THIRTEENTH RO- MAME EMPEROVR.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**H**is wife Emperour was borne in the citie of Narnie: it is not certainly knowne whether he were an Italian or of what other Nation, yet all agree that he was of a most noble house: he was aduanced to the imperiall dignitie being already old, and in the beginning of his raigne he had newes (though false) that Domitian was not dead, which much troubled him. He recalled the Christians from banishment, eased the oppressions of the citie, and made the children of poore parents to be bred up at the publike charge: and so be brieft, did many good and vertuous deedes. There was neuer but one conspiracie against him, which had ill successe: for the conspirators in his time were contumeliously slaine, those which slew Domitian, though against his will: He adopted Traiane for his sonne, hauing no sonne of his owne, to whom he might commit the charge of the Empire. He held the Empire thirteene moneths onely, and died of cholera, taken against a Senator whose name was Regulus, which cholera cast him into such a sweate that he died thereof; and the same day that he departed out of this life, there was a great eclipse of the Sunne.



He death of the Emperour DOMITIAN was not onely profitable for the Empire, by that meanes to be freed and deliuered from his crueltie and tyrannie, but for that it gaue occasion to NERVA to succeede him: and that afterwards TRAIANE and ADRIAN should raigne, which were most excellent Emperors, and honored and enlarged the Empire. And although that NERVA raigned but a while, yet he did many good things, but the best that he did was, in that he made TRAIANE his successor, as when time serueth, shall be declared.

Nerva chosen  
Emperour by  
the Senate of  
Rome.

declared. The death of DOMITIAN, as I haue said, did not grieue the Romane people, but pleased the Senate exceedingly, who hauing commaunded the remembrance of him to be cancelled and blotted out, they presently tooke order to giue him a successor, before that any one should be chosen by the armie. And COCCIVS NERVA, being at that time for his many vertues, prudence, experience, and age, a man of the greatest reputation and authoritie in Rome, was by the Senate chosen Emperour, hauing been fauored and assisted therein by PETRONIVS SECVNDVS Capitaine of the Pretorian Cohorts, and PARTHENIVS, who was one of those which killed DOMITIAN. This NERVA was of noble linage, borne in the citie of *Narnia* in the prouince of *Vmbria* in *Italie*, his fathers name was NERVA, as was his. Saint ISIDORE onely saith, that he was borne in *Spaine*, I know no ground for it; neither haue I read it in any other auncient author. Being receiued in the Senate and accepted to the Empire, vpon a sodaine without knowing who was the author, it was told him that DOMITIAN was liuing, and that the report of his death was vntrue. This newes did somuch trouble NERVA, that all the colour went out of his face, and being vnable to speake, he had much to doe to stand vpon his feete, vntill that PARTHENIVS did encourage him, assuring him of the truth. Whereupon he came againe to himselfe, and set a good countenance vpon the matter. And presently they all came to him to doe him reuerence, and to receiue him for their Lord and Emperour, shewing great ioy, in hope of good successe. Onely ARRIVS ANTONIVS, who was a very wise and iust man & had bin his great friend, spake vnto him in a more strange manner then any of the rest, and therefore I will recite it. Truly NERVA, in that thou art aduanced to this high degree, I will attribute the benefit and happines thereof vnto the Senate and people of Rome, and generally to the whole Empire (for such hath been their good fortune) but not vnto thee. For thou hauing escaped with such honor and estimation by meanes of thy vertue, and wisdom, from the iniurie of those wicked princes past, art now made subiect to infinit troubles and daungers, and aboue all to the infamie and hatred of thy enemies, and as much or more of thy friends: for they will presume that they haue deserued all fauour, in respect of the auncient friendship which they haue held with thee; and if thou shalt deny them any thing that they shall aske, although it be neuer so vniust, they will become greater and more cruell enemies vnto thee, then those which openly shew themselves to be such. Now as the solemnities and accustomed ceremonies for the new Emperour were ended: In the beginning of his Empire hee began to doe most noble and excellent workes, whereof in summe wee will make a brieue relation, without distinction of time, seeing his Empire was so short as in a manner not to be deuided. And one of the best and first was, in releasing from banishment all the Christians which from Rome and other cities were banished in the time of the Emperour DOMITIAN, and to permit and giue libertie to euery man to hold what faith and religion he would, and in this time (according to EVSEBIVS and other catholike historiographers) Saint JOHN the Euangelist came from the Ile of *Pathmos* (whither he was banished) to the citie of *Ephesus* in *Asia*. The like humanitie did NERVA vse in all other matters: First he released and discharged all the cities of the Empire from the new impositions, which VESPASIAN and DOMITIAN had laid vpon them. And to many which by DOMITIANVS were vniustly dispossessed of their goods, he commaunded their possessors to be restored with all their moueables, which could be found in the imperiall palaces. And he not onely shewed him-

Speeches used  
by Antonius to  
NERVA.

Nerva his good  
deedes.

selfe

selfe liberall to those which were oppressed, but to all poore men which had sonnes, he made them to be bred vp at his charges. He made also a distribution among all the people of Rome in greater value and quantitie, then was vsuallie done by any others. And some poore citizens of Rome which he knew had no wealth, he made certaine possessions, which he bought for that purpose, to be deuided among them. And aboue all he did great fauours, and bestowed great gifts vpon those which had bin his friends and allied vnto him: and his liberalitie was so great, as DION writeth, that in the beginning and first comming to the Empire, he was constrained by necessitie to sell his gold and siluer plate, and other moueables of his house, to performe and accomplish those his fauours and good deedes. And in this manner he did many deedes of charitie and clemencie: for it is written for very certaine, that he sware that no Senator of Rome should by his commaundement be put to death, which he afterwards performed, although there failed not of those which deserued the contrarie. He also forbad many slanders and accusations vsed in those times, desiring that all men should liue contented and at libertie.

Although that NERVA was so good a man (as we haue said) and vsed so good a kind of gouernment, so as there was nothing in him to be reprovied; yet there wanted not some which murmured against him, as wicked men vse to do against the good, alleaging that so much humilitie and gentlenes in a Prince was not profitable: so as FRONTON a principall man in Rome presumed to say openly, that it was an euill thing to haue such an one for Emperour, which would suffer no man to do any thing that he desired; but it was a worse matter to haue such an one vnder whom euery man might do what he listed. When NERVA was aduertised thereof, he was not angrie, but prohibited and forbad some things, which had giuen cause to say so: and he desired so much to gouerne vprightlie, that he did nothing of his owne head alone, but had alwayes about him, and sent for wise and good men, such as were of the greatest experience in Rome, by whose counsell he provided, ordeined, and dispatched all matters. He also made in the small time of his Empire some very good lawes and ordinances, among which, he sharply forbad an abuse of those times, which was, to geld men and to make them Eunuches. He also forbad that any man should marry his neece or brothers daughter, and many other things which wanted reformation. And to conclude, this Emperour had in his short time all those parts which a good Prince ought to haue, and so sound and cleere a conscience, that he oftentimes said, that he remembered not to haue done any thing (although that he left and gaue over the Empire) why he should not liue secure, and without feare of any bodie. And although that all this was so (as to the wicked the yoke and scepter of the iust is a heauie burthen, and Rome had then taken such a custome, that it could neither indure an euill Emperour, nor obey him that was good) So there wanted not some therein which practised his death and conspired against him, the mouer and head thereof was CRASSVS CALPHVRNIVS, but it pleased God that it tooke no effect, but was reuealed to the good Emperour, who without any rigour or bloodshed was freed thereof, contenting himselfe only (as SEXTVS AVRELIVS writeth) with the banishment of those which were culpable, although the Senate would haue inflicted a more rigorous punishment.

All these things being passed (as I haue said) and all things succeeding well and prosperously, as well in Rome as in all the Prouinces subiect thereto, it hapned that ELIANVS CASPERIVS, who at that time was Prefect and Capitaine of the Pretorian

Pretorian Cohorts, moued and incited all the souldiers thereof, to reuenge the death of the Emperour DOMITIAN, and to put all those to death which had bin confederates therein, which they determined to put in execution, although that NERVA gaue them no leaue thereto. This motion was fodaine, and NERVA was much troubled, and would haue letted it, and would haue defended those from whose hands he had receiued the Empire, or haue dyed in the quarrell, and so he said and published openly: but the matter came to such issue, that the old Emperour was neither able to resist or hinder it, and so PARTHENIVS and PETRONIVS were slaine, and all those which CASPERIVS would require or nominate of those which were culpable. With this contempt NERVA was so much grieved and offended, that he was very sorrowfull to see that he could not punish it as the case required; for by reason of his old age & infirmities he was not regarded by the souldiers. Wherefore to redresse the present, and to prouide for that to come, he determined to adopt & make TRAIANE his successor, who was then Captain and Gouernour in the neather *Germany*, and was at that time in the citie of *Colen*, which charge he had executed with great honor and fame, and was the most excellent man liuing in that time as well in peace as in warre, to whom he was no way allied, for he was a Spaniard and a stranger to *Rome* and *Italy*. And although that NERVA wanted not parents and kinsmen, yet he chose TRAIANE, hauing more respect to the publike good, then to his owne house and posteritie: wherein how iustly he made his choise, this historie will hereafter manifest. And hauing put this his determination in execution, and the accustomed solemnities performed, and hauing adopted him in the Capitoll, and made him CESAR in the Senate, he presently sent him Ambassadors, with the ensignes and armes of the Empire, and they inuested him in the Empire, and herewith he sent him a verse in Latine, wherein in few words he incited and exhorted him to come and succour him. The adoption of TRAIANE was a great bridle to the commotions, which were feared would haue ensued, and all remained still and obedient. But it pleased not God that NERVA should long enioy his good counsell: for as SEXTVS AVRELIVS writeth, he liued but only three moneths afterwards, in which time they write not that there passed any notable matter, neither is it vnderstoode by the histories that TRAIANE came to *Rome* before his death, which hapned (in a maner) fodainely, through anger and displeasure which he conceiued against a Senator, whose name was REGVLVS: for as he was old and feeble, he gaue a great shout, and was taken with so great a sweat, that being vnable to endure it, he dyed thereof. The same day there was a great Eclipse of the Sunne, which might be (in part) cause of his death; which was in the hundreth yeare of our Sauour Christ. He reigned one yeare, foure moneths and odde dayes, according to SEXTVS AVRELIVS, EVTROPIVS, and BEDA. About the time of his age there is some difference among the Authors: for some say, that he was 71. yeares old, and others 76. but as it importeth little, so do I not meane to spend much time about contrarieties of so small moment, and herein I hold decorum with my curious reader, to the end that he condemne me not of negligence, if he find me to differ from that which he shall reade elsewhere.

Traiane adopted and inuested in the Empire by Nerva.

Tellus Phoebe tuis lachrymas ulciscere nostras.

The death of Cocceius Nerva at the eclipse of the Sunne, Ann. Dom. 100.

THE



# THE LIFE OF TRAIANE, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND FOVRTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.



## THE ARGVMENT.



After the good Nerva succeeded a better Traiane, borne (as is heere said) in the citie of *Italica*, situate nere to *Senil*: yet some say that he was borne elsewhere, whose fathers name was Traiane, and his mothers Plotina. He was aduanced to the Empire with the good liking of all men, for that his goodnes, clemencie, liberalitie, and equitie towards all men was publicly knowne; which vertues he lost not when he was Emperour, but rather seemed to haue increased the same: neither did he omit them, although he were neuer so much busied in matters of importance concerning the warres, or standing for the recreation of his mind, to behold feasts and disports. The first enterprize that he undertooke, after that he was Emperour, was against the King of *Dacia* rebelling the second time, and he likewise sharply persecuted the Christians, but he afterwards mitigated the persecution, which was the third that the Church indured, then daily greatly increasing. He also subdued *Armenia*. In his time there was a very great earthquake which was almost generall, but it did most harme in *Antioch*, where he then was. After this, he made very great voyages. In his time the *Iewes* againe rebelled, which when he had tamed, he returned triumphant to *Rome*, where was a wonderfull triumph prepared for him: but being overburthened with age and infirmities, he dyed in the citie of *Selencia*, to the great vniuersall sorrow and grieve of the whole world. He liued 64. yeares; and being dead and burnt, his ashes were borne to *Rome*, and set upon the top of a pillar, which is yet

to this day to be seene in Rome, which was a wonderfull piece of worke, and trulie worthie of so great an Emperour, who was a no lesse father to the country, then to all vertues and vertuous men.



After the wise and good Emperour N E R V A, succeeded T R A I A N E, as he had ordeined in his life time, who was the flower of all the heathen Emperours, and in his time was the Romane Empire at the greatest height, for neuer: either before or after, was it so great, so much feared or esteemed. His sufficiencies, excellencies and vertues were so many and so great, that as S E X T V S A V R E L I V S affirmeth, the deepe wits of the writers of those times were hardlie able to expresse and declare the same. For although that I would exceede in the historie of this excellent Prince, for the loue of my country, of whence I might say that T R A I A N E was (as presentlie shall appeare) yet I could not do it according to my desire and his deserts, for the breuitie of those authors which we haue at this day which wrote of him: wherefore I hold it for a better course to obserue the stile and forme already begun, then by breaking it, to be euer too briefe and deficient. I say then that T R A I A N E was by nature and birth a Spaniard, whereof there is no doubt: for so do all auncient true authors affirme. E V T R O P I V S in the life of him, and E V S E B I V S in his Chronicle, say, that he was borne in the citie of *Italica*, which is subiect and neere to *Seuil*: which is also affirmed by S E X T V S A V R E L I V S, although he name it not; and A N T O N Y L E B R I S H A, whom we may alleadge among the auncient authors, calleth *Italica* T R A I A N E S country: wherefore I cannot coniecture by what authoritie he did it, which wrote that T R A I A N was borne in *Cales*. This citie of *Italica* (according to P L I N I V S in his third booke) was in that time in subiection, and within the iurisdiction of *Seuil*, and A N T O N Y in his perambulation saith, that it was sixteene miles from thence: the same in a manner is gathered by P T O L O M I E his geographie, and that it lay Northwest from *Seuil*: but in what time it was ruinated, or whereabout it lay, I could neuer certainly vnderstand, so as *Seuil* may glorie and vaunt it selfe to be T R A I A N his country: for although that he were not borne in it, yet he was borne in a place subiect and neere vnto it. T R A I A N E was also of noble blood and lineage, although (not very famous for any great dignities.) His fathers name was also T R A I A N E, as was his. When he came to the Empire, he was 42. yeares old, but not fullie complete, and married to a woman of great account, whose name was P L O T I N A. For the certaine knowledge they had in Rome of his goodnes and valour, he was by generall consent ioyfullie receiued and obeyed therein, and he presently began to put his great vertues in execution, shewing himselfe both in word and deed, good, affable, gentle, mercifull, verie wise, and a louer of truth and equitie, and of all other vertues, wherein he persevered vntill the end: it shall not be amisse if I recite part thereof in the beginning, seeing that all the historiographers which write of him do the like.

Traiane his  
good deedes.

His liberalitie.

T R A I A N E taking vpon him the gouernment of the Empire, first endeuoured to reforme the lawes, and to make them to be obserued, and that there should be equitie and iustice in all things. In publike charges and offices he tooke care to establish noble and vertuous men; and such as were not so, he reformed and amended with gentlenes and clemencie, and not with rigour and extremitie. He did so moderate and repress his wrath and choler, that he was neuer knowne to be ouercome therewith, and was most abstinent from other mens goods, and free from couetousnes. His liberalitie and bountie did exceede, bestowing benefits and

and good turnes vpon all men, greatly succouring and relieuing the poore and needie, imitating and excelling his adopted father N E R V A. Hee bestowed much cost and tooke great care for the bringing vp, and instructing of poore mens children in Rome and in all *Italy*. He was a great builder of publike and necessarie Edifices; and also made an infinite number of bridges, gates and temples, and repaired high waies & causeies, as yet is to be seene in many places in *Spaines*, where of one (as saith S I S I D O R E) is the bridge at *Alcantara*. In all his buildings hee neuer made benefit of any mans goods or labour, as some of his predecessors had done. He was with the multitude and common people gentle and courteous, and the principal personages he honoured and entertained with loue and familiarities; and chiefly those which deserved it, he admitted to priuate couersation: where of being vpon a time reprooued, he answered, that he desired to be such an Emperour towards his subiects, as he would wish they should be to him, if hee were not so. In Arts and Sciences he was not very learned, by reason of his great busines, but neuer left to practise when hee had time thereto; hauing for his master the excellent Philosopher and Historiographer P L Y T A R C H, whom, and others for their high and excellent wits, he loued and honoured much, as I V V E N A L T E stifieth, besides other writers.

Plutarch was  
Traianes master.

To conclude, this Prince had all the good parts and conditions which an excellent King ought to haue: in peace he was vpriight and iust, and in warre (where to he was so affected, as hereafter shall be declared) he was valiant; and in both the one and the other very wise and prudent. And because wee will not conceale the truth, of two vices and passions he was noted, and accused to be spotted withall: the one was, that he did eate and drinke much, and that very sumptuously; and the other was, that he was much giuen to the vice of the flesh: the cause whereof was the want of faith, together with his great power and libertie; but it was neuer knowne that the wine ouercame his wits, or that by meanes thereof he committed ought, that might seeme vnfit; neither through the other passion, that he euer vsed violence, or forced any woman, or offended any.

With these conditions he began his raigne and Empire, and gouerning it most happily for some space, as he was a most excellent and valiant Captaine, and addicted to the wars, desirous of honour and fame aboue all his predecessors, he determined to extend and enlarge the Empire by warre and force of armes. His first enterprise was against the King and inhabitants of the prouince of *Dacia*, a very great and spacious countrey, wherein are now included, *Walachia*, and *Transilvania*, and other lands, taking the occasion hereof to be for the warres and harmes which that people had done to the Romane Empire, in the time of the Emperour D O M I T I A N. T R A I A N E went to this warre with an exceeding great armie, and the King of *Dacia*, whose name was D E C E V A L V S, had leued for his defence all his whole force and might, which was very great: so as this warre was very cruel. But the King of *Dacia* being no other way able to defend himselfe, determined to come to a battaile (as he did) wherein T R A I A N E had the victorie, with exceeding great losse to his enemies, and not a little to the Romanes, for the battaile was very cruell and bloudie. This victorie being obtained, and T R A I A N E following the chase of his enemies, pursued them so hard, that D E C E V A L V S being in despair, sent to him, humbly desiring peace, offering to accept any conditions that he should prescribe. And T R A I A N E, who took as great glorie in pardoning the humble and meeke, as in taming and subduing the proud and haucie, notwithstanding that he had taken almost all his country, was contented to admit him to

VVarres made  
by Traiane  
against the King  
of Dacia.

his grace and fauour, writing and sending certaine conditions by him to be performed: which were, that he should presently deliuer vp all his instruments and engines of warre, and the engineers and masters thereof, together with all fugitiues that were within his dominion, which were Romanes, or their confederates, and ranne to the enemye. And that out of all the Castles and fortresses within his dominions, hee should withdraw the garrisons, and should throw downe such as should be appointed: and before all these things, that hee should surrender certaine lands which he held within the bounds of the Empire; and that hee should euer hold for friends and enemies, those which the Senate of *Rome* held for such.

These articles and conditions the King of *Dacia* accepted and promised to accomplish, more through necessitie then for any goodwill; and hauing sworne to obserue them, he came to the Campe to the Emperour, where prostrating himselfe vpon the earth before him, he confessed himselfe to be ouercome, and to be his vassall. This solemnitic being ended, and other things done which were expedient, T R A I A N E returned victorious to *Rome*, wherein he entred in triumph, as saith E V S E B I V S, hauing reigned two yeeres, and brought with him the Ambassadors of the King of *Dacia*, to whom was giuen audience in the Senate; and the peace, which T R A I A N E had graunted, was therein confirmed. And hee for his victorie was called *Dacicus*, for that hee had subdued the prouince of *Dacia*, as the Romanes in former time had vsually done by some other excellent Captaines.

Traiane came  
into Rome in  
triumph.

When T R A I A N E had ordred all things in the prouince of *Dacia* in this manner, for ioy and honor of this victorie, and to please the Romane people, he made in *Rome* al manner of sports and games, which of custome were wont to be made by the Emperours (as is aboue said) adding thereto such other things as he thought good. But these games and sports did not withdraw him from doing iustice, neither from care of the gouernment: but rather so long as they lasted, he spent the greatest part of his time in dispatching of busines, and ministring iustice, going himselfe in person to the Tribunal and publike audience, to iudge and determine many causes, which he did most iustly and wisely. Passing sometime in so good quiet, rest, and generall peace, the King of *Dacia* being as vnable to endure subiection and seruitude, as his predecessors, againe beganne some commotions and alterations, first secretly; and afterwards publicly: repairing and fortifying his Castles, providing armes and engines, and leuying his neighbour forces against the Empire: whereof so soone as T R A I A N E and the Senate had intelligence, hee was adiudged, the second time, enemye to the Empire. And with an equall armie and greater wrath and displeasure then the former, T R A I A N E went this second time to the warres in person: in which the King of *Dacia* taking warning by that which was past, refused to come to battaile, and vsed policies, stratagems and trecheries against T R A I A N E; which were such and so many, that the Emperour was in daunger to haue been either slaine or taken; and by treacherie (vpon a safe conduct) they tooke a singular good Captaine and a great fauourite of the Emperours called L O N G I N V S. The King of *Dacia* hauing so good a pawne, sent to T R A I A N E to entreate a pardon, and to treat of peace, threatening that except he might obtaine the same, hee would put the said L O N G I N V S to death. Whereto T R A I A N E gaue such an answer, that the King well vnderstood thereby, that he preferred his honour and the publike good before any particular perill, and prosecuted the warres by all waies and meanes possible: During  
the

the which, within a very short space he builded a bridge ouer the riuer *Danubius*, beyond which (parting from *Italy*) lieth the countrie of *Dacia*, which was one of the most stately bridges that euer was made in the world, all of squared stone of marueilous beautie. This bridge contained twentie Arches, each of which was one hundred and fiftie foote high, besides the foundation, and sixtie foote broad; the one Arch was distant from the other one hundred and sixtie foote, which was the compasse of the Arches of the bridge, which truly was a wonderfull peece of worke, and for such is recorded, as well for the greatnes thereof, as for the many difficulties, and the short space wherein it was made: which among other things is an argument of the wealth and greatnes of the Romane Emperours. VVhich bridge this Emperour made, to the end to hold a free passage for his armies to passe ouer the riuer *Danubius*, against those barbarous nations: and A D R I A N his successor being of a contrarie opinion, to bereaue the barbarous of the like passage (as some say) commaunded it to be broken. This bridge being finished, T R A I A N E continuing the warre, did many things; wherein he shewed himselfe to be a valiant and excellent Captaine: and so much oppressed the enemye (notwithstanding that the countrie was great, and the people very fierce and hardie) that he conquered and subdued it all, and put their King D E C E V A L V S to such a streight, that to escape taking, being in great daunger thereof, he slew himselfe; and his head was caried to *Rome*, and the countrie of *Dacia* was made subiect and tributarie to the Romane Empire: the greatest part whereof at this time (for our sinnes) is subiect to the Turke. After this, taking such order for all things in those parts as was requisite, T R A I A N E came to *Rome* with great honour, bringing with him an exceeding great summe of money and riches, taken from that King and countrie, being now (as E V S E B I V S testifieth) the fift yeere of his raigne. And his name and bountie was so famous through the world, that vpon the way Ambassadors met him from the *East Indies*, and diuers other parts to sue for peace, and to acknowledge him for their Lord. And being come to the cite of *Rome*, hee entred thereinto in great triumph; and afterwards there were made shewes and feasts for ioy of his victorie and returne; which lasted one hundred and twentie daies, which were foure whole moneths: which being ended, he applied himselfe to the administration of iustice, and the tranquillitie of the Empire. And remaining in *Rome* busied in these exercises, hee made many bridges, causeies, and other publike edifices both within *Italy* and out of it. About this time there died a great friend and fauourite of his, whose name was S V R A L I C I N I V S, whose death he tooke heauily, and honoured his memoriall with publike statues, which he commaunded to be erected to him, and other honors then vsed. This S V R A V S was so good a man, and T R A I A N E reposed such trust in him, that being told one day for certaine, that S V R A meant to kill him, hee went that night to sup at his house; and commanding his guard to returne, remained there alone amongst S V R A his friends and companions, and commaunded his Barber to shauie his beard with a rasour, which the Emperours then held for a custome, vntill the time of his successor A D R I A N, who wore his beard somewhat long: and hauing so much trusted and tried this S V R A L I C I N I V S, hee returned to his Palace; and calling those vnto him which had told him thereof, hee said to them, that he had made triall of L I C I N I V S his loyaltie, and that they should no more hold him in suspition: and so hee euer after loued him both aliue and dead, as I haue said.

A bridge ouer  
the riuer Da-  
nubius.

The death of  
the King of  
*Dacia*.

A Feast of one  
hundred and  
twentie daies  
continuance.

T R A I A N E liuing in this prosperitie without error, or disorder in any thing  
that

The third general persecution of the primitive Church.

that might deserue reproofe, being deluded by the diuell, or some of his ministers, resolved to persecute the Christians, and made edicts and decrees against them, commaunding them to adore his Idols; so as an infinit number of them were put to death vpon that occasion. This was the third generally persecution of the Christians, whereof EUSEBIUS treating faith, that it was in the tenth yeere of his raigne, and so doth OROSIVS and other Christian authors. Which persecution the same T R A I A N E commaunded afterwards to bee mitigated, as it appeareth by some histories, and by the letters written by P L I N I E to T R A I A N E, and from T R A I A N E to P L I N I E, which are extant to this day: Wherein he commaunded, that if the Christians were not accused of any other crimes, they should be suffered to liue at libertie, and according to their lawes. In these and other things, in peace, and doing iustice, T R A I A N E busied himselfe in Rome, vntill that moued with desire of fame and glorie, he determined to make warre against the King of the Parthians, and against the King of Armenia, making this his occasion; that the King of Armenia had receiued the crowne and ensignes of a King, from the hands of the King of the Parthians, acknowledging him for his superior and soueraigne, and not from the Emperour of Rome, as he was bound to haue done, as appeareth by that which is alreadie said. And hauing ordered his people and made such prouision, as for so great an enterprise was requisite: he departed from Rome, wonderfully accompanied with armies both by sea and land; and arriuing in Asia, he invaded Armenia, wherein the fame of his comming was so great, and there was so terrible a feare ouer all the land, that but in very few places he found any resistance, as well in Armenia as in countries adioyning. And the greatest part of the Kings, Nobles and Gouernors of the prouinces bordering thereupon, came peaceably to him, humbly confessing themselves to be his subiects, and him to be their soueraigne Lord, and bringing him many presents they made great shew of subiection. Among many other things of great price which they presented vnto him, there was brought him a horse in greatnes, colour and shape, one of the most faire in the world, which being taught before hand, so soone as he came in the Emperours presence, kneeled downe vpon the ground vpon both his knees, and bowed downe his head to the earth; which although it was knowne to be artificiall, yet it made a very good shew, and greatly delighted the beholders, being a thing rare and vnthought of.

Traiane made warre against the Parthians.

T R A I A N E hauing in short time subdued the countrie of Armenia, and gotten the King thereof into his power, whose name was P A R T A M I A S I T E S, he visited and seised all the land into his hand. And so (as E V T R O P I V S and S E X T V S R V F V S testifie) the countrie of Armenia was made a tributarie prouince, and at that time hee gratified and gaue gifts and rewards to those Kings and Terrarches, which had serued him in those warres, and to many others. And others he condemned in great summes of money, according as each one had deserued. And setting all things in good order, leauing sufficient garrisons to defend the same, he marched forwards with his armie, conquering the dominions of the King of the Parthians, and particularly entred into the fertill countrie of Mesopotamia, and tooke the citie of Nisibe, and other places therein, and made that prouince, like Armenia, tributarie and subiect to the Empire; the King of the Parthians being no way able to hinder the same. Passing herein, and in that which is alreadie said, many skirmishes, encounters, assaultes of cities, and feates of armes, T R A I A N E shewed himselfe in all things an excellent Captaine, in trauailes and daungers, in directing his armies, in lodging it, in marshalling his men, and marching

marching with them according to the militarie gouernment and discipline. For whom, the Senate (being aduertised of his great victories and good aduentures) commaunded great sacrifices to be made, after the manner of the Gentiles; and sent him new titles and names, signifying his bounties and victories, calling him Optimus, Armenicus, Parthicus, and other names of like qualitie, for the conquest of Armenia, and other countries of the Parthians. And hauing had in all things good successe, encreasing and enlarging the Romane Empire, desiring for some respects to repose himselfe for some few daies, he came to passe the winter in the prouince of Soria; where dispersing his armie in the marches, he lodged himselfe in the citie of Antioche, whither came Ambassadors from many parts of the East: And being there in great prosperitie and at rest with a full determination to returne to the warres as afterwards hee did, the whole citie being full of his court, and of Ambassadors and princes which came to see him, and to follow their futes vnto him, there happened an earth-quake which was in a manner general, which in that citie and in a great part of Asia (but chiefly in those quarters) was the greatest that euer was seene or heard of. He that will know the wonders which passed therein, let him reade D I O N, and also C O C C E I V S in the life of T R A I A N E; for many cities were ruined, much people perished; many mountaines and hilles funke and became plaine; many riuers were dried vp; and many fountaines and waters sprang where neuer had been any before. And in the same citie of Antioche, almost all the houses and buildings thereof fell to the ground, and the Emperour T R A I A N E escaped by flight, and was driuen to leape out at a window into the fields, seeing that all his palaces fell downe: in which fieldes he remained many daies in tents, notwithstanding the earth-quake was passed; so great feare possessed him for that which was alreadie happened. This misfortune being past, and this citie and others, which endured the like calamitie, being repaired by T R A I A N E, and sommer being come, gathering together all his forces, hee departed from Antioch to proceede in the warre which he had begun, directing his iourney towards the East, to make a conquest of Assyria and Chaldea, with the great citie of Babylon, head of the auncient monarchie of the Assyrians. And being to passe the riuer Euphrates, at a great turning which it maketh, he passed therein many difficulties and daungers; for the Parthians with all their whole power endeuoured to stoppe his passage: But T R A I A N E knew so well how to vse such industrie, and to proceede so warily, that making boates and bringing them in cartes from the mountaines neere at hand, by force of armes he made a bridge and passed his armie ouer it in despite of his enemies, although not without great slaughter and daunger to both partes: And hauing passed the riuer, he marched forwards conquering cities and castles on euery side, and among other the great citie of Arbela in Assyria, which MARCELLINVS calleth

An horrible and fearfull earth-quake in the citie of Antioch.

A bridge ouer the riuer Euphrates.

Arbela.

Babylon and the fontaine taken by Traiane.

And from thence he went and tooke other countries, wherein neuer had any Romane ensignes been displaied: and from thence without finding any that durst to giue him battaile in his march, he came to the famous citie of Babylon, of whose greatnes and power we reade marueils, and taking it by force of armes, he did the like by all the borders: And from thence he marched by land to the riuer Tigris, and assaulted and tooke by force the great citie of T h e s s a l o n i c, which is in Persia, and other townes in those parts. But in what manner T R A I A N E tooke this citie, and what happened in the many assaults and battailes giuen, and how long this warre continued, we finde it not written: for those authors which

are come to our hands treat thereof in briefe; and the bookes of his great acts which FLAVIVS MARCELLVS and AVRELIVS VERVS wrote thereof at large and copiously, are perished, with other notable workes, which time hath consumed and wasted; by which meanes the acts of this Emperor are vnkowne. Neither is hee compared with ALEXANDER the Great, or the greatest Captaines of the world, notwithstanding that he was no lesse, considering the lands, the Seas, and the Nations, which he trauelled, tamed and subdued, with his armie; his mind, his wisdom and bountie.

T R A I A N E having made himselfe Lord of all those quarters, both on this side, and beyond the riuers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, to wit, *Syria*, *Babylon*, *Chaldea*, and other countries and provinces thereto adioyning; D I O N writeth that hee went downe the riuier *Tigris*, to the Persian Sea, to subdue a mightie King, whose name was A T H A N I L V S, who liued in an Iland (which that riuier maketh, diuiding it self into two armes) & comming to that countrie, the King and inhabitants of those countries not daring to make any resistance, yeelded all those places into his hands. But here hee was in greatest trouble and daunger of all others: for winter comming on, there fell so much raine, and there were such tempests, and the riuier *Tigris* made such inundations, that he was likely to haue lost the greatest part of his armie. After which, these authors affirme, that he rigged vp a great flecte, where-with sailing all along the Persian sea, he came into the maine Ocean, conquering euen to the *Indies*, all the lands and coasts thereof, subduing them to the Romane Empire: and finding by chaunce certaine Merchants ships which sailed into the *Indies*, on this side the riuier *Ganges* (they write) that he informed himselfe thereof, and discoursed with those which were in those ships of all matters in those parts. And he sometimes said, that had it pleased God that he had bin a little younger, and had more strength and health, he would not haue staied vntill that he had attained to the vttermost and most remote ends of the world: and that he accounted ALEXANDER the Great for very happie, in that he began to raigne when he was but young, and yet purposed to passe further then he had done. And so hee wrote from those Seas to the Senate of *Rome*, and sent them the relation and names of all the Nations which he had conquered and subdued; the number wherof was so great, that they could hardly be reckoned and knowne. Vpon which newes, there were made in *Rome* great ioyes, new sacrifices, and many other things to his honour and praise; among which was a most sumptuous Arch. But this attempt and enterprise of the *Indies* prospered not with T R A I A N E, according to his expectation: for as those countries, which hee left behind him in the East were newly conquered, while as he continued his Nauigation and conquest by Sea, many of those countries reuolted, and thrust out the Romane garrisons which were left in them. Besides this, whereof hee was aduertised, he found not in those coasts and countries where he came, such fertilitie and abundance of victuals as he expected; neither were they answerable to the reports of writers, which fabled thereof: for he found there great scarcitie and want of many necessaries, and the enterprise seemed vnworthie of so great a Prince as he: for which causes, and for that that hee was now old and vnweildie, hee determined to returne with his flecte to the place from whence he came.

T R A I A N E hauing in this manner returned through the Persian sea, and taking land neere to the riuier *Tigris*, hee speedily tooke order for the punishing of those which reuolted, and the recouerie of those countries which had rebelled, where-  
so he sent two Captaines called L V C I V S and M A X I M V S, with two good armies  
which

Traiane made  
warre in Persia  
and the Indies.

which in the beginning prospered ill; for M A X I M V S in a battaile against the Parthians was ouerthrowne and slaine: but L V C I V S afterwards reinforcing and relieuing his armie, obtained some victories against the enemies, wherein hee well repaired the harmes receiued, and reuolued againe by force of armes the citie of *Nisibe* in *Mesopotamia*, and others which had rebelled; and did the like by the citie of *Edeffa* in the same prouince, which hee set on fire and wholly destroyed. While as L V C I V S was busie about these things, T R A I A N E his other Captaines and Lieutenants, named E V R I C I V S and C L A R I V S, made warre in other parts against such as had reuolted, and took by force of armes the citie of *Seleucia*, which standeth vpon the same riuier *Tigris*, and other cities which the Parthians had recouered in those quarters: so as in short space T R A I A N E not onely recouered all those lands which had rebelled, but also conquered many other cities and provinces more: so as hee was possessed, and was Lord of the greatest and best parts of *Asia*. His wisdom and valour was so great, that during all the time that hee followed these warres and conquests, so remote and farre from *Rome*, it was perceived that therein was not any tumult or disobedience.

But this sage and wise Emperor seeing himselfe now old and tired, and knowing how vnmeasurably great the Romane Empire was, and that it seemed impossible (as indeed it was true) well to gouerne a state so diffuse and great, chiefly those provinces which hee had conquered from the Parthians, which were so hard to be tamed and kept vnder; he determined to establish a King in *Parthia* and *Persia* of his choosing, and in some other countries which hee had taken from the Parthians, which King should rule and gouerne the same, as before they were ruled; but as a King which was subiect and a vassall to the Romane Empire, reseruing to himselfe the supreme iurisdiction and soueraignie. And with this determination he came to the great citie of *Tehsiphonte*, which is in *Persia*; and calling thither the principall men of the Parthians, hee conferring with them concerning the making them a King of their owne stocke and nation; they giuing him great securitie to serue and obey the Romane Empire. This being concluded, he placed and established in the royall throne with great solemnitie, a great man of the royall house of the Parthians, whose name was P A R T H E N A S P A T E S. And afterwards (as S E X T V S AVRELIVS and E V T R O P I V S record) he did the like in the prouince of *Albania* in *Asia*, neere to the Caspian Sea, seating there also a King to gouerne the same: and placing gouernours and Presidents in the other provinces, he enlarged and extended the bounds and limits of the Romane Empire beyond the riuier *Tigris*, where before his time the name of Romane had scarcely been heard of. And hauing ended all things in good sort in the East, with great glorie and honour (for no place could defend it selfe against him, sauing one little citie in *Arabia deserta*, which the Agarenes had taken, which could not long be besieged for the great sterilitie and want of water in all the fields and marches thereabout) hee resolved to adresse his iourney towards *Italy*, and so to *Rome*, with greater honour and triumph, then any of his predecessors had euer obtained.

While as T R A I A N E made prouision for his iourney towards *Italy*, it happened that the Iewes which inhabited the prouince of *Cyrene*, which is in *Africa*, to the East of *Syrtis Magna*, which were a great number, conspired and rebelled against the Romanes and Greekes which liued in that prouince, and slew them almost all. The like did those Iewes which dwelled in *Egypt*, and both the one and the other committed such cruelties, as were neuer scene or heard of: So as P A V L V S O R O S I V S writeth, that they left the land in a manner dispeopled; and that Nation

Traiane in  
Persia.

The Iewes re-  
belled against  
the Romanes.

The crueltie of  
the Iewes.

Nation was euer so readie and apt to rebell and disobey, that those Iewes which dwelled in the Ile of *Cyprus*, knowing what had passed in the prouince of *Cyrene*, and in *Egypt*, rebelled also, and committed greater crueltie and excesse, then the others had done: so that *DION* faith (although it seemeth incredible) that there were slaine by them 200000. persons, of those which inhabited that Iland. Which is confirmed and made credible by that which *EVSEBIUS* and *PAVLVS OROSIVS* report thereof, who affirme, that they slew all those which dwelled in the citie of *Salamina*, which is in that Iland: vpon which occasion there was afterwards an imperiall lawe made, that no Iew vpon paine of death should come within the Ile of *Cyprus*, vpon what occasion soeuer hee came thither. This law was afterwards so seuerely executed, that if any of them came thither, although through mischance or fowle-weather at sea, they were presently put to death.

A iust punishment  
inflicted  
by Traiane  
vpon the Iewes.

When the Emperour *TRAIANE* vnderstood of this great rebellion and crueltie (as we haue declared, being vpon his way toward *Italie*) as a iust prince willing and desiring to giue condigne punishment, according to the qualitie of the crime, he sent Captaines with sufficient companies of souldiers into diuers parts, to put to death all the Iewes which they should finde in those countries before named, or in any other where soeuer: which they affirme, was the greatest execution and punishment that euer was done in the world, God permitting the same for their stubbornnes, and obstinacie. This great slaughter and punishment being executed, taking the best order that might be for matters in *Asia*, the good Emperour began his journey towards *Italie*, leauing his Nephew *AELIVS ADRIANVS*, who was afterwards Emperour, for generall of the armies in the East, and so continued his Iourney with infinit honour and gladnes: there being in *Rome* so solemne triumph and entertainment prepared for him, as the like had neuer been made therein. And comming into the prouince of *Cilicia* which is in *Asia* the lesse, as he was old and somewhat sickely, his disease encreased vpon him in such sort, that staying in the citie of *Seleucia*, within few daies after, he died therein, of a naturall sickness, although that some suspected that he was poisoned. And so ended this excellent Emperour, hauing reigned nineteene yeeres and a halfe, and liued sixtie and three, in the yeere of our Lord 119. leauing neither sonne nor daughter by his wife *PLOTINA*, with whom he was married; neither would he adopt or name any one that should succede him, which he did in some mens opinion (as *SPARCIVS* writeth) to imitate *ALEXANDER* the Great, whom he euer sought to excell in honor and renowne. *TRAIANE* his ashes were afterwards brought to *Rome*, and set vpon the crowne of a pillar, which he had commaunded to bee erected in the market place thereof, which pillar was of one whole peece, containing one hundred & fortie foote in height. This prince held more countries and prouinces, and the greater part of the world in subiection; or to say better, was the greatest and mightiest man, of all that euer were in the world, either before or after him, as he which is curious may well know and perceiue by this our historie. He gouerned the Empire with such authoritie and so much iustice, and his vertues were so many, that he therein excelled all those which had not the light of our faith, for therein is no comparison. And this was held for a custome in *Rome* after him, that when they powred out their blessings vpon their new chosen Emperours, they would pray that he might be as fortunate as *AVGVSTVS CESAR*, and as good as *TRAIANE*, accounting him to haue attained to the height of all goodnes. It is truly great pittie to thinke that so excellent a man should be lost and damned, as doubtlesse he was; for he not onely

The death of  
the Emperour  
Traiane.

onely was an idolater, and held not our christian faith, without the which there is no saluation, neither did he confesse or professe it, but persecuted and oppressed the Christians. And some men being moued with more pittie and compassion, then with any witte or vnderstanding, fained a fable and iest, saying, that through the prayers of Saint *GREGORIE*, *TRAIANE* his soule was released out of hell (from whence is no redemption) and carried to paradise: whereof, besides that our faith doth controule it, there is no historiographer either auncient or moderne, of any authoritie that I euer sawe, that maketh any mention or remembrance thereof in their treatises of *TRAIANE*, and of Saint *GREGORIE*: whereby it is cleere, that those which say it one to another, raise false witnes both against heauen and hell. *TRAIANE* was of a bigge stature, of a swarthy complexion, and had thin haire on his head and beard: and likewise had a hooke nose, great broad shoulders, and long hands; and aboue all had a very louing regarde with his eies. He was borne the twentieth and one day of May in the second yeere of the raigne of the Emperour *NERO*.

## THE LIFE OF PVBLIVS AELIVS ADRIANVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FIFTEENTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.



### THE ARGVMENT.



After Traiane, Adrian was aduanced to the Empire, more through the policie of Traianes wife, then by the election of the people, or the Senate, or for that Traiane had adopted him. Neuerthelesse after that he was preferred to the imperiall dignitie, he gaue so good an account of himselfe, that Rome had no cause to repent for hauing made him her Lord. He made very great voiaiges, and in his person visited in a manner all the Romane Empire. He was very studious in all arts and sciences, and caused all such

as were famous and excellent in any art to come to Rome. He happily ended all such warres as he began, and was very seuer to the Christians. His many vertues were accompanied with many vices, neuertheless he knew so well how to dissemble the passion of his minde, that he seemed to contemne those things which he feruently loved. He liued sixtie and two yeeres, and ruled the Empire twelue. In his olde age he had so grievous an infirmittie, that he desired to die, and entreated his familiars to kill him; which for pittie hauing not the hart to commit so brute an act, he was finally counselled by his physicians to abstaine from meate and drinke, and he following their counsell hastened his death by hunger.



He death of the good Emperour TRAIANE was extremely lamented, and most grievously taken through all the Empire; for he, for his bountie and goodnes was much beloued of all people, and nations subiect to the same Empire. And as he neuer had any sonne either naturall or adopted, that might succcede hem; and his Nephew ADRIAN for his vertues, great wisdome, and the affinitie betweene them, was much beloued and esteemed: PLOTINA the Emperesse wifeto TRAIANE, who was with him at his decease, for the great loue that she bare vnto ADRIAN, sought meanes to aduance him to the Empire. To bring which her deuise to passe, she agreed with ADRIAN, who alreadie was a man of great power and had been very priuate with TRAIANE, and was his countrieman; and tooke such order, that his death was concealed, vntill that he had founded the good will of the armie which he led, and of such other great personages as were in the Emperours court, faining (after some writers) that TRAIANE had adopted him for his sonne, shewing a counterfeit instrument or writing to that effect. Finally, the matter was so cunningly handled, that it tooke such effect as they desired, and the armie presently sware obedience and did homage to ADRIAN; notwithstanding that he was absent in the citie of *Antioche* in *Syria*, where he was left (as is said) generall. Who being aduertised hereof, and the legions whereof he was Generall consenting thereto; he presently wrote to the Senate, entreating to be confirmed in the Empire. When the Senate had receiued his letters, and vnderstoode what passed, his request was easily graunted, and so was he of all men obeyed and held for Emperour. ADRIAN was TRAIANES Nephew, as some say, by his mother; and some say, by his father: it may be that he was his kinsman of both sides, and so both the one and other may say the truth. He was also a Spaniard both by linage and birth, and according to EVTROPIVS and EVSEBIVS, was borne in the same citie of *Italica*: yet SPARTIANVS inferreth that his father in *Rome* was called ADRIAN as he was, but was borne in *Italica*, and his mother DOMITIA PAULINA, was also natie of *Spaine*, and borne in the citie of *Cales*. He was married to SABINA TRAIANES sisters daughter, (as DION writeth.) And was a tall man of stature, of a good constitution and countenance; and of a very good cleane strength, which he much exercised. He is reckoned among the good and excellent Emperours; and with great reason, considering his many vertues and excellencies, his knowledge and wisdome wherewith he gouerned, and the peace and iustice wherein he maintained the Empire two and twentie yeeres, that he liued therein; whereof besides that the authors write briefly, I also purpose to treat thereof in summe, seeing I spent so much time in the last, so as except I vse more breuitie then hitherto I haue done, the volume of this my booke will growe to a greater proportion then I purposed, or is conuenient. Wherefore I will doe, as he which within certaine daies space hath

Adrian being  
in Antioch, was  
chosen Empe-  
rour.

hath determined to trauell a long iourney, and hauing taken leifure in the beginning, deeming that traouelling in this maner, he shall not be able to attaine to that place at the time appointed, hastneth his way with greater speede, vntill that he know that he may come to his iourneis end before the time be expired: So will I do from henceforth, at the least after I am past ADRIAN, for some space I purpose to proceede with greater expedition then heretofore, vntill I come so farre on my way, that I may safely diuide the processe of this historie, and hold the proportion which I haue determined, presuming rather to make this inequalitye in the stile, then to make a worke so tedious and wearisome.

I say then, that so soone as the barbarous nations vnderstood that TRAIANE was dead, notwithstanding that they also knew of the election of his nephew ADRIAN, the Parthians chiefly and other Nations which were lately subdued, began commotions, and to rebell: and there were also some alterations in *Bri-tannie* and in some other parts: all which ADRIAN might easily haue pacified and subdued by force of armes, and wanted neither courage nor meanes thereto; but he would not beare it by the extremitie of warre and rigor. For truly as these two Princes were both very valiant and excellent Captaines and Gouernors, yet herein they did much differ: for TRAIANE being greedie of honor and renowne, desired by conquests and warres to increase and enlarge the Empire: and ADRIANS care was to hold and preserue the auncient limits, not regarding any more, but rather diminished great part thereof, and so presentlie in the beginning of his raigne, to the end to liue in peace and concord, he left to the Parthians and to other Princes of the East, all those Prouinces beyond the riuier *Euphrates* vnto the *Indies*, which TRAIANE had conquered, nothing regarding *Armenia*, *Media*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, *Mesopotamia*, nor all the rest, and he set his limits and placed his legions at the riuier *Euphrates*. Some thought, and also wrote, that he did it of purpose, enuying TRIANS honor, but I truly attribute it to that he held it for the better and most assured course. And hauing taken such order in the East (as is said) and left CATILVS SEVERVS for gouernour of *Syria*, and pacified the troubles lately raised by the Iewes: he tooke his way by land towards *Italy*, and sent the ashes of TRAIANE by sea, and comming neere to *Rome*, he was aduertised that they had prepared a triumph for him in the same manner as it was provided for his vncl TRAIANE; for that he was in the same warres and conquests with him: But he would not accept thereof, commaunding that the same triumph and enterteinement should be made and giuen to TRIANS image, and so it was done, and he (so farre as I haue read) was the only man that euer triumphed after that he was dead. And ADRIAN was receiued and obeyed with the greatest loue and good will that could be, and presently performed many parts of an excellent Prince, conformable to his present goodnes, to the course of his life past, and the hope conceiued of him for the time to come, so as all were glad and well content with his gouernment, with his fashions and conditions: and truly with great reason, for he deserved no lesse. And because that the graces and excellencies of this Emperour were in the highest degree, besides the vertues and wisdome wherewith he was adorned, I hold it fit in this place to speake thereof, to the end that they may serue for example to other Princes, whereby they may make themselves the more honorable by imitating him.

First, he was naturally enclined to learne all such sciences as appertained to wit, and to the exercise both of the mind and of the bodie also; as well in learning, as in the exercise of armes and other vertues, wherein he sought to excell all men. It is

The Parthians  
and other na-  
tions lately  
subdued, be-  
aring of Trai-  
anes death,  
rebelled.

Adrian sent  
Traianes ashes  
to Rome.

A triumph  
giuen to Tra-  
ianes statue af-  
ter his death.

*Adrian was  
expert in all  
faculties.*

a wonderfull matter to consider how God endued this Prince with wit and vnderstanding, apt and capable to comprehend whatsoeuer he desired, with skill, strength and abilitie in all exercises: whereby (concerning letters) he became very learned in both the toongs, Greeke and Latine, and wrote and compiled excellentie well, both in verse and prose. He pleaded causes and exercised himselfe in the arte oratorie, and so much affected the stile and phrase of auncient time, that he preferred CATO before CICERO, ENNIVS before VIRGIL, and CEBIVS before SALVST. He was as skilfull in other arts as he was herein: for he was a singular Mathematician, Arithmetician, Geometrician, and a great Astronomer, and tooke great delight in iudicall Astrologie, and would giue his opinion: so as SPARCIANVS writeth, that the first day of the yeere he would cast the reuolution of the whole, and foretold what would ensue, and did so by the same yeare wherein he died. He was very skilfull in Phisick, and knew the vertues and properties of hearbs and stones. He was expert and very politick in the warres and militarie discipline, and was very strong, able and skilfull in armes both on foot and horseback: And besides all this, he could play on instruments, and sing maruellouslie well. He could draw and paint aswell, as the skilfullest maister workeman in that art that could be found. Finally, in all things he had so readie and so good a wit and skill, as any one man could haue in any one thing particularly: wherein, besides his deepe vnderstanding, his exceeding memorie did much help him: for they affirme, that he forgot not any thing that he had either read or heard. He was of such capacitie (as SPARCIANVS writeth) that he would both endite, write, and conferre of busines all at one instant, and had a singular grace and promptnes in vsing quick speeches and quips, either in earnest or in iest; and the like in answering vpon the sodeine, if he were touched or quipped by any other. Of his quick and sharp speeches which they write of him, I will recite one only, as fitting this time, although it be none of the sharpest and subtillest of them, which was thus: A certaine Romane Knight came to intreate a fauour at his hands, who (according to his age) had a gray beard, and full of white haire, and failing of that which he desired, within few dayes after he came againe with a new petition to the same effect. But in the meane season (it seemed that men were then as skilfull in dying as now they are) he had dyed his beard, and looked yong againe: which being noted by the Emperour, who to giurd him therewith, answered him to his request, I would be very glad to do you the pleasure which you require, but there are but few dayes past since that I denied it to your father who desired the same; wherefore it seemeth to me a matter vniust to graunt that to the sonne which I would not yeeld to the father: and so the old man departed with shame, and in this manner he vsed many such like od iests. Besides all that is already said of him, he was very strong, and able to endure any labour, and was so lustie, and able of his bodie, that he ordinarily went the greatest part of his way on foote, and bare headed, in the sunne, in the raine, and the mists. He was much addicted to the chace, and was a great hunter, and excellent therein: so as with his owne hands he killed Lions, Beares, wild Boares, and other most fierce beasts; although that he were oftentimes in great danger, and fell once vnawares from a rock, and put one of his shoulders out of ioint, and brake one of his legs, and some of his ribs. Finallie, there was nothing wherein the Emperour ADRIAN was not excellent and very able, and in all things presumed to excell the wisest, as truly he did in the most. And although that he were a great reprobuer of maisters in arts, and did often put them to their shifts with his questions and arguments,

ments, yet he did much honor them, and bestowed many gifts and rewards vpon them; and had also neere about him Philosophers, Astronomers, Poets, Rhetoricians, Grammarians, Musicians, Arithmeticians, Geometricians, and excellent Painters and Caruers, with all which he might compare, and the most of them he did far excell: and did vse to say, that He had not forborne to learne any thing more then other men did, that might be needefull in peace or warre either for an Emperour, or a man of any other condition whatsoeuer. Being endued with these qualities before said, he was not void of other vertues and gifts of the mind, which he shewed and put in execution in the time of his raigne, more, and better then before: although that in the beginning he was noted of crueltie, for that some especiall men, by his commaundement and permission, were put to death: There were also some vices and euill dispositions noted to be in him, but they all affirme that he did repress and dissemble them, and was so much maister of himselfe, that he did easily maister and suppress his naturall euill inclination: which did well appeare in his maner of gouerning the Empire; the good vsage of his subiects; bestowing fauours and good turnes vpon all men; mitigating the tributes and subsidies through all the Empire; ministring iustice with equitie and indifferencie; doing all things by the aduise and counsell of the Senate, and of wife and prudent men which he kept about him, and caryed with him whither soeuer he went: for he did not only loue to be counselled, but also to be reprooued and aduised. He entertained all men gentlie and courteouslie: and although that to the common sort he shewed greatnes and maiestie, yet principall men he honored much, and visited them in their sickness, and inuited them, and went to them when they inuited him. And although that he euer loued and procured peace, yet all his life time he had exceeding great care of martiall discipline, punishing the libertie and vices of men of warre, reforming errors past, and prescribing rules for time to come. In this manner (as I haue said) he had liued when he was priuate, and followed the same course after that he was Emperour.

ADRIAN hauing remained some space in Rome, gouerning the Empire in good forme and order, many northerne nations rose against the Empire, to wit, the Alanes and Scythians of Europe: and the Sarmates, which are now the people of Russia, Musconia, and Poland, and other countries thereto adioyning, which with intent to make warre in the Empire, came downe into the prouinces of the vpper Misia now called Seruia, and the lower Bulgaria, both which at this day are in subiection to the great Turke. Against which nations the Emperour ADRIAN departed from Rome with a mightie armie: but comming neere to those prouinces where the enemies were, there were certaine tratices of peace moued, and ADRIAN who was addicted thereto graunted the same: and making his abode for some dayes in those quarters, he returned to Rome, leauing MARCIUS TYRBO for Captaine and Gouernour of Pannonia and Dacia. And in this iourney there was a certaine conspiracie against him, which being discovered, foure principall men which had been Consuls (being guiltie thereof) were put to death: which execution the Emperour ADRIAN afterwards denied to haue been done by his will or consent. And being come to Rome to purge himselfe of the infamie and enuie thereof, he made a great congiarie or distribution of money among the people, bestowing many graces and fauours vpon all states and kinds of men; and commaunded also infinit games and sports to be made, such as were accustomed in Rome, not forgetting (neuertheless) the execution of iustice in his gouernment. And staying at this time a lesser space in Rome then at the first, he de-

*Northerne  
nations rose  
against the  
Empire.*

Adrian visited  
the Empire.

parted from thence with a great court and companie to visit *France* and the Provinces neere adioining, vpon the cities whereof he bestowed many graces and fauours. And from thence he passed to visit the legions and armies in *Germanie*, wherein he set order in many things concerning militarie discipline: and after that he had remained awhile in those parts, hauing determined to visit all the whole Empire (as afterwards he did) he directed his iourney into *Flanders*; and from thence into *Britanny*, where he set order and agreement betwene the inhabitants thereof, and the Romanes which liued therein, as well the garrisons, as the inhabitants and colonies. And for their better quietnes and securitie, SPARTIANVS saith, that he caused a strong wall of fourescore miles long to be builded, to make a diuision of the lands of the one from the other, which was a marueilous great piece of worke: and hauing made such prouision for all things in that Iland as he thought needefull, he returned into *France*, where he erected some singular buildings, and bestowed other graces and fauours in that countrey.

After that the Emperour ADRIAN had visited *France* and the borders thereof, and the Ile of *Britannie*, he directed his iourney for *Spaine*, where hee was ioyfully receiued, as a man natieue and borne in that countrey: and after that he had visited some places he went to winter in the citie of *Tarragona*, where he called a parliament of all the prouinces, and prouided and ordained many things for the public good thereof. After that the furie of winter was past, he traueilling through all *Spaine*, visiting the cities, and bestowing benefits vpon them: principally vnto his own countrey *Italica* and *Seuil*, he graunted many priuiledges and exemptions, and did many great fauours, as DION writeth: but would not come thither, notwithstanding that he was in the marches thereof. And hauing visited all *Spaine*, he returned towards *Rome*, and in this time hee set downe and assigned the limits and confines of the Empire, from the barbarous Nations, where there were no riuers, to diuide them with notable markes of stone, pillars, trees, and other things; and his authoritie and reputation at that time was so great, that to the high Almaines which were free, hee appointed and set a King: and at that time some commotions were punished in *Africa*.

The Emperour ADRIAN liuing in this peace and quietnes, being in the seauenth yeere of his raigne, the Parthians being a fierce and vnquiet nation, began to stirre and to make warres in the Empire; and ADRIAN making prouision for all things accordingly, with great power passed into the East, with a sufficient armie to follow that warre in person: but seeing that he managed it himselfe, they moued certaine treaties of peace; which being concluded, he trauelled peaceably through all the East prouinces, and came into *Asia* the lesse, and from thence into *Gracia*, and bestowed many fauours vpon the Athenians, and other cities, where he remained sometime. From thence in gallies he tooke his passage into the Ile of *Sicilia*, and saw the principall places of that Iland, and desired to see the mount *Etna*, which is so famous for the fires which it continually casteth out of the earth. And setting all things in *Sicilia* in such order as he thought good, very ioyfull and victorious he returned to *Rome*, now the fourth time after that he was Emperour. After which his last comming, he staid not long therein: for he had vndertaken (for the better gouernment thereof) to visit the whole Empire in person; and to that purpose preparing shippes and gallies he passed into *Africa*, wherein the ioy is incredible that was conceived for his comming. For besides that ADRIAN was very much beloued, it happened (as SPARTIANVS and others doe write) that *Africa* for fise yeeres space had endured great want of raine, and therefore hunger and

Adrian in A-  
frica.

and famine; and so soone as he was arriued in that land, sufficient raine fell, which made his comming most ioyfull. And the time that hee was in that countrey, hee spent in reforming of the gouernment, in ending controuersies, and commaunding certaine publicke buildings to be erected: among which was the reedifying of a great part of the citie of *Carthage*, which (according to my author) hee commaunded should be called *Adrianopolis*, after his owne name. And all matters being ended in *Africa* at his pleasure, and hauing staid there so long as to him seemed good, hee returned prosperously to *Rome*, where hee ordained and prouided for all common matters of the Empire: yet the time was not long that he staid therein; and when euery man thought least of any iourney, hee againe prouided for his passage into the East. And within short space passed into *Gracia*, and trauieling through it, he staid in some cities, and made those buildings and temples to be finished, which before he had commaunded to be begun, and commaunded others to be builded new: & so continuing his iourney he went into *Asia* the lesse, and did the like therein, as in other prouinces he had done where he had trauielled. And being come into *Syria*, by letters and messengers hee moued the Kings and Tetrarches, as well those which were friends and subiects, as those which were neighbours and straungers, to come to see and speake with him. Among which one was the King of the Parthians, to whom hee freely sent his daughter, whom the Emperour TRAIANE in the wars past had taken prisoner; wherewith many of them being moued, came to his Court to visite him and to doe him honour: all which he so friendly and courteously entertained, that those which came not did exceedingly enuie those which came, grieuing very much that they had not done the like. These meetings and feasts being ended (which in truth were very great and notable) ADRIAN tooke his way towards *Syria*, and came into *Palestina* and *Iudea*, visiting and seeing the principall cities thereof: and from thence passed forwards, and did the like in *Arabia*, after which he presently went into *Egypt*, where in hee remained longer then in any other part, and there commaunded a most sumptuous Sepulcher to be builded ouer the great POMPEY, because that, that which was there before was ruined and decayed. He also caused a citie to be founded to the name, and in memoriall of a most faire young youth which died there, whom he deerely loued. And at the same time hee permitted, and also commaunded that the holie citie *Ierusalem*, which (as is before said) was destroyed and lay desolate, to be reedified and new builded; which was presently done, with admirable expedition, principally by the Iewes; and commaunded that it (leauing the first name) should be called, *Aelia Adria Capitolina*: so great was then the power and wealth of the Romane Emperors, that it was as easie a matter for them then to build Cities, as now houses, or things of lesser moment. And although that the Iewes did greatly reioyce for the new building and restoring of *Ierusalem*: yet afterwards they tooke it very grieuously that the Gentiles should ioyntly dwell therein with them, which builded temples to their gods and Idols: and the Christians, they would not suffer freely to vse their rites and ceremonies. And this is the cause of the rebellion which afterwards ensued. Truly it is a thing much to be noted in this people, which became so stifnecked, that when they were bound to keepe and obserue their law, being then good and holy; for very light occasions they would forsake it, and take strange religions and become Idolaters: but after that it was abolished, and ought no longer to be obserued, they would neuer leaue it, neither receiue the holie Catholike faith: and yet vntill this day, some of that generation in sundrie parts of the world, obstinately perseuere therein.

A Sepulcher  
made by A-  
drian ouer the  
great Pompey.

The power of  
the Romane  
Emperours.

The peruerse  
purdie of the  
obstinate Iewes.

These and many other things being ended by ADRIAN, in the time of his abroad in *Asia* and in *Egypt*, hee returned into *Europe*, and arriuing in *Gracia*, staid with his whole Court in the citie of *Athens*: and being there (which was in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne) al the Iewes openly rebelled, and cast the Romane garrisons out of their prouinces of *Iudea*, *Galile*, and the rest, killing as many of them as they could, with a very great number of Christians. This was a very dangerous warre, for therein did conspire al the Iewes which dwelt in any other prouinces, which were very many. ADRIAN considering the greatnes and importance of this accident, prouiding for remedie thereof a new armie, whereof hee made IULIVS SEVERVS Generall against the Iewes, causing him to come so farre as from *Britannie* for that purpose; who came with great power, and passed into *Syria*, and made most cruell warre: wherein after the shedding of much blood of both sides, the Iewes were ouercome and destroyed, and all the whole land left in a manner desolate: So (as writeth DION) there were fiftie excellent strong Castles and fortresses laid euen with the ground; and nine hundred, fourescore and fife townes, and populous villages burnt; and there were slaine in skirmishes and battailes fiftie thousand fighting men, besides those which without number died of hunger, sickness and miserie of the warre: and so was performed the subduing, and (in a manner) the totall destruction of the Iewish nation. And ADRIAN gaue commaundement and made an edict, that the Iewes should be perpetually banished from the new *Ierusalem*, and prohibited to inhabite therein. Within few daies after that the warres with the Iewes were ended, the Alanes and Mesagetes, which are barbarous fierce Nations of *Scythia Asiatice*, came with great furie, and entred into *Media* making warre, and afterwards into *Armenia*, and came so farre as *Cappadocia*, where FLAVIVS ARRIANVS was Captaine for the Empire, and did put all the countries thereabouts in great feare. But ADRIAN (who euer loued peace) vsed such meanes, that through the gifts which he sent to their King VOLGSESVS by his Ambassadors, they returned peaceably to their houses, laden with spoyle and riches which they gate in other barbarous countries.

ADRIAN hauing ended al matters to his best liking, after that he had bestowed many gifts and good turnes vpon the cities in *Gracia*, came lastly towards *Rome*, hauing (as I haue said) trauiiled a long time through the world, where his coming was very gratefull to al estates in that citie: and although that he were now old and vnweildie, yet he failed not to prouide and take as good order for al things then, as when he was of greatest strength. But hee considering his age, which was now about threescore yeeres, and that hee had not any sonne, and that a disease which hee ordinarily had, which was much bleeding at the nose, did now more oppresse him then euer theretofore; hee tooke great care who should be his successor, and therefore determined to adopt some excellent Nobleman to succede him in the Empire: and hereupon tooke much counsell and made many doubts before he would resolute. In the end, contrary to the liking of most of his Counsell, hee adopted one LVCIVS CEIONIVS COMMODVS, entitling him CÆSAR, and nominated him for his successor, which (as SPARTIANVS reporteth) had not been vsed to be done in that manner vntill then. And changing his name, after his new father, he was called ÆLIVS VERVS. The same day that he did this, he commaunded SEVERIANVS to be slaine, who was a great man in *Rome*, and FVSCVS which was his nephew, for certaine euident signes and suspitions which he perceiued, that they practised to tyrannize and vsurpe the Empire: and so like-

The Iewes  
ouerthrowne  
and destroyed  
by Julius Se-  
uerus and ban-  
ished from  
the new Ierusa-  
lem by A-  
drian.

wife he commanded some others to be slaine and made away. After this election and adoption, and great feasting for the same, this new adopted CÆSAR was ouertaken with an infirmities, so grieuous, and of so long continuance, that ADRIAN found himselfe deceiued: and seeing that now he could not liue long, he repented that he should leaue so weake and feeble a successor. It is written, that he oftentimes said, That he leaned to a rotten wal. But it so happened that within few daies he was ealed of that grieve: for this LVCIVS CEIONIVS whom hee had adopted and called ÆLIVS VERVS died. And notwithstanding that this man left sonnes behinde him, yet ADRIAN presently adopted ANTONINVS or ANTONIVS (for I finde him written after both names) who was afterwards surnamed PIVS; vpon condition that he should also adopt a sonne of the said ÆLIVS VERVS, who was called LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS, and MARCVS AVRELIVS also; in the first place ANTONINVS, of whose linage hereafter mention shall be made, which were noble and very excellent and vertuous men. This being done to the good liking, and with the consent of the Senate, and of al the principall men in *Rome*, ADRIANs disease encreasing vpon him, he made himselfe to be carried to the citie of *Baia*, where his grieve so extremely tormented him, and therewithall came so many passions and conuulsions, that hee oftentimes desired to die, and procured his owne death; and with gifts and flatteries, and sometime with threatnings hee prouoked some to kill him: and seeing that no man would doe it, and that he wanted strength to doe it himselfe, for the last remedie of his infirmities, by the counsell of some of his Physitions (for he had many about him) he resolved to forbear either to eate nor drinke, and so he died in the yeere of our Lord 140. vsing that common saying: *Turba Medicorum interfecit Regem*: which is, A multitude of Physitions killed the King.

ADRIAN at the time of his death was sixtie two yeeres old and fife moneths, and had reigned twentie one yeeres and eleuen moneths, and neither left behind him, or euer had had any sonne; he was but once married, and then with a woman whose name was SABINA, and after that she was dead, he married no more. He was a man tall of stature and of a good pefence, and did weare his beard and haire long, and tooke delight therein. Hee was as excellent a Prince as euer was any, although that he had some vices and euill inclinations, which with his wisdom he couered and kept secret. As concerning the Christian faith, although in the beginning (as an Infidell) he did hate it, and was an enemy to it, yet afterwards he shewed himselfe more temperate towards the Christians: for as EVSEBIUS and others doe write, QVADRATVS a discipule of the Apostles, and ARISTIDES a Philosopher of *Athens* and a Christian, did compile certaine notable bookes in defence of our faith: wherewith ADRIAN being moued, wrote to MINVCIVS FVNDANVS who was Proconsul in *Asia*, and to other parts, that no Christian should be compelled to renounce his faith, neither be punished, except he were accused for some other offence.

So as the Christian faith was taught and preached freely, a great part of the raigne of the Emperour ADRIAN,

The death of  
the Emperour  
Adrian.

THE



# THE LIFE OF MARCVS ANTONINVS PIVS, FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND SIXTEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.



## THE ARGVMENT.

**A**ntoninus was adopted by Adrian, and by reason of his adoption succeeded him in the Empire; in which dignitie hee lined so vertuously, that it may be said, that he lined without example, and was likened to the good Numa Pompilius. There were not many warres in the time of this good Emperour: for he with his onely authoritie bridled all Nations, and to him came Ambassadors in a manner from all the furthestmost parts of the world. He would neuer be very farre from Rome, in such manner as his predecessor had done, being of opinion that it was most fit for the Emperour to remaine in that citie, which was head of the Empire. He was liberall, courteous, iust and pittifull, and a great louer of vertuous personages, so as it might be said, that he was father of the vertuous. His life was not stained with any vice, as his predecessors were. And being of the age of 72. yeeres old, he died in his towne of a fever, when he had ruled the Empire 23. yeeres, whose death was much bewailed by the world, for that they had lost an Emperour and a father, who, they might iustly say, was Pius.

**A**DRIAN was not onely wise and fortunate in gouerning and ruling the Empire, the time that he held it; but he was also, so in the successor whom he chose and left therein: for he prooued to be such, and so good, that after hee had ended his daies, ADRIAN was no more praised and remembred for his wisdom and good gouernment, then for the succession which hee left, by adopting ANTONINVS: who what he was we will presently tell you. I say then that the death of ADRIAN being

ing knowne (which was greatly lamented and bewailed) ANTONINVS PIVS his adopted sonne was presently without any contradiction receiued and obeyed for Emperour, accordingly as he had appointed him by the consent and good will of all the Senate, as in his life we haue written. This ANTONINVS was the sonne of AVRELIVS FVLVIVS, and Nephew of TITVS AVRELIVS FVLVIVS, which had been Consuls and had held other offices and dignities, and were very noble men and of auncient blood, whose originall was in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lombardie*. His mothers name was ARRIA FATIDILLA, the daughter of ARRIVS ANTONINVS a most noble gentleman and twile Consul. This Emperour ANTONINVS was one of the most excellent princes in vertue and bountie, that euer hath been in the world: and who that with greatest authoritie, iustice, liberalitie, and clemencie gouerned the Empire. He had a good aspect and was tall, and of a good constitution of body, of an excellent witte, gentle of condition, moderate in eating and drinking, well learned, and singularly eloquent, very bountifull, and willing to giue of his owne, and very abstinent from taking from others. He was a great louer of husbandrie, and delighted much in hunting; and was so free from all manner of vices, that therein neither TRAIANE, ADRIAN, nor any of his predecessors could compare with him: Wherefore the wisemen of his time compared him with NUMA POMPILIUS, which was second King of *Rome*, and deserued to bee called PIVS, for which they shew many reasons. Before that he was Emperour he had been Questor, Pretor, and Consul, and had held some other charges and magistracies. In his time were few warres or battailes, or at least little spoken of, and those troubles which were, he easily pacified by his Capitaines: and therefore the most that historiographers write of him, is of his good conditions and his bountie: and so will I, although it will not be so pleasing to the reader as to discourse of warres; yet to follow the truth, and principally to shew the fruite which is to be gathered out of this historie, which are examples to liue well: as for the rest there will bee sufficiently enough found in the proesse of this booke, and that is not a little, which is already written.

ANTONINVS then so soone as he began to rule, presently shewed his naturall goodnes: for he remooued not any of those from their office and charges, which he found placed and established thereby ADRIAN; but rather confirmed them therein: and euer held it best, to suffer those which prooued good gouernours to continue long in their charges and gouernments. He commaunded also his rents and seruices (besides that they should be moderated) to be gently and temperately collected. He presently did so many fauours, and gaue so many gifts of his owne goods which he had before, that his wife ANIA FAVSTINA daughter to ANIVS VERVS reprooued him for it: to whom he made answer to this effect, that she knew not what she said, and therefore he did let her know, that at what time he attained to the Empire, they had lost all that which before they possessed liuing priuate. In matters of equitie & gouernment, he was as vigilant, and tooke as good order as ADRIAN did. He determined also, neuer to depart from *Rome* all the time of his raigne, except it were to recreate himselfe, and sometimes to hunt, being herein contrarie in opinion to his predecessor ADRIAN: for he said that the court and people which trauelled with the Emperour, were troublesome and preiudiciall to the countries and cities by which they passed: and that in visiting some parts, he was farre from others; and therefore the most fit and conuenient place for the Emperour to stay and make his abode in, was in *Rome*, which was the

*Antoninus his  
descent.*

*Antoninus  
compared with  
Numa Pompili-  
us.*

the Ladie and head of the Empire and the middest thereof, and most fit to receiue Ambassadours and messages from all parts. So as following this counsell (which indeede proued not ill) the warres and insurrections which happened, hee suppressed and pacified by his Captaines; as the Brittaines, which rebelling in part of that Iland, the rebels were defeated by his captaines, and the Iland brought to subiection. And within a little while afterwards the like happened in the countrie of *Dacia*, and also in *Germanie*, which tooke armes, but through the victorie of his legions, peace was established: whereby he wanne so great reputation, that all the rest of his raigne, there happened no daungerous warre, and all men feared and honored him for his goodnes, and therewith he was so much beloued, that he was held and esteemed, for father, Lord, and Emperour. And the barbarous nations which were vnkowne to the Romanes, did so much loue and esteeme him, that in contentions and matters in controuersie which happened betweene them, they chose him for their Iudge and arbitrator, submitting themselues to his censure. And so those of the countrie of *Hircania*, which is a prouince of *Asia*, neere to the *Caspian* sea, and the *Bactrians* which are more to the Eastwards, and both verie farre and remote, and also the East Indians, sent to him their Ambassadours, offering amitie and obedience. And from other countries which were exceeding farre, there came some Kings to doe him honor: among which they make mention of *S T A N G O R V S* from *India*, and of the King *P H A R A S M A N E S* and others. And in other parts and countries, he established Kings at his appointment, whereto the inhabitants did consent, notwithstanding that they were not subiect to the Empire. And the King of the *Parthians* determining to make warres, being with a great power entred into *Armenia*, one letter from the Emperour sufficed to make him retire and to discharge his armie. *ANTONINVS* being in this manner beloued and feared by straungers, was no lesse esteemed and beloued by his subiects and vassals, but rather without comparifon farre more: as by those which knew and enjoyed his goodnes and equitie: and seeing that he was such, he was by the whole Senate intituled father of his countrie, which he much refused, but yet in the end he accepted thereof, with great courtesie and humilitie: for hee was naturally gentle and noble of condition, and therewith very courteous, and as such hee entertained the Senators and principall men gently and louingly, with great honour and courtesie; and neuer did any thing of importance, without their counsell and consent, and towards all men generally he sought to moderate the state and maiestie of an Emperour, shewing himselfe affable and pleasant. And about all, he tooke order that no man should make benefit of his fauour to another: neither take bribes by amazing such as were sutors vnto him: for he gaue audience and answere to all men himselfe in person, and in this he knew the qualitie and difference betweene men, vsing herein sometime the opinion of others when neede required. Whereto besides the ordinarie counsell of the Senate, and his owne skill and knowledge in the lawes, hee had alwaies some excellent lawyers neere vnto him, as *V L P I V S*, *M A R C E L L V S*, *I A B O L E N V S* and such others: By which meanes and such others as shall be declared, the prouinces and cities in his time florished and grew rich, which hee relieued with his owne rents towards the buildings thereof, as well such as were necessarie as others to beautifie and adorne the same. And when any misfortune or calamitie happened, he repaired and reedified it with money out of his eschequer, as was a great fire which happened in *Rome*, wherewith were burned three hundred and fortie Iles, principall houses; a great part of

Ambassadours  
and princes  
from far coun-  
tries came to  
see Antoninus.

Great harme  
done by fire in  
seuerall places.

of the citie of *Narbone* in *France*, and the citie of *Antioche* in *Asia*, and the market place in the citie of *Carthage*. And in time of great hunger which in his time was in *Rome*, he prouided and maintained the people with bread and wine the most of the time that the famine lasted, making victuals to be brought from all parts, he paying for the same at his proper cost: so as generally through the whole Empire all men were well content with him; for he maintained them in peace, quietnes, and equitie. And truly in this place is to be noted and considered the power and gouernment of the *Romane* Empire, and how contentedly, and at what libertie the people lined in the time of *ANTONINVS*, *T R A I A N E*, *A D R I A N*, and other good Emperours; and to see the greatnes and riches of that court frequented by the greatest and best men in the world; and to see the greatnes and buildings of that most populous citie of *Rome*: and to consider of the libertie and securitie wherein men might trauaile through the world, obeying and seruing one Lord, and he good and iust, without feare of warres, robbers by sea or land, without finding euery where new lawes, new coynes, new Lords, Kings, and tyrants, as there are now adayes, needing no securitie or safeconducts, without being taken prisoners, and made captiues, or ill vsed by enemies, strangers, and vnkowne persons, but vsing all men as friends and neighbours in the greatest and best parts of the world, which as a little Kingdome was quietly and iustly gouerned. One countrey was furnished from another, with such things as in the one did abound, and the other wanted. Merchandize and traffick passing through the world without so many prohibitions, molestations and troubles, as we see now adayes, all liuing then vnder one lawe euery where, in the best and greatest parts of the earth in v-nion and peace, which they more perfectlie enioyed, after that the Emperours were Christians, as hereafter shal be declared. But as this was but humane power, so could it not continue long without fail, alteration or change: for it is the condition of the world, that nothing can continue long in one estate.

And returning to our *ANTONINVS*, among his other vertues wherewith he made the time of his raigne happie and ioyfull, one was his clemencie; wherewith he exceedingly mitigated the rigor of the lawes, punishing offences with pitie, or pardoning them, euer desiring and procuring peace: Wherein he commonly vsed that saying of *S C I P I O*, which was, that he more desired the preservation of one friend or subiects life, then the death of an hundred enemies. This Emperour was also a great friend to learning, and much honored learned men, giuing them great rewards and pensions, drawing them vnto him from all the parts of the world; among which he caused to come from the citie of *Chalcide* a great Philosopher which was a Stoick, whose name was *A P O L L O N I V S*, whom he sent for to be maister to his adopted sonne *M A R C V S A N T O N I N V S*, who afterwards was Emperour. This Philosopher being come to *Rome*, *ANTONINVS* sent for him to come to see him, seeing that he stayed long ere he did it of himselfe: whereto the Philosopher made answere, that with greater reason the scholler ought to come to the maister, then the maister to the scholler. This arrogancie did nothing offend *ANTONINVS*, but laughing thereat, he said to those which were with him, that he marvelled that *A P O L L O N I V S* should deeme it a shorter way from *Chalcide* to *Rome*, then from his lodging in *Rome* to his Pallace. This Emperour, among the waightie affaires and matters of importance, forgot not to please and recreate the people, but as the custome then was in *Rome* at certaine times he caused feasts and folemne sports to be made. In conclusion, he was an excellent Prince, and left nothing vndone, that was behouefull for the good gouernment

A wonderfull  
obedience, and  
vniuersall  
peace.

Proud speeches  
of Apollonius  
a Philosopher,  
with Antoninus  
his answere.

The death of  
Antoninus  
Pius.

Ann. Dom. 163.

uernment of the Empire: and hauing ruled the same 23. yeeres, being aboute threescore and ten yeeres old, he was taken with a burning feuer, whereof within three dayes he dyed in peace and rest, first recommending the Empire to MARCVS ANTONINVS, who was his sonne in law, and married to his daughter FAVSTINA, and is commonly called MARCVS AVRELIVS, commaunding that the image of FORTVNE which the Emperours did vse to haue in their chambers, should be caried to ANTONINVS his chamber, which hapned in the yeare of our Lord 163. Some space before that he died, being a man of a great stature, and by reason of his age vnable to go vpright, but stooping, he ware vpon his breast certaine thin boords, whereupon he made fast his clothes with such art, that it couered the defect of nature. His death was generally lamented, and the Romanes did him great honour, and made sacrifices vnto him, canonizing him for a God, and builded a Temple vnto him, as they did to the vanitie of their other gods.

## THE LIFE OF MARCVS AVRELIVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, ALTHOUGH SECOND OF THE ANTONINES, CALLED THE PHILO-

SOPHER, AND OF LVCIVS COMMODVS VERVS

ANTONINVS his companion, and seuenteenth Emperour of Rome.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**M**arcus Aurelius being adopted by Antoninus Pius, succeeded in the Empire, and was endued with so much bountie and vertue, that he was worthily called the Philosopher: and considering the many calamities which in his time oppressed the Romane commonwealth, there needed a man no lesse good and vertuous. In his time were most dangerous warres,

very

very great earthquakes, inundations of riuers, plagues of pestilence, and most extreame famine; all which he through his singular wisdom excellently remedied. He made the Christians to be persecuted, whereby the Church indured much hurt. He was unhappie in the honestie of his wife, and in wife children, and notwithstanding that she was dishonest, yet he would not put her away, accounting to haue had the Empire for her dowry. This good Emperour died in the wars against the Germanes, taken with a most grievous infirmities, when he had reigned 18. yeeres. His death was deplored through the whole Romane Empire, whereto he had euer shewed himselfe a good Prince and loving father.



**S**o soone as the Emperour ANTONINVS PIVS was dead, MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS VERVS, without any contradiction succeeded him, who was called the Philosopher, whom (as we haue said) ANTONINVS PIVS had named & adopted for his sonne in the time of the Emperour ADRIAN, and afterwards married him to his daughter FAVSTINA. This man so soone as he was confirmed in the Empire, and began to gouerne the same, chose and tooke for his companion and equall therein, LVCIVS VERVS COMMODVS ANTONINVS: who together with him, was adopted by ANTONINVS, by the commaundment of the Emperour ADRIAN, being the sonne of LVCIVS CEIONVS COMMODVS, whom ADRIAN had first adopted, & who died before him. These two were the first that euer ruled in Rome together with equall power. This excellent Emperour MARCVS ANTONINVS was also called AVRELIVS ANTONINVS. I would that the reader should vnderstand, that this confusion and varietie of names is caused by reason of the adoptions which then were made: for the Romanes did vse to haue three names, a forename, a name, and a surname. And to declare it more plainly, when any one was adopted for a sonne, he receiued the name and surname, and sometime changed all the three names. Sometime they held one, and changed the rest, to continue the memorie of both fathers: and from hence grew so many names, which obscure the historie; and oftentimes deceiue the reader. To be eased of this trouble, I will call this principall Emperour MARCVS AVRELIVS, and his brother and companion, LVCIVS VERVS, giuing to them both sometime the surname ANTONINVS.

MARCVS AVRELIVS then was the naturall and true sonne of ELIVS VERVS, who died Pretor. And his Grandfathers name was ELIVS VERVS also, and had bin twice Consul and Prefect in Rome, and was enobled and made Patrician by the Emperour VESPASIAN, as IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS recordeth. His mothers name was DOMICIA CAMILLA, and was the daughter of CALVISIVS TVLLVS, who had bin twice Consul. By his fathers side he was of so auncient a linage, that it was reported of him that he was descended from NUMA POMPIIVS the second King of the Romanes. This Emperour was endued with so many vertues, good qualities, and conditions, that there will not any be found that hath excelled him, and hardlie any to be compared vnto him. In his time there were so dangerous warres and so many calamities, that therein was great neede of his vertue, wisdom and valour, to resist so many perils, and to redresse so many ill fortunes. He was so addicted to the studie of Philosophie, and all arts and sciences, that he was therefore called the Philosopher, and did honor and greatly enrich wife and learned men. His principall maisters in Philosophie amongst others, were APOLLONIVS CHALCIDONENSIS, in the Greeke toong, and SEXTVS CHERONENSIS nephew to PLVTARCH; and in Rhetoricke FRONTO an excellent Orator in that time, by whose instructions he greatly profited. And beginning to gouerne in companie of his adopted brother LVCIVS

VERVS

Marcus Aurelius called the Philosopher.

Lucius Commodus taken by Marcus Aurelius for his companion in the Empire.

Adoption in what manner.

The origine of Marcus Aurelius.

VERVS ANTONINVS (as is said) as he did in all things so notable excell the other, so (in a manner) had he the administration of all matters: for which cause of him chiefest mention is made; as also for that he liued longer, and remained alone in the Empire, ruling with the good liking and contentment of the whole Senate and people of *Rome*, for the great experience which they had of his vertue and goodness. In the beginning of his raigne, there happened so great an inundation and ouerflowing of the riuer *Tiber*, that it destroyed many buildings in *Rome*, and drowned some people, with a great number of cattell; and spoiling the fields caused extreame dearth and famine. Which MARCVS AVRELIVS through his great liberalitie in companie of his brother LVCIVS VERVVS, sufficiently redressed and provided for, relieuing and victualling the citie at their owne proper cost and charges, making prouision of corne from all parts. After this, in the third yeare of his raigne, followed the dangerous warre against the Parthians, a nation which the Romanes euer feared: which warre was moued by their king VOLOGESVS, who leuying an exceeding huge army came against the ordinarie legions in *Syria*, where ATIODIVS CORNELIANVS was Captaine, and gouerned that countrey for the Empire: who hauing no sufficient armie to make head against the Parthians was driuen to retire, and VOLOGESVS tooke some countries. At that time also rebelled certaine people in the Ile of *Britanny*, and in *Germany* also, and much northern people called Catti inuaded the borders of the Empire, against all which MARCVS AVRELIVS made speedie prouision. Into *Britanny* was sent CALPHVRNIVS AGRICOLA with new supplies, who ioyning with the ordinarie legions of that Iland, pacified those troubles. Against the Catti, was sent AVFIDIVS VICTORINVS for General. To the warres against the Parthians, because it was important and more dangerous, it seemed requisite to the Emperours and to the Senat, that one of them two should go, and it was concluded that LVCIVS VERVVS ANTONINVS should vndertake the charge, because that MARCVS AVRELIVS could not be spared: for his presence was very needfull in *Rome* for the generall gouernment, and to provide for all parts. And so LVCIVS VERVVS with great prouision and a great court departed, whom MARCVS AVRELIVS accompanied to the citie of *Capua*, but LVCIVS fell sick by the way (as some write) through his disorders, riot, and surfetting, by reason whereof and his long lingering, the Romane legions were put to the worse, and were overthrowne by the Parthians, and their Generall was slaine in a battaile which was fought betweene them. But ANTONINVS being arriued with his great armie, the warre was managed with apparant aduantage to the Romanes side, not by the endeour of LVCIVS VERVVS, but of his Captaines ESTACIVS PRISCVS, AVIDIVS CASSIVS, and MARCVS VERVVS, valiant and wise gentlemen, he giuing himselfe to his pleasures and pastimes; in Summer, in the citie of *Antioch*; and in winter, in *Laodicea*, for 4.yeeres space that these warres continued: wherein passed many great conflicts, skirmishes & battailes betweene the said Captaines and the King and nation of the Parthians. But succeeding prosperously with the Romanes, they obtained many victories in diuers parts: so as recouering what was lost in *Syria*, they did the like in *Armenia*, and entred the prouince of *Media*: and finally, being masters of the field, came with their Ensignes displayed euen to the citie of *Babylon*. While as these things were a doing, the Emperour MARCVS AVRELIVS remained in *Rome*, applying himselfe with great care to the good gouernment, providing all things necessarie for the warres, with great wisdom and foresight; dissembling and with patience enduring the vices and rechiefnes

of

The ouerflowing of *Tiber*.

Warre with the Parthians.

Lucius Verus against the Parthians.

of his companion LVCIVS VERVVS, to whom at that time he sent his daughter LVCILLA to be married vnto him in *Syria*, where he then was; which he did the better to confirme the friendship and brotherhood betweene them. And during the time of these warres with the Parthians, EVSEBIVS and PAVLVS OROSIIVS write, that the Christians were persecuted by the commaundement of the Emperour, chiefly in *Asia* where LVCIVS VERVVS was; which was the fourth persecution that the Church endured: wherefore (as it is to bee beleued) God sent the generall pestilence, and other calamities which afterwards ensued.

The fourth persecution of the Primitive Church.

Hauing obtained so many victories against the Parthians, LVCIVS VERVVS ANTONINVS resolved to come to *Rome*, leaving that countrey quiet and in subiection: and setting the affaires of *Asia* in good order, he diuided the kingdomes among those which to him seemed to haue most right vnto them, leaving them as subiects and vassals to the Empire: and in other prouinces and countries, hee made the officers of his house and Court gouernours, which were called *Comites* or *Earles*: from whence the title and dignitie of Earles now adaiies might haue the originall. And being come into *Italy*, with the new surname of PARTHICVS, for the victorie attained against the Parthians, which was also giuen to MARCVS AVRELIVS, with the triumph, they both together triumphed with great solemnitie: and so this enterprife was happily atchieued and ended. And notwithstanding that this coming of LVCIVS VERVVS from the East was verie ioyfull, by reason of the many victories obtained by his armies; yet was it otherwise the cause of much sorrow and heavines: for when he came out of *Syria*, the plague was very sore therein, and hee dispersed the same in sundrie places by the way as he came; so as many of his souldiers, and of his Court and companie died thereof: and doing the like in *Italy* and in *Rome*, he infected the whole land, in such sort, that it was the greatest and most furious pestilence that euer was seene vntill then. For remedie whereof, MARCVS AVRELIVS vsed all care and diligence possible, as well in preserving those which were infected, and auoiding further infection, as in curing the liuing, and burying the dead; to his great cost and hazard of his life. This aduersitie being past, before it, and whilest it continued, hee omitted no time nor care that was necessarie for the gouernment, and good of the common-wealth; hearing and dispatching all causes in generall; seeing in person what was done in the Senate, without whose opinion, and of the most principall and wisest men he did nothing: for he vsed to say, That there was greater reason that hee should follow the counsell of so many and so good friends, then that so many and so wisemen should doe after his will alone. And at the meetings wherein Magistrates were chosen, hee was euer present; and in all things caused the ancient order and libertie to be obserued. In Courts and iudgements he increased the number of the Iudges and the Iudiciall daies. Hee also encreased the almes and rewards of his Palace; and in a time of famine and want of corne in his time, he spent an infinite summe of treasure, providing for many cities sufficient quantitie of graine. And in *Spaine* being more fruitfull then the rest, where his predecessors had too much gleaned, he mitigated great part of the tributes, releasing many taxes and seruices.

A great plague in *Rome* and all *Italy*.

Marcus Aurelius relieved many cities with corne in time of scarcity.

And herein he was so temperate and pitifull towards his subiects, that whatsoever briberies and extortions were committed by his collectors and receiuers, he most seuerely punished; yet in all other crimes and offences he euer vsed great clemencie, and euer inflicted lesse punishment then the lawes commaunded. This Emperour not onely saw aduersities (as we haue said) as famine, and the pestilence,

with

Q<sub>2</sub>

Faustina Marcus Aurelius his wife dishonest and dissolute.

Northerly nations conspired against the Empire.

The death of Lucius Verus.

A most manifested miracle.

with inundations and earthquakes; but within his house hee endured a greater plague with his wife *FAUSTINA*, who was (as all writers affirme) dishonest and vnmeasurably dissolute; which hee sought by all meanes possible to redresse; although not by such rigorous punishment as she deserved. And being by some perswaded to put her away, and to diuorce himselfe from her, seeing that hee would not put her to death; hee remembring that she was *ANTONINVS PIVS* his daughter, who had left him the Empire, they write that he answered them in this manner: If we put away *FAUSTINA*, we are bound to leaue the Empire also, which was the dowrie we had with her at our mariage. There ensued so many calamities after that *LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS* came from the East, as well by meanes of the generall and most cruell pestilence, as by earthquakes, famine, inundations, and catterpillers, not onely in *Italy*, but in other prouinces of the Empire also: so that all writers affirme, that if it had not happened that *MARCVS AVRELIVS* had been so diligent, so wise, and so worthie an Emperour as he was, the Romane Empire had been destroyed and rent in sunder, and the barbarous Nations had subdued the greatest part thereof. For taking occasion of that which is aforesaid, seeing the countries wasted and destroyed, many northerly Nations conspired against it, as the Sarmates, the Vandales, the Marcomans, the Sueuians, and in a manner all *Germanie*: and they seized vpon the prouinces of *Pannonia*, which were *Austrich* and *Hungary* and other countries, threatening *Italy* and *France*. Whereunto the Emperor *MARCVS AVRELIVS* desirous to yeeld redresse, thought it not sufficient to send thither his companion, and much lesse durst hee leaue him in *Rome*, hee was so rechelesse and vicious, and therefore resolved that they would both goe together: and putting it in execution, with all prouision necessarie thereto, it happened that vpon the way, *LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS* was taken with an Apoplexie, whereof hee died suddenly, hauing reigned about nine or tenne yeeres in companie with his brother. And so *MARCVS AVRELIVS* remained alone in the Empire, who onely was worthie thereof, and followed his journey with his armie, and began the warre with great courage and discretion, wherein the infection did greater harme to his armie, then the force of his enemies; although it passed not without many battailes and encounters. And so with great difficultie, by reason of the pestilence, he maintained this warre three yeeres: and wanting money to pay his souldiers (for the prouinces, by reason of the miseries past, could not bee taxed) hee was constrained to sell all his iewels, vessels of gold and siluer, the furniture of his chamber, and his owne proper possessions, therewith to pay his armie, which was greatly diminished of his most principall men which died of the plague, whereby it receiued much more harme then by the enemy: wherefore he was often counselled to leaue the wars and to returne. But hee willing rather to die then to lose any iot of his honour, continued it with a very great resolution, vntill that (after many great perils and extremities, which were such that the Historiographers describe this warre to be as dangerous, as the wars of *Hannibal*) he obtained the victorie, which he throughly accomplished in a great battaile. Wherein (as it was thought) through the prayers of the Christians which were in his armie, vnto which he recommended himselfe, God graunted in his behalfe a most euident miracle; which was, That he and his people being readie to perish through want of water (the passages being on euery side stopt by his enemies) there fell such abundance of raine from heauen, that his armie was sufficiently relieved with drinke: and therewith there fell such lightning and so cruell a tempest amongst his enemies, that hee then setting vpon

vpon them ouerthrew and slew a great number of them; as *EVSEBIVS* and *IULIVS CAPITOLINVS* recount. And this being past, hee recovered the *Pannonies*, and the rest which they had vsurped: and had done much more, but that at that instant *AVIDIVS CASSIVS*, before named, who was Captaine and Gouvernour in the East, rose against *MARCVS AVRELIVS*, proclaiming himselfe Emperour, taking occasion thereof to see him so much troubled in so doubtfull a warre: wherefore of necessitie the Emperour was constrained to leaue the best order that he could in matters concerning *Germanie*, and thence to returne into *Italy*, from thence to take his way towards *AVIDIVS CASSIVS*; and doing so hee came to *Rome*, whereinto he entred in triumph ouer the Germanes, and ioynly with him went his sonne *COMMODOVS*, whom he had made *CÆSAR*, and nominated for his successor.

The triumph being ended, and leauing in *Rome* such order for the gouernment as was most expedient, with part of his victorious armie which he brought with him out of *Germanie*, and with other forces which he had newly leuiued, hee departed towards the East, against *AVIDIVS CASSIVS*; where being arriued, the matter went so well of his side, that before that hee came to any conflict or battaile, the same Legions which *AVIDIVS CASSIVS* commaunded; rebelled against him, and slew him, without the commaundement or knowledge of *MARCVS AVRELIVS*: for hee was rather displeased therewith then otherwise; so gentle and noble was he. And his head being brought vnto him, he commanded it to be honourably buried, and therewith seemed to be very sorrowfull, saying, That they had bereaued him of a meane and occasion to shew him any mercie; and that he much desired to haue had him in his power aliue, to the end to haue giuen him his life, and to haue reprooued him of his ingratitude. And those Cities which with him had conspired, hee easily pardoned, and commaunded that they should not be rigorously dealt withall. And of their goods, which the Senate had commanded to be confiscated, and put into his Exchequer, he would not receiue any part; but commaunded that they should bee put into the publike treasure of *Rome*. And being by one of his Counsell reprooued, for shewing such clemencie in a crime so notorious, telling him that hee ought not to haue done so, and that *AVIDIVS CASSIVS* would not haue done so by him if hee had bin ouercome: Whereunto hee answered, with great constancie and assurance, saying, That *AVIDIVS* had not so well serued the gods, nor liued in such sort, as to be able to haue ouerthrowne him. *BVLGACIVS GALLICANVS* reporteth, who is an author very ancient, and liued in the time of the Emperour *DIOCLESIAN*, in the life which hee wrote of this *AVIDIVS CASSIVS*, recounteth that the Emperour commaunded to bee giuen to his sonnes and daughters the one halfe of their fathers goods; and that there should not any iniurie or displeasure be done vnto them; and that they should bee admitted to Magistracies and dignities, if they were thereto chosen: and so towards others which were guiltie, he vsed the like clemencie and gentlenes.

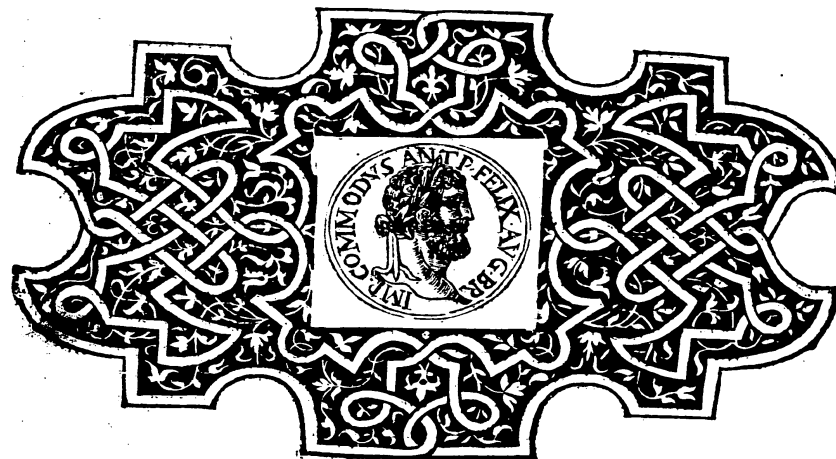
This rebellion being pacified, *MARCVS AVRELIVS* withdrew himselfe to the citie of *Antioch* in *Syria*, now called *Soria*; whither came vnto him many Kings and Ambassadors from the East; where treating of peace and amitie, and concluding the same with them, he was greatly esteemed and beloued of all men. And setting all matters of the East in good order, being now old and wearied, hee made his returne into *Italy*; and by the way his wife the Emperesse *FAUSTINA* died, whom hee most sumptuously, and with great honour buried. And being

come to *Rome*, hee entred thereinto in triumph, for the victorie obtained against *AVIDIVS*; and returned to his accustomed goodnes and vpright gouernment of the Empire, as he was wont to doe. And when it seemed that he should now haue rested from his former troubles, there began new alterations and insurrections in *Germanie*; which hee fearing (as was reason, as that Nation had alwaies been feared and doubted) he determined in person to goe to that warre, and did so with very great power; and prosecuted the same the space of three yeeres together, wherein were done many feates of armes on either side, and hee obtained some notable victories. And being readie to haue fully concluded his conquests, (they being as it were in his hand) hee was taken with a grievous pestilent infirmitie; which he perceiuing to be mortall, commaunded all the most principall men which were there with him to come before him: to whom hee made a notable speech, which *HERODIANVS* reciteth; wherein hee recommended vnto them the *Romane Common-wealth*, and his onely sonne *COMMODOVS*, whom he left for his successor; and him hee charged very effectually to end that warre which hee left in so good termes; concluding, that hee should not suffer the enimie which was brought low and well nigh to confusion, to recouer force and courage. And then being no longer able to resist his sicknes, he died, hauing reigned eightene yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord (as *EUSEBIVS* reckoneth) one hundred, fourescore and two, being threescore and one yeere old. Yet *SEXTVS AVRELIVS* saith, two yeeres lesse. His death was extreemly lamented and bewailed through the whole armie, and afterwards in *Rome*, and generally through all the prouinces of the Empire: for in them all he was infinitely well beloued. *MARCVS AVRELIVS* had had one other son, whose name was *ANTONINVS*, which died young, and one daughter named *LUCILLA*, which married with a great and mightie man called *POMPEIANVS*.

The death of  
Marcus Aurelius,  
Anno  
Dom. 182.

THE

THE LIFE OF COMMODOVS  
ANTONINVS, ONLY OF THAT  
NAME, AND EIGHTEENTH RO-  
MANE EMPEROVR.



THE ARGVMENT.

**A**fter the good *Marcus Aurelius*, succeeded his wicked sonne *Commodus*. Who for that he was held to be the sonne of so good a father, was without any difficultie hailed Emperour; and forasmuch as when his father died he was in *Germanie*, when he returned to *Rome* all the citie made great ioy; but being come to the citie, giuing himselfe ouer to all wickednes that a man could imagine, he behaued himselfe so, that some conspired against him; which he escaping had occasion to shew his crueltie. He was very attieue of his bodie, and so wonderfull in casting of darts, that he would openly kill wild beasts in the Amphitheater. Finally, his wife *Martia* finding a booke, wherein were written the names of such as he had determined to put to death, and she finding her owne name amongst the rest, tooke order for his dispatch out of the way, and giuing him posson, whilst he was vomiting it up againe, she made him to be stabbed; and so died that monster, to the great contentment of the whole Empire, which he bad wickedly gouerned thirtene yeeres.

**H**e good *MARCVS AVRELIVS* being dead, his son *COMMODOVS* was by the whole armie obied and acknowledged for their Lord and Emperour: and so he was afterwards by the Senate and people of *Rome*, and likewise by all the prouinces: for no man would deny obedience to the sonne of

*Commodus suspected to be a bastard.*

*Commodus leaving the warres of Germanie, returned to Rome.*

of so good a father. But he prooved so ill, and so wicked, that in nothing he seemed to bee his sonne, and so soone suspected that hee was not, considering the adulterie of his mother *FAUSTINA*. The auncient authors which write of him, which are many, in a manner treat of nothing else but of his abominable vices and cruelties; which were so many, that it seemeth that he exercised himselfe in no other thing; neither left any other thing behinde him, whereby he might be remembred. He came to the Empire being of the age of nineteene yeeres, and was of a fine constitution of body and of a very faire complexion, cleere eyed, and had the most gallant yellowish haire in the world. All (in truth) ill bestowed vpon him, seeing that these gifts and such exquisite corporall beautie, he employed so filthilie and dishonestly; being a gamster, incontinent, a leacher, negligent, slothfull, a glutton, a drunkard, and above all, cruell. Within some few daies after that his father was dead, he came to the campe where the armie lay, accompanied with all the Romane Nobilitie; and made a good speech to the people, promising a good hope of him, and matters cleane contrarie to those which he vsed: and gaue such gifts to the souldiers as the new Emperours were accustomed to giue. In these good beginnings he perseuered some few daies, which being expired, through the counsell of some lewd persons, he determined to leaue the warres and to returne to *Rome*. And the opinion and counsell of *POMPEIANVS* being his brother in law, and a man of so great authoritie, could no way perswade him to stay, neither other wisemen and his loyall seruants: who were of opinion that he ought to staie, and to see the end of the warre. With this resolution he presently wrote his letters to *Rome*, aduertising them of his coming, and made such truce and peace with the enemies, as was rather to their aduantage then his. *HERODIANVS* writeth, that he bought it with money, yet onely *EVTRUPIVS* writeth, that he first wanne a great battaile. He then leauing the ordinarie Capitaines in the frontiers of *Germanie*, held on his way towards *Rome*; and in all the cities through which he passed, was receiued with incredible ioy and solemnitie, for the great loue which they bare to his father, and for the hope which they conceiued of him; as yet not knowing his conditions. In *Rome* he was receiued with exceeding great ioy, triumph and blessings generally of all men, they strawing the waies with flowers where he went, making all the signes of ioy that were possible; hoping and assuring themselves that they should haue a good prince of him; being the sonne of *MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS*, and Nephew of *ANTONINVS PIVS*, which were singular, good, and excellent Emperours. But it was not long before that he put them out of doubt, making frustrate their good hope of him: For he openly gaue himselfe to vice and incontinencie, going by night with others of his condition (as there neuer want those which will imitate the prince, although in doing euill) to brothell houses, and publike tauerne; spending also whole daies and nights in banquetting, feasting, bathings and most abominable luxurie. And as wicked men neuer loue any, but such as are like themselves; so he sent for gouernours into the prouinces, such as were his companions in his abominations: whereto he was so much addicted, and spent so much time in them, that he tooke no care for the gouernment; leauing all to the disposition of a fauourite of his, whose name was *PERENIVS*, whom he afterwards made Pretorian Prefect, which is Captaine of the Pretorian Cohorts, who was a most couetous, vicious and cruell man, yet very expert in the warres. And this man gouerning all things, the accursed Emperour *COMMODVS* encreased so much in his vices and abominations, that they write that he kept three hundred

*Commodus his Concubines.*

*Lucilla Commodus his owne sister conspired against him.*

*Commodus slew his fauorite Perennis and his sonne.*

*Cleander slaine by the people.*

hundred Concubines, and as many boyes for detestable vses: for which cause he grew to be so odious and so abhorred, that certaine principall men conspired against him, determining secretly to haue slaine him, his sister *LVCILLA* which was wife to *POMPEIANVS* being a partaker in the action: Whereby it may well be imagined what he was; seeing that his owne sister iudged him worthe of death. All being concluded how it should be, and the charge of the execution being giuen to one, whose name was *QVINCIANVS* (as *HERODIANVS* reporteth) yet *LAMPRIDIVS* saith, that the charge was giuen to *POMPEIANVS*, that he should first strike him, and should haue been seconded by the rest of the conspirators. But it happened that this man, as hee was very bold and hardie, erred in the action: for hauing had sufficient oportunitie to haue slaine him, and being come neere, would not so dispatch him, but in a brauing manner, being somewhat farre from him, he set his hand vpon his poiniard, and going towards him, said, heere *COMMODVS*, the Senate hath sent thee this poiniard; and for any haste that he could make to stabbe him, with greater haste he was letted by some of the Emperours garde, and by them was taken; so as the conspiracie was presently discouered, and a great way was laid open to *COMMODVS* his cruelties. For afterwards that all those which were guiltie were executed, together with his owne sister *LVCILLA*, with her husband *POMPEIANVS*, by the hand and direction of *PERENIVS*; many Senatours and a great number of other noble and principall men were also put to death, and their goods sealed vpon, by producing false witnesses, which falsely accused them: Wherewith *PERENIVS* became so rich, that he practized, and was in hope, to haue made himselfe Emperour. But *COMMODVS* being aduertised of these and other his treacheries, made him and a sonne of his to be slaine. And he presently suffered himselfe to be ruled by another fauorite, named *CLEANDER*, who was so wicked and extreme in crueltie, rapine, and bribery, that he surpassed *PERENIVS*. And this fellow was so extreme, that the people of *Rome* vnable to endure him, vpon a day tooke armes, and in a tumult, went to a house of pleasure in *Rome*, wherein the Emperour was, and required to haue *CLEANDER*'s head; and notwithstanding that the Emperours garde began to make resistance, yet the matter came to such issue, that *COMMODVS* was constrained in despite of himselfe to deliuer him; and so were both he and his two sonnes slaine. This tumult being pacified, which *COMMODVS* durst not punish, he was so angrie and therewith so fearefull, that from thencefoorth he trusted no man in the world: but as a Swine drawne out of the mire, so returned hee to his abominable vices, taking care for no other thing. Within a while after, according to his accustomed manner, he suffered himselfe to be ruled by another fauorite, whose name was *IVLIANVS*, and another called *REGILIVS*, both which he afterwards caused to be put to death, with other his fauorites which succeeded them; together with a multitude of great men, which *LAMPRIDIVS* reciteth: and all things were so farre out of order, that magistracies and the gouernments of prouinces were sold for money; and they which bought them were oftentimes slaine also. And matters being thus handled by the Emperour, and by those which ruled him, he spent his time onely in vices, and most dishonest, and effeminate pleasures: colouring his haire, and often bathing himselfe in companie of others of his condition: which he called by most dishonest names, to the end that they should be conformable to their doings: And was not ashamed (notwithstanding these his so abominable actions) to take the name and habit of a man, who was a very great enemy to those

*Commodus changed his name.*

*Commodus attired like an Amazon.*

*Commodus poisoned by his friend Marcia.*

those vices, which was **HERCVLES**: For it was so, that in lieu of **COMMODVS ANTONINVS** sonne of **MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS**; he commaunded himselfe to bee called **HERCVLES** the sonne of **IVPITER**; and cladding himselfe ouer other rich attire in most ridiculous manner with the skin of a Lion, and with a clubbe or mace in his hand, as **HERCVLES** with his clubbe, and he so vsed to goe abroade; whereat some laughed, and others murmured. And sometimes he went clothed like an Amazon woman, which was more naturally correspondent to his condition: which hee did for the loue of one of his Concubines whom hee much loued, whose name was **MARTIA**, whose picture hee ware drawne at life vpon that habit. And after this, as though hee had aswell deserued it, as **AVGVSTVS CESAR** had done; he commaunded that the moneth of August should bee called **Commodus**; and September **Hercules**; for hee had taken that name: and December **Amazonius**, after the name of an Amazon: But this was obserued no longer then he liued. This accursed man among his mischiefs, had a strange abilitie of body, which was, to cast or hurle a dart or a lance, better then any man of his time: and was a most certaine shooter in either crosse-bow, or long-bow; and was so skillfull therein (that in certaine feasts and huntings, which according to the custome were then made in *Rome*, whither came an infinite number of people to behold the same) he commaunded a gallerie to be made round about the Amphitheater; within which he might runne free and in safetie; and from thence running round about with exceeding swiftness, hurling his darts or iauelines, he killed almost all the Stagges and Harts that were let loose, without missing one throw, or needing any more then one shotte: he was so sure in hitting either in the heart, in the forehead, or any other part wheresoeuer he would: and he did the like by the Lions, Panthers, and Ounces, which to that end, were brought thither that day. With his bowe and arrowes he would kill birds flying in the aire, and did such other actiue exercises, as in truth were very strange: whereby it appeareth that this man wanted not witte and abilitie to haue applied himselfe to goodnes, aswell as to sinne and wickednes. And as crueltie was the thing wherein he did principally delight, so it pleased the most mercifull King of heauen, that the same was the cause of his death. For it happened thus, that hauing determined to put a great number of principall people to death, and wrote a memoriall of those which he purposed should die, amongst which was his louing friend **MARCIA**, and **AELIVS LETVS** Captaine of the Pretorian Cohorts: it happened that this his beloued **MARCIA** vpon some occasion came to the sight of this memoriall; who seeing herselfe condemned to death, determined with her selfe to assure her life by the death of **COMMODVS**. And taking counsell with **AELIVS LETVS**, and with another whose name was **ALECTVS**, who was also condemned, concerning the contents in the memoriall; they agreed among themselues to poison him, which so speedily as might be was giuen him by the same **MARCIA** in a cuppe of mingled wine which he did vse to drinke: and being presently taken with a heauie slumber, **MARCIA** commaunded all the companie to goe forth of the chamber, vnder colour to suffer him to take his rest. This being done, within a little while after he awoke extremely vomiting; and **MARCIA** and the rest fearing that he would againe haue cast vp the poison, in all haste called in a valiant young man named **NARCISSVS**, shewing him the memoriall, and how the Emperour would haue put him to death also; and making him large promises, they concluded that he should goe in and kill him, and so he did: And so this unhappie

happie **COMMODVS** vomiting and strangely tormented with the poison, was by this **NARCISSVS** stabd and slaine, to the good liking of the Romane people, and generallie of all the world. When his death was knowne, there was no man but did commend and approue the fact. He died, being of the age of 32. yeeres, and in the yeere of our Lord 194. hauing raigned twelue yeeres and eight moneths. The ioy which afterwards was conceiued in *Rome* when his death was published, was incredible: and although that at the present it was not certainly knowne, but that he died sodainly of an Apoplexie, which **EVTRUPIVS** affirmeth in his life: They ran vp and downe the streetes that night, crying and calling one to another for ioy, and went to the Temples to render thanks to the gods for so great a benefit: and others went to the Palace with their eies to behold his dead carcassee. The Senate and Romane Nobilitie conceiued no lesse ioy then did the people, which may sufficiently appeare by the number of curfings which the Senate gaue him, when **PERTINAX** was chosen Emperour and his succesor, which **M. MAXIMVS** writeth, and **AELIVS LAMPRIDIVS** maketh relation thereof, which is a pleasing thing to reade.

*Commodus slaine by Narcissus.*

*Ann. Dom. 194.*

*Joy conceiued by the Romanes for the death of Commodus.*

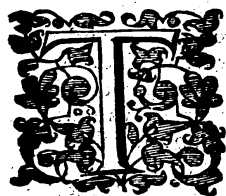
## THE LIFE OF PVBLIVS AELIVS PERTINAX, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND NINETEENTH EMPEROVR OF ROME.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**A**fter **Commodus**, **Pertinax** was Emperour, who being borne of base condition attained to the Imperiall dignitie, more by meanes of his vertues, then the Nobilitie of his blood, or the glory of his ancestors; being the sonne but of a Libertine. He was first a Doctor of the Lawe; and afterwards leauing that profession, he gaue himselfe to the exercise of armes; wherein he behaued himselfe so excellentlie, that he deserved to be made Emperour, to which dignitie those which conspired against **Commodus** advanced him; which went to him, he lying in his bed, expecting death rather then the Empire. And notwithstanding that he caried himselfe excellentlie well in the government of the Empire, and neuer sought to be reuenged on those which had offended him, yet there failed not some which enuied his goodnes, and

and desired his death, which was given him with many wounds, when he had reigned the space of three moneths, being of the age of 67. yeeres, for whose goodness sake the Senate resolved to place him in the number of their gods.



He good and valorous P<sup>UBLIVS</sup> A<sup>E</sup>LIVS P<sup>ERTINAX</sup>, succeeded the wicked and tyrannous Emperour C<sup>OMMODVS</sup> in the Empire, being almost threescore and ten yeeres old; and held the same but three moneths. The manner how he attained thereto, I will presently shew you, when we shall briefly haue declared the warres, the offices and troubles which he first passed: for they were such and so diuers, that he was therefore called the wheele of FORTUNE.

Truly this Emperour was a notable example of mundane mutabilitie. To the first, he was the sonne of a libertine which had been a slaue and made free, called A<sup>ULIVS</sup>; and being a child was taught to write, and reade, and cast account, which his father did, to the end that he should help him in his poore Mercery shop. Afterwards he came to learne the Greeke and Latine Grammar, so as he came to be a Maister, and to keepe a Schoole in Rome. After this he gaue himselfe to the studie of the Lawes, and by the intercession of L<sup>OLIANVS</sup> A<sup>V</sup>ITVS, who had bin Consul, and his fathers maister, he obtained libertie to pleade, and to defend mens causes, which he did for some space. But being naturally a man of strength and courage, and more enclined to armes then letters, he gaue ouer that exercise and went to the warres, wherein he proued so well, that within few dayes he was made Captaine of a cohort in Syria against the Parthians, and increasing in credit and estimation, he was sent to the warres in Britanny, and afterwards to the warres of Misia, and was made a Captaine of horsemen in the warres which M<sup>ARCVS</sup> A<sup>V</sup>RELIVS waged against the Germanes; and afterwards was Captaine of a Fleete in the Flemish Seas: and that charge being ended, he continued in the warres of Dacia, where through euill informations he was depriued of the charge which he held, by M<sup>ARCVS</sup> A<sup>V</sup>RELIVS: although that afterwards he returned into grace by the intercession of P<sup>OMP</sup>RIANVS the Emperours sonne in lawe, and was made a Senatour, although that then he vsed it not: and in recompense of the disgrace past, the Emperour made him Captaine of a legion, wherein in the warres which were in the time of M<sup>ARCVS</sup> A<sup>V</sup>RELIVS he performed many notable feates of armes, as well against strange and barbarous nations, as against A<sup>V</sup>IDIVS C<sup>ASSIVS</sup>, who (as we said) then rebelled against M<sup>ARCVS</sup> A<sup>V</sup>RELIVS. His valiant acts were so many and such, that he was by him many times publicly praised, and made Consul of Rome. He had also after that the gouernment of both the Misias, and of Dacia, in all which charges he caried him so valorouslie, and with such equitie, that the same Emperour gaue him the gouernment of all Syria in Asia, which was the greatest charge that the Emperours gaue. And M<sup>ARCVS</sup> A<sup>V</sup>RELIVS being dead, and the time of his office expired, he came to Rome, after that he had gouerned foure consularie prouinces, and had himselfe bin Consul, besides other Captainships, gouernments, and charges of greater qualitie, with great renowme and fame of bountie and valour. But comming to Rome in the time of the raigne of the wicked Emperour C<sup>OMMODVS</sup>, by the instigation of a certaine seruant of his, he was banished from Rome: but he being dead which was the causer of his banishment, the same C<sup>OMMODVS</sup> sent him into the Ile of Britanny, to redresse the abuses of an army and certaine legions which were therein; whither he went, and put all in good order,

Pertinax called the wheele of Fortune.

Pertinax depouled from his charge by Marcus Aurelius.

Pertinax made Consul by Marcus Aurelius.

Pertinax banished from Rome by Commodus.

order; but he was first in great danger, and hardly escaped with his life: for a legion being in a mutinie, killed some of his people and vsed him in such manner, that he was left for dead in the field amongst the dead: and hauing escaped this danger, he valorouslie punished the offenders, and pacified the legions. And vpo his especial request there was one sent to succede him, and he was sent Proconsul into the prouince of Africa: wherein he likewise passed many dangers in mutinies, in seditions of the people, and of the ordinarie legions; for so long as C<sup>OMMODVS</sup> was Emperour, there was no such order in any place as was conuenient. And writers affirme, that had it not bin for P<sup>ERTINAX</sup> and such other Captains, as remained since the time of his father M<sup>ARCVS</sup> A<sup>V</sup>RELIVS, the Romane Empire had bin exposed to great danger. But hauing perfourmed his charge in Africa with honor, although not without much trouble and difficultie, being now old and spent, he came to Rome, and C<sup>OMMODVS</sup> made him Prefect thereof, and he being in this estate, death seized vpon C<sup>OMMODVS</sup> by reason of his cruelties, P<sup>ERTINAX</sup> dayly expecting when C<sup>OMMODVS</sup> would haue bereaued him of life. And this valiant man lying one night carelesslie sleeping in his bed when C<sup>OMMODVS</sup> was dead, M<sup>ARTIA</sup> his friend which had plotted his death, and A<sup>E</sup>LIVS L<sup>ETVS</sup> Captaine of the pretorian cohorts, and those which conspired with them, agreed together to procure & cause P<sup>ERTINAX</sup> to be chosen Emperour. And to this effect about midnight, before that the death of C<sup>OMMODVS</sup> was published, the said Captaine A<sup>E</sup>LIVS L<sup>ETVS</sup>, with some of his souldiers of the cohorts, came to the house of P<sup>ERTINAX</sup>, who (as I said) lay secure in his bed, and in great haste causing the dore to be opened, went vp into his chamber: whom so soone as he saw, yea and before, when he but vnderstood that he was comming vp, he assured himselfe that by C<sup>OMMODVS</sup> his commaundement he came to kill him, not knowing him to be dead, and determining to suffer his death with courage and patience, he lay still in his bed, without any shew to be moued thereat, & said vnto A<sup>E</sup>LIVS L<sup>ETVS</sup>: I haue for some space expected to end my life in this manner, and I marueile that C<sup>OMMODVS</sup> hath deferred it so long: and seeing it is so, why stand you still? Make an end with me, and do that which you are commanded. Whereto A<sup>E</sup>LIVS L<sup>ETVS</sup> answered, perswading him to put away all such feare, and not to thinke that he came to kill him, but to desire safetie of his owne life, for that the tyrannous Emperour C<sup>OMMODVS</sup> was dead, and that they came to offer the Empire vnto him, who was onely worthie thereof. P<sup>ERTINAX</sup> could hardlie belieue what he heard with his eares, but in the end the matter being declared vnto him more at large, and the occasion which induced them to kill the Emperour, he accepted of their offer; and was caried by them to the cohorts camp: where the souldiers being assembled, their Captaine made a speech vnto them, conteining the wickednes and vices of the Emperour C<sup>OMMODVS</sup>; and how that he by meanes of his excesse was dead of an Apoplexy; and reciting the vertues and excellencies of P<sup>ERTINAX</sup>, counseled them to make him Emperour. Which they presently perfourmed ioyfullie, and calling him A<sup>V</sup>GVS<sup>TVS</sup>, sware to him as the custome was; yet P<sup>ERTINAX</sup> remained still doubtfull, and accepted thereof with feare, and against his will. This being ended, and the day comming on, they came with him into the citie, and assembling the Senate, this old new Emperour came thither, nor consenting that they should beare before him the Imperiall Ensignes, neither the fire, as the custome was; vntill such time as the Senate had agreed and giuen their consent. But so soone as he came into the Senate house, all the Senators called him Emperour,

Pertinax Proconsul in Africa.

Pertinax made Prefect of Rome by Commodus.

The speeches and great courage of Pertinax.

*Pertinax after  
many chaunges  
of fortune is  
made Emperour.*

perour CÆSAR AVGVSTVS, and with great acclamations and blessings sware and yeeled to him obedience, which hee still withstood, saying, that he deserved it not, alleaging his old age, and nominating and appointing others, which hee said were more worthie that dignitie. But in the end being ouercome and forced by them, hee sate downe in the Imperiall chaire, and made vnto them a solemne oration (which HERODIANVS writeth). His oration being ended, he went forth of the Senate house, accompanied with all the Senatours and Romane Nobilitie, with an infinite number of others, to the exceeding ioy of all; and went to the Temples, as the custome was, and from thence to the Imperiall palace. And so he began his raigne and obtained the Empire, to the generall good liking and contentment of all men, and was obeyed in like manner in all the prouinces of the Empire. In all which he was well knowne: and truly they had not been deceiued in their opinion, and great hope which they had of him, if the wickednes of the Pretorian souldiers had not hindred his good determinations.

The first thing that he began in the gouernment of the Empire, was to bridle the licentiousnes of the Pretorian cohorts, and the insolencies and wrongs which they vsed towards the citizens and people of Rome; by meanes of the fauour and loose life of COMMODVS. The like he also performed in all other disorders and abuses which in his time were allowed; seeking to reduce all things to that forme and manner of gouernment, which was vsed in the time of his father MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS. He vsed and entertained all men honourably and lovingly, which had occasion to speake and negotiate with him, and gaue and diuided the fields of Rome, and of the prouinces which lay vntilled and waste, granting that for tenne yeeres space no rent or tribute should be paid for the same. With these and such other things, this excellent and gracious Emperour so wanne the hearts and loue of the common people, that all men held themselves happie in hauing such an Emperour: for which occasion, besides the honourable titles which were giuen him by the consent of the Senate, the same Senate appointed and intituled his son, CÆSAR; and to his wife LICINIA was added the name of AVGVSTA: the good Emperour said, That his wiues name he did accept, because her vertue was worthie thereof: but for his sonnes name, he would that it should rest vntill that he had better deserved it. Perseuering in his good workes, all the goods and moueables, which COMMODVS had escheated and taken, he made to be restored to their owners, for which they should pay some small matter in exchange.

Euery day when the Senate did ordinarily sit, he went thither; and in his house he neuer refused to giue audience to any person at what time soeuer. So soone as the barbarous Nations and enemies to the Romane Empire had intelligence, and did certainly know that hee was Emperour, they laid downe their weapons and ceased to make warre against the Empire; and many sent Ambassadors vnto him (if they had found him liuing) to treat of peace and friendship: so as the small time which he raigned, was to the generall good liking and contentment of all the world, excepting the men of warre, principally of the Pretorian Cohorts which lay about Rome, which presently began to abhorre him, because that he kept them in quiet, bridling them with iustice, not suffering them to commit such riots, abuses and outrages as they did in the time of COMMODVS: and in like manner he was not beloued by the officers and ministers of the Imperiall palace, for the like reasons. The shamelesse audaciousnes of the souldiers grew to this height, that one day they would haue taken a Senatour of a very noble and ancient house, named

*The Senate  
made Pertinax  
his sonne  
Cesar, and his  
wife Augusta.*

*Pertinax hated  
by the Pretorian  
Cohorts.*

med TRIARIVS MATERNVS, and haue carried him to the Camp to haue made him Emperour, to the end that he should haue risen against PERTINAX: but this MATERNVS (as a good and loyall seruant) escaping out of their hands, came to PERTINAX, and thence fled from Rome: which put the Emperour in great feare and anguish. And to content and pacifie them, hee made payes and distributions amongst them. But that little auailed, for they esteemed it not, but sought meanes to liue dissolutely at their libertie. PERTINAX raigned about three moneths, in which small time he had set matters in so good order, that the state of the Empire seemed to be chaunged, and not the same as before. And notwithstanding that he was so good, yet was there one whose name was FALCO, which practised his death, with a conceit to haue been Emperour: which being discouered to him, he came to the Senate, and would not permit that they should proceed against him as against a tyrant; And notwithstanding that the euidences and proofes were so plaine and manifest, that the offence was apparant; yet he pardoned him: but iustice was done vpon certaine souldiers which had procured and practised this treason; which the souldiers tooke so ill (their hatred and presumption daily encreasing) that they determined to kill him; and being so resolu'd, they cared not to conspire, or to vse any cunning or deceit: But openly a great troupe of them went from their lodgings in a tumult with their swords drawne, and with halberds and other weapons, and came into Rome, and without resistance (as the matter was sudden) they entred the palace. The Emperour being aduertised hereof, sent ELIUS LETVS to stay and pacifie them; who forgetting that he had made PERTINAX Emperour, cared not to performe his commaundement, but rather approving the fact, being (as some say) a partaker in the action, went forth by another way to his owne lodging, at such time as the souldiers came into the palace, where there was no meanes to make any resistance, being taken at vnawares and disarmed. Wherefore the greatest part abandoned the Emperour and fled, and those which remained counsell'd him to flee also: which he might easily haue done, & the people would haue defended him. But notwithstanding that he knew their counsell to be good and profitable, and that they said the truth; yet would he not follow the same, alleaging it to be a matter vnworthie the maiestie of an Emperour, and his acts and life past, to saue his life by flight, or by hiding himself: and so resolu'd to goe forth vnto them; imagining that with his presence they would be ashamed, and so returne. And truly this conceit was at the point to haue taken effect: for comming forth of his chamber, and meeting with a multitude of them in the Court, they made a stand, and gaue him place to speake vnto them, which he did with great courage, without any shew of alteration. First asking them what might be the occasion of their comming in such a tumult, and without any respect? and afterward (without shew of any humilitie or fearefulness, but with as great grauitie and authoritie, as best fitted the dignitie of his person) hee began to say to them: Souldiers and companions, if you come to kill me, and doe put in execution what you haue determined, you shall performe no valorous act, great, nor commendable; neither very grieuous vnto me, which am now so old, and haue gotten so much honour and fame, that I regard not my life: for euery mans life hath his end and limits. But you to whom appertaineth the guard and defence of my person, seeing your office and charge is to free and deliuer the Emperour from perils and treason, and shall be the first to lay your hands vpon him; consider that for the present it will be shamefull and odious, and hereafter in time to come dangerous and hurtfull: For I haue done you neither displeasure nor a-

*Triarius Maternus for not  
to yeld to the  
will of the  
souldiers which  
would haue  
made him Emperour,  
fled to  
Pertinax, and  
so from Rome.*

*The wickednes  
of Elius Letus.*

*The high minde  
of Pertinax  
being assailed  
by the souldiers*

*Speeches vsed  
by Pertinax to  
the souldiers.*

ny iniurie. If the death of **COMMODVS** offend you, it was no new matter to die, seeing that hee was a man: if you suspect that hee was murdered, I am guiltlesse thereof: and you know that I am free from all suspicion in this case: what then passed you knew before me; if there be any suspicion of his death, it concerneth others and not me. But I say this, and assure you, that by reason of his death there shall nothing be taken from you that you shall require, or that shall seeme necessarie for you; requiring such things as are honest and possible, and not by force and violence. **PERTINAX** herewith ending his speech, some of them began to alter their mindes and to depart, moued thereto by his words and grauitie: but the furie of those which came behinde them was so great, that they could not doe it, so as one of them called **TRVSIVS** set vpon him, and smote him in the breast with a launce: And hee seeing their determination, couered his head with his robe, suffering himselfe to be wounded by them all; and so they slew in that place the poore and innocent Emperour. And **ELIVS LERTVS**, who had beene one of the chiefeest in making him Emperour, going about to helpe to defend him, was also slaine; hauing first with great courage and hardines slaine two souldiers: and so they also slew some others which were his chamberlaines and other officers. A sonne and a daughter of his escaped, for that they were not lodged in the palace. This Prince had a good gesture, and an honourable and maiestically perfonage: his stature and constitution did well represent his state and dignitie. Hee ware his beard long, and his haire curled, his breast was large and full of flesh, and he was indifferently eloquent, vsing smooth and louing speeches. This accident was so sudden, that hee was slaine before that the people knew of any mutinie, or the comming of the souldiers: and the souldiers fearing the people, which they knew would take it grieuouly, returned with as much or greater haste, then they came: and fortifying their Campe, they set out sentinels, and held guards in the bulwarkes and towers, fearing to be assaulted. So soone as the death of the Emperour was knowne in the cite; the sorrow and lamentation which was made for him was extreme, the people running vp and downe the streetes with incredible wrath and furie, seeking the murderers to be reuenged of his death. Thus they went vnaduisedly without any certaine knowledge of what passed, doing nothing but weepe and complaine one to another. But when they vnderstood what happened, they saw that they neither could or durst proceede any further. This Emperour died in the yeere of our Lord 195. some say lesse. He gouerned the

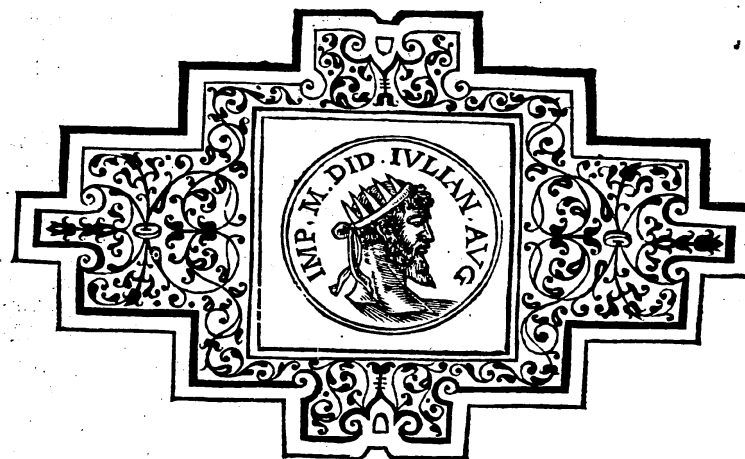
Empire (according to **EUSEBIVS**) fixe moneths: **IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS** in his life saith, 85. daies and no more; with whom agreeth **SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR**: all which write, that his successor **IULIANVS** was of counsell and accessarie to his death.

THE

The miserable  
death of **Pertinax**.



# THE LIFE OF DIDIVS IULIANVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND TWENTITH ROMANE EMPEROR.



## THE ARGVMENT.

**D**idius Iulianus tooke the Empire, being a man proud, rich, and ambitious: and seeing that the Empire was set to sale by the souldiers which murdered **Pertinax**, was so presumptuous as to goe to buy it, with one other which would haue had the same for money, who was the sonne in law to the dead Emperour. But the souldiers doubting that making **Pertinax** his sonne in law, Emperour, he would reuenge his death: wherefore they agreed to sell it to Iulianus, who was confirmed contrarie to the will of the Senate; and in worse manner accepted by the people. Nevertheless, as though he had obtained that dignitie by his vertue, or that it came to him by inheritance, he gaue himselfe to pleasure, respecting no mans ennie. But **Septimius Seuerus**, a man of much wisdom and great power, being Captaine of the Legions in Germanie, hoping to be able to get the Empire by force of armes, came to Rome with his armie; of whom Iulianus standing in feare, would haue sent the Vestall virgins for ambassadours vnto him: but the Senate refusing to yeeld thereto, deprived him of the Empire, and proclaimed **Septimius Seuerus** Emperour, and sending to Iulianus palace, being abandoned, and retired to weepe, made him to be slaine, hauing bin 7. moneths Emperour.

**A**fter the good old **PERTINAX**, **IULIANVS** succeeded in the Empire: hauing obtained the same for money from those souldiers, which slew the Emperour **PERTINAX**. This **IULIANVS** was natue of Milan,

The line of Didius Iulianus.

lan by his fathers lineage, who was called PETRONIVS DIDIVS SEVERVS: his mothers name was CLARA EMILIA; his grandfathers name was SALVIVS IULIANVS, who had bin Prefect of Rome and twice Consul, which enobled his lineage. This IULIANVS was brought vp in the house and seruice of DOMICIA LVCILLA, mother of MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS the Philosopher; by whose fauour he attained to offices, and was made Questor, Edil and Pretor, in Rome. Afterwards he followed the warres, and proued a good Captaine, performing many notable exploits in those, which in the time of MARCVS AVRELIVS were waged in Germanie and in other parts. He was in the beginning Captaine of a legion, and afterwards with an armie he had the charge and gouernment of Dalmatia, and then of lowe Germanie; and after that, he was made gouernor of Bithynia in Asia, although that in this gouernment he did not beare himselfe with so good fame as in the rest. He was loyndly Consul together with PERTINAX, and afterwards Proconsul in Africa: and hauing executed these charges and offices was now growne old, and very rich, by meanes of his possessions and money which he had in Rome. When PERTINAX was dead, he obtained the Empire in such manner, as truly was shamefull and strange. For after that the souldiers had murdered the Emperour PERTINAX (as is said) they fortified their campe and lodgings for feare of the people; and the people durst not assaile them, for that they were too strongly defended with great bulwarkes and turrets. And the Senators and nobilitie knew not what to doe in this so troublesome a time, but retired themselues to their houses wherein they fortified themselues, and many of them went to their Castles and possessions in the countrie, holding themselues not for safe in Rome, and so they passed that day, and the next wherein PERTINAX died. The Pretorian souldiers (as writeth HERODIANVS) seeing that no man attempted to offend them, became yet more audacious: for some of them standing vpon the ramparts of their Campe, cried out with lowd exclamations, that they would giue the Empire to whosoever would buy the same, and pay best for it. This sale was presently published in the citie, and this proclamation was so loathsome, and the case so doubtfull, and also there were so few rich men left in Rome, by reason of COMMODVS his crueltie and tyrannie, that there were but two merchants to bee found to buy the Empire that was to be sold. The one was SVLPITIANVS at that time Prefect of Rome, a man who had been Consul, and was sonne in law to the late Emperour PERTINAX; the other was DIDIVS IULIANVS, of whom we now speake. Truly it is a matter worthie of great consideration, and a notable example for princes: whereby it plainly appeareth, how little stabilitie there is in their greatnes, and generally, in all things in this life: and how little they ought to esteeme the power, the kingdomes and dominions of this world, and all those other things called goods which are gotten in this world. For considering that a Romane Emperour, being a wise old man, redoubted, beloued, and knowen to be good and valorous by long experience, and (as we may say) was Lord of all the world; for he peaceably ruled (in a manner) all that which all the Kings in Christiandome hold in Europe, and the Infidels in Africa, and asmuch as the great Turke possesseth in Asia, Gracia, and Egypt, and many other Princes and Lords besides; onely three hundred, or few more souldiers sufficed to bereaue him of his life and dominion, being in Rome it selfe, which was the head and strength of all the Empire: and that they should escape away free and cleere withall, without any punishment; no man then seeking any reuenge of his death.

Who

Who would regard or greatly esteeme the riches and dominions of this world; or account the dignities, estates, and riches thereof to be great, and confound and empawne his soule to get them; seeing that a throne, and so great a power and maiestie as was the Romane Empire, was set to sale at an outcry; and there were but onely two that came to buy it, and it was sold for a little money? Truly in my iudgement, it was handled as it deserued. And this may suffice for a warning and example vnto vs, that there is nothing in this world that is ought worth, and to be held of price; nor ought to be gotten and held with the daunger of the soule: and therefore men ought lightly to regard the losing or winning of the goods of this world, so as they may encrease the riches of the soule, and liue vertuously as christians ought to doe: he that can attaine hereto, is rich, and mightie: and all the rest without this are miserable, beggarly and vnhappie, although they command, and raigne ouer the whole world.

To returne to our Historie, (HERODIANVS writeth) that the same of the souldiers proclamation came to the house of DIDIVS IULIANVS, being accounted the richest man in Rome, who with his wife and daughter sitting at dinner, very merrie and pleasant in the middest of his fauorites and pleasant companie, was by them all counsellled, that seeing that he had more money then any other man in Rome, he should not let slippe so good a bargaine, and so precious a Iewell as was the Romane Empire: but that he should goe to the Campe to conferre with the souldiers, and to procure himselfe to be chosen and sborne Emperour: and he presently arising from the table, went thither accompanied with his friends and seruants. ELIVS SPARCIANVS (who wrote his life) saith, that the first which perswaded him hereto, were PVBLIVS FLORIANVS, and VECTIVS APPIR Tribunes. But whosoever were his counsellers, they all agree, that when he came thither he found SVLPICIANVS the Prefect of Rome there before him, solliciting the souldiers to make him Emperour; promising them a great summe of money with other fauours and rewards: And the reason why his offers were not accepted, was, for that he was father in lawe to PERTINAX, whom they had slaine, and therefore they suspected him. Whereof DIDIVS IULIANVS put them also in minde, willing them to take heede that they made not choise of one, who another day would reuenge the death of PERTINAX. He promising to giue them an infinit summe of money which he had in a readines; and that he would restore all things to that order and forme wherein COMMODVS had left the same, and would presently bring them a great summe of money to be deuidd among them: His offer at last was accepted by the souldiers, and hee with ladders was receiued into the fort, where they sware obedience vnto him, and there hauing done certaine ordinarie ceremonies and sacrifices, he went into the citie accompanied with the Pretorian Cohorts in armes, ranged in so good order, as if they had been going to a battaile: for they were in great feare of the people. And so IULIANVS entred the citie, all the souldiours proclaiming his name, calling him Emperour: and the citizens durst not make any resistance, neither did they approue his election, as they vsed to do by other Emperours, but cursed him and threw stones at him.

IULIANVS then went to the Senate, where assembling such Senators as were present, by their decree he was proclaimed Emperour, and they presently made his sonne in law CORNELIVS REPERTINVS Prefect of Rome, putting SVLPITIANVS out of that office: and from thence was he caried to the Imperiall Pallace, and was held for Emperour, more through force, then the good will of

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any

Didius Iulianus went to buy the Empire.

Iulianus being made Emperour came into Rome.

any honest men. And he as though that the Empire had descended to him by inheritance from his father, and that he had peaceably obtained the same with the good will of all men, gaue himselfe to disports and pleasures, shewing himselfe negligent and retchlesse in matters of gouernment: And notwithstanding that he was mild and gentle, and did no harme to any man in all the time of his raigne; yet he presently began to be hated of the souldiers, for that he did not accomplish that which he had promised them. And the people of *Rome* hated him, because he was chosen and made Emperour by those which murdered PERTINAX, whom all the world loued; and they were of opinion that he was guiltie and accessorie to his death. So that euery time that he went abroad out of his Palace, the people openly powred out their curses against him, which he patiently endured, sometimes with laughter, beckening with his hand that they should come to him, making shew of loue and good will vnto them: but it little auailed him, and rather increased their hatred in such manner, that standing one day to behold certaine games and sports, the people of *Rome* proclaimed PESCENIVS NIGER who was Proconsul, and Gouernor of *Syria*, which was the greatest charge and gouernment of the Empire, calling to him that he should come to their rescue and to procure their libertie; of all which insolencies, IVLIANVS made little reckoning. And it hapned that so soone as the armies which were in the frontiers of *Germany* and in *Syria*, knew how ill IVLIANVS was beloued in *Rome*, and how careless he gouerned; each of these armies presumed to make their Capitaine Emperour. In *Syria* PESCENIVS NIGER was Gouernor, who was a man of good yeeres, and which had had great commaunds and gouernments, and had done very many notable feates of armes: and it was reported of him that he was mild and wise, and seemed to imitate the life and gouernment of the Emperour PERTINAX. This man knowing the good will which was borne him in *Rome*, and that his army and souldiers loued him, determined to proclaime himselfe Emperour, and presently tooke the ensignes thereof: and all those nations, Kings, and potentates of *Asia*, yeelding obedience, came or sent Ambassadors vnto him. The army in *Germany* held for their Capitaine SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS, borne in *Africa*, a man of great courage and counsell, and aboue all, very double and subtile, and of great experience, and had had many gouernments, magistracies, and captainships, and had been Consul in *Rome*, and Proconsul in the gouernments of *Sicilia*, *Africa*, and the *Pannonies*, and was also very well beloued of his souldiers, by which he was importuned, and seeing the occasion and oportunitie, he resolved also to proclaime himselfe Emperour, taking vpon him the state and ensignes thereof: and publishing that he would reuenge the death of the Emperour PERTINAX, he made himselfe beloued by the men of warre in *Germany*, and of the *Romane* people also: so as there were at one time three Emperours, or to say more properly, three tyrants. IVLIANVS, who was Emperour in *Rome*, notwithstanding that he knew what passed in *Syria*, when it began made no great account thereof, holding it sufficient to send to kill him: but knowing what SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS did in *Germany*, it moued and troubled him very much; and he dealt with the Senate to proclaime him rebell, and that they should send certaine principall men Ambassadors to procure the army to abandon SEVERVS, and to hold him for Emperour whom the Senat had approued, which was himselfe: and he sent VALERIUS CATVLINVS to further the busines, and to succcede SEVERVS in his gouernment. But SEVERVS had taken so good order, that this did little profit him: for he had already obtained their obedience, and had assured vnto himselfe

Septimius Se-  
uerus a valiant  
captaine of  
great experi-  
ence, pretended  
title to the Em-  
pire.

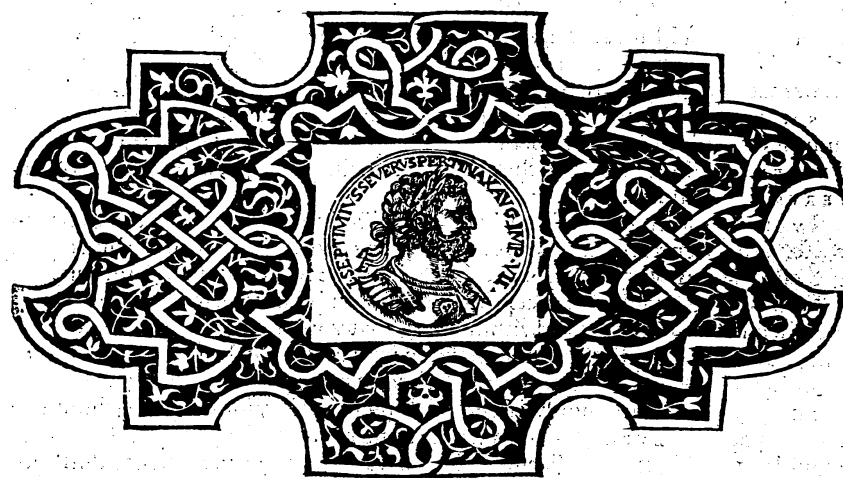
himselfe the good will of all that countrey and the marches thereof; and resolved with his army to march towards *Rome*, where he knew that IVLIANVS was not beloued. Now PESCENIVS NIGER who in *Asia* was called Emperour also, was not so circumspect herein as he might haue been: for he seeing himselfe serued by Kings, rich in gold and silver, mightie in armies and men of warre, confidentlie trusting in the loue of the people of *Rome*; gaue himselfe to feasting and banquetting in *Antioch*. When it was knowne in *Rome* that SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS came thitherwards, IVLIANVS awakened, and began to put himselfe in armes, and applied himselfe wholie to make prouision for the warres; and mustering his troupes tooke the fields with the Pretorian army which had made him Emperour, which he found very feeble, as well for want of experience and exercise in armes, as for that they were ill paid by him: and the people of *Rome* repaired also vnto him with a very ill will, for that he was made Emperour against their will: and the cities of *Italy* had a long time liued in quiet and in peace, and were not vsed to the warres and to fight. In this manner all went ill with IVLIANVS, and well with his enemy: and IVLIANVS was generally ill serued and obeyed, whom his friends counselled, that with the best forces he should be able to leaue, he should meete SEVERVS vpon the way, and stop his passage ouer the alpes: but either he would not, or durst not do so, but made the best prouision in *Rome* that he could, and before he was aware thereof, he vnderstoode that SEVERVS was already entred *Italy*, and that the most part of the cities had receiued him, and yeelded him their obedience. The people of *Rome* seeing this, and that PESCENIVS NIGER whom they desired remained in *Asia*, began to like of SEVERVS his coming.

IVLIANVS seeing himselfe driuen to this streight, obtained of the Senat to write, and to send Ambassadors to SEVERVS, wherein they made him equall and companion with IVLIANVS. But SEVERVS not contented with part, but with the whole, would not accept thereof, holding himselfe to be of greater power then IVLIANVS was; notwithstanding that vntill then, the Senat held with him; but they seeing the little counsell, and lesse abilitie of IVLIANVS, began to abandon him. And although that he desired that the Vestall virgins (which was the most precious and highly esteemed thing in their vaine religion) should be sent to pacifie SEVERVS, and to worke some meanes of peace: yet the Senate would not yeeld thereto; alleaging, that he was vnworthie to rule, that durst not defend the Empire by force of armes. And the matter came to this passe, that disguised persons daily came into *Rome* from SEVERVS, and others went from thence to him; and IVLIANVS void of all reliefe and succours, remained in his Palace generally abandoned, sauing of a very few souldiers.

The Senate was assembled, and by the common consent of all the Senators it was decreed, that IVLIANVS should be depriued of the Empire, and SEVERVS proclaimed Emperour; and there were of the most principall of the Senators sent to SEVERVS in ambassade, to yeeld to him their obedience, with the ensignes of Emperour, CÆSAR, AVGVSTVS, and spreading a rumor abroad that IVLIANVS had poisoned himselfe, they commaunded him to be slaine in his Palace, where the infortunate Emperour was found disarmed, and with some few of his friends weeping like a child. And so was IVLIANVS slaine at the age of 57. yeeres, hauing reigned only seauen moneths, in the yeere of our Lord 195.



# THE LIFE OF SEPTIMI- VS SEVERVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND THE ONE AND TWENTETH ROMANE EMPEROVR.



THE ARGVMENT.



*Septimius Seuerus hauing taken the Empire more by force, and by feare, wherein he did put the Senators and people of Rome, then for any right he had thereto: the first thing that hee did, was to reuenge the death of Pertinax, by depriving all those which had slaine him and sold the Empire, of all militarie dignitie. Afterwards entring Rome with great pompe, hee perswaded the Senators and people to hope well of him; and to bend their weapons against Pescenius Niger, who was called Emperour: Whom finally after many changes of fortune, hee ouercame. He likewise ouerbrew Artabanus King of Persia, and tooke the citie of Tisphonte, wherein was all that Kings treasure, and ouercame Albinus, who was made Caesar. This Seuerus was a man addicted to the warres, ambiguous, ambitious, constant in his resolution to bring any thing to passe that he had once undertaken, and therewith very wise and circumspect in all matters appertaining to the preservation of his estate, and the government of the Empire. Finally, oppressed with a long infirmities, and particularly with an*

*intolerable*

*intolerable paine in his feete, he died, hauing ruled the Empire eightene yeeres; vying no lesse wisdom in preserving it, then he had shewed boldnes and audacitie in getting it.*



*After Iulianvs, SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS succeeded in the Empire, who onely among all the Emperours was borne in Africa, in a citie called Leptis. His fathers name was GETA, and his mothers FVLVIA PIA. He had two Vncles by his mothers side, which were Consuls in Rome; his grandfathers name by his mother was MACER, and by his fathers side, FVLVIUS APIVS. IULIANVS being dead in such manner as we haue declared, and SEVERVS marching with his armie towards Rome, as against his enemies; vpon the way certaine Ambassadors met him, which in the name of the Senate and people of Rome yeelded to him their obedience, and gaue him the title and ensignes of Emperour, certifying him of the death of IULIANVS. He receiued this Ambassade in presence of the armie, being marshalled and in armes; and gaue gifts to the Ambassadors, and entertaining them with great honour, continued his iourney towards Rome, where aswell the Pretorian souldiers stooode in feare of him, for that they had slaine the Emperour PERTINAX whom they knew he loued, as also all the Romane people, for the desire they had that PESCENIUS NIGER should haue been Emperour; who in the East (as is said) was called so. SEVERVS when he came neere to Rome, sent commaundement that all the Pretorian souldiers should come forth to receiue him, clad in shew of peace, leauing their armes in their campe; and they did so, hoping thereby to haue pleased and pacified him by ioyfully obeying his commaundement. And he concealing what he purposed to doe, hauing onely acquainted some of his fauorites and captaines therewith, attended their comming in the field, in a place which he had chosen for that purpose; and they comming to doe him reuerence, were compassed about by his armie: and making a short speech vnto them, he reproched them with the crueltie and treason which they had vsed in killing the Emperour PERTINAX: Which being ended, he made them to put off the clothes and apparell which they ware, and to put away their daggers and poiniards from them (for other weapons they had none) and then he pronounced sentence against them; wherein he depriued them of the honour of souldiers, and banished them from Rome and a hundred miles about. And he presently sent to their campe to take their armes from them, and their imperiall ensignes; and so they were punished and disgraced, although not so much as they deserued, for the cruell murder which they had committed, and the selling of the Empire.*

*The linage of Seuerus.*

*The punishment of the Pretorian souldiers which slew Pertinax.*

*This being done, SEVERVS entred into Rome, with his whole armie, with their Ensignes displaid, and his souldiers in armes, apparelled in the best and most solemne manner that they could. The number of people was so great and such, that it was a most faire and stately spectacle to behold. The Senate went to the gates of the citie to receiue him, and there saluted him after the accustomed manner; and the people receiued him with blessings and applauses: notwithstanding that it was odious vnto them to see him come armed, and in warlike manner. And hauing performed the solemnities, and visited the Temples, as the manner then was, he went to his lodging in the Imperiall palace: and the next day he commanded the Senate to be assembled, whither he also went accompanied with armed men, wherein (as he was a wise man and well aduised) hee made a very smooth speech, giuing them great hope of good government, and excusing himselfe for taking*

*Seuerus entred Rome with ensignes displaid*

*vpon*

upon him the name and authoritie of Emperor, without their consent and goodwill first obtained; alleaging that hee did it, to the end to come to reuenge the death of PERTINAX, and to free them from the tyrannie of IULIANVS: for that it was a thing vnworthie the Romane Empire, that he should liue therein which had bought it with money. In conclusion, he spake so faire, and vsed them in such manner, that they went thence satisfied and well content: yet some of the old Senators which better knew his condition, gaue little credit to his words; for they held him for a man that was very double, subtil, and a great dissembler: and notwithstanding that he was so, yet in truth he was a most sufficient man in any thing, very valiant in armes, and before that he was Emperour had gouerned great prouinces and attained to be Questor, Tribune, Pretor, Proconsul, and Consul; and had held Captainships and charges, wherein he purchased the name and renowne of a valiant, wise, and excellent Captaine. And if a man well consider how the Empire was then diuided betwene three Lords, and with what valour he subdued the whole, with the other warres and dangers which happened in his time; he may very well be esteemed for a very valorous Emperor & excellent Captain, and may be compared with any of those in ancient time. Besides all which, hee was very learned, and a great Mathematician, a good Orator and Philosopher. But his prowess in armes was so great, that it may not be written by me (considering the breuitie which I vse) sauing running, and so to expresse such things as are most cleere and resplendent, and although in haste, yet will they glister in their sight which shall behold the same.

After that hee had taken vpon him the gouernment of the Empire, hee tooke speedie order for the reformation of abuses in the citie, by reason of the diffensions and tumults passed. He also presently honoured and buried the Emperour PERTINAX, and in remembrance of that good old man, hee tooke to himselfe his surname, calling himselfe SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS PERTINAX. He paid and gaue gifts and rewards to his men of warre, and also to the people of Rome; and as the custome of the new Emperours was, he made distributions and gaue large gifts. He also married two daughters which he had, with two principall men, one called PROBUS, and the other ECIVS; and after that he had giuen great dowries with them, he vsed such meanes that they were chosen both Consuls. And whereas at that time there was great scarcitie of corne in Rome, hee tooke such order, and that with such expedition, that the citie was sufficiently provided for and furnished: which course he held euer during all the time of his raigne, in such sort that therein was neuer any want. All these things and other, concerning the gouernment of the Empire, he performed with such expedition, that hee remained there but thirtie daies: for from the first day that he was Emperour, he determined to adresse his iourney towards the East with his armie against PESCENIVS NIGER, who (as is said) was called Emperour, and was very mightie and an excellent Captaine. And hauing made preparation for his iourney, he sent a Captaine and new legions into the prouince of Africa, to guard the same; to the end that by the way of Egypt and Libya, PESCENIVS NIGER should not make any profit of that prouince. And the better to leaue all things in safetie behinde him in the West (for hee was in feare of CLODIVS ALBINVS a Nobleman and a Senator of Rome, who was Captaine of the Legions in Britannie, and was a man of a great parentage, rich, and well beloued) he bethought himselfe how he might compasse him and make him his friend, by giuing him the name and title of CÆSAR and his successor, whereof he aduertised him with very louing and gracious speeches;

The valour  
and learning  
of SEVERUS.

ches: by which meanes for that time he remained in quiet and in peace. This being done, leauing the best order in Rome that he could, and such as was most expedient (nominating and choosing companies and Pretorian Cohorts to remaine in the citie, in place of those which hee had cassied and degraded from the honour of the militarie Art and profession) he departed thence, continuing his iourney with the best and greatest force that he was able to leuie on euery side. And PESCENIVS NIGER being aduertised of the comming of his enemy, as vntill then he had liued idle and carelesse; so now with great diligence and expedition he leuied souldiers: and besides the ordinarie armie which he had, with all speede he sent some Captaines to stop the passages out of Europe into Asia the lesse; and also sent to craue aide of the Kings of the Parthians, and of Armenia, and other Kings and Tetrarches of the East; from which, and from the prouinces which were vnder his obedience, there came great power and reliefe vnto him: And so the world was diuided into two factions and heads; and there began one of the most cruell warres that euer had been therein, as well for the force and valour of the Captaines, as for the power and multitude of souldiers; which warre was waged in many parts, both by sea and by land. SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS passed out of Europe into Asia the lesse, although with great trouble and difficultie, hauing many skirmishes, and being often assailed by PESCENIVS his troupes, who sent against him an excellent Romane Captaine called EMILIANVS, who was Generall of all his forces: and this EMILIANVS hauing drawne together all the power which PESCENIVS sent him, and all the rest that he was able to leuie out of Cappadocia, Galatia, Bithynia, and other prouinces of Asia the lesse, tooke the field, in the way whereby SEVERVS was to passe: wherein followed many great skirmishes and encounters, and in the end a most cruell and terrible battaile, wherein EMILIANVS was ouerthrowne. After this battaile, the conquered troupes which escaped, went to PESCENIVS NIGER, who with all his power was in the citie of Antioch in Syria; from whence he departed to meete with SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS vpon the way as he was comming: and marching towards him (after some matters of lesser importance which passed) the two Armies drew neere the one to the other in a great plaine by the Sea side in the countrey of Cilicia (as HERODIANVS reporteth, yet SPARCIVS and EVTROIPIVS differ therein) in the same place where DARIVS was the first time ouerthrowne by ALEXANDER the Great; where (by the consent of both the Generals) they came to a battaile with the most and best souldiers that then were in the world; which by reason of the experience, valour, and wisdom of the Captaines, was most cruell: For fighting the greatest part of the day without any apparant aduantage, the number of the slaine and wounded was so great, that the streames of water which ranne through the fields, were so full, and died with the blood of men and horses, that there seemed to bee no water therein: A great number of disarmed people of the inhabitants thereabouts, standing vpon the tops of the hills to behold the battaile, and to see whether partie should haue the victorie. Which when either partie by all meanes possible had endeououred to obtaine, in the latter end of the day PESCENIVS NIGER was ouerthrowne, without failing in any point in what hee ought, and was most expedient for a good Captaine to haue done: for in truth SEVERVS his souldiers were more expert and better trained in the warres then his were; and seeing there was no other remedie hee fled, but was followed and afterwards found by SEVERVS his souldiers, which smote off his head, and carried it through the Campe vpon the point of a lance.

SEVERVS against  
NIGER.

Emilianus  
ouerthrowne by  
SEVERUS.

A battaile  
betwene Septi-  
mus SEVERVS  
and PESCENIVS  
NIGER.

Pescenius Ni-  
ger ouerthrowne  
and slaine.

The lineage of  
Pescennius Ni-  
ger.

This **PESCENIUS NIGER** was a man of meane parentage; yet some say that he was noble and ancient: his fathers name was **ANIVS FVSCVS**, and his mother was called **LAMPRI DIA**. He was a man indifferently well learned, and obtained great riches. He was sharpe and quicke of condition, and euer followed the wars, and was an excellent souldier; and afterwards performed the charge committed to him, with great discretion and courage: for they write of him, that hee was a valiant and much commended Tribune; a very singular and excellent Capitaine; a most seuer and vpright Lieutenant Generall; a most wise and prudent Consul; and in all things happie and fortunate, sauing that he was onely infortunate in being Emperour, not knowing how to gouerne himselfe therein. So as it plainly appeareth, that men doe oftentimes desire and purchase to themselues shame and perdition, by presuming to attaine to honour and rest.

**SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS** hauing obtained so notable a victorie, with all speed aduertised the Romane Senate thereof, and as a conqueror did his will vpon the conquered, cruelly killing many of those which had taken part with **NIGER**; and principally he destroyed the citie of *Antioch*, by reason that it (more then any other) had aided and assisted his aduersarie, whose wife and children he commanded to be banished from *Rome*. And to the contrary hereof, hee gaue gifts and rewards to those which had done him seruice and assisted him; and repaired the harmes and dammages which some cities, which held with him, had received by **NIGER**s souldiers. For in truth this man was very cruell in punishing offences, and in persecuting his enemies; and very liberall and gratefull to his friends, and most bountifull in rewarding those which had done him any seruice. In all the prouinces of the East, after this victorie, he found no resistance, sauing among the Parthians, the Persians, and the Adiabeniens, very mightie Nations, which for the loue which they bore vnto **NIGER**, and the ancient hatred to the name, *Romane*, presently tooke armes against **SEVERVS**; and hee in person went against them, and had many battailes and incounters, and obtained great victories, which I haue no time to relate: so as hee enlarged the Empire and the *Romane* name, and pacified the prouinces.

The first perse-  
cution of the  
Primitive  
Church.

Albinus in  
armes against  
Seuerus.

**SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS** hauing brought all his purposes to so good and prosperous estate, being seduced by the diuell, so persecuted the Catholike Christian Church, that an infinite number of the faithfull were put to death; and this was the first persecution of the Church. For which occasion (as **PAVLVS OROSIVS** noteth) God would not permit that he should long enjoy the Empire in peace: for he was aduertised from *Rome* how that **ALBINVS**, who (as we said) was Capitaine in great *Britannie*, and whom he made **CESAR** when he went for the East, was risen in armes, and proclaimed himselfe Emperour; and that hee was of very great power, and much beloued of the *Romane* Nobilitie: for hee was native of *Rome*, and of a great and noble familie. But he being of a hautie minde little regarded those difficulties: and setting all things in order in the East, with his armie tooke his way towards *Rome*, to the end from thence to goe against **ALBINVS**, as against a tyrant and a rebell. And passing from *Asia* into *Europe* ouer the streight at *Byzantium*, which is now called *Constantinople*, hee wholly destroyed that citie; because that when he passed by it towards *Asia*, that citie would not receiue him; and so he left it leuell with the ground (which was one of the most famous cities in the whole world) and remained so desolate vntill the time of **CONSTANTINE** the Great; as in his time we will declare.

**SEVERVS** traauailing thus towards *Rome*, his aduersarie **ALBINVS** being aduertised

uertified thereof, came out of *Britannie* into *France*, where hee raised a mightie armie; part whereof he sent to keepe the passages in the *Alpes*, thereby to hinder him in his way, who was alreadye arrived at *Rome*, and was vpon his way coming to meete him: before which time he put **PESCENIUS NIGER**s children to death, to the end thereby wholly to extinguish all remembrance of him. And he going to the warres, appointed his sonne **BASSIANVS ANTONINVS** for his successor, and intituled him **CESAR**; and chaunging his name, he commaunded him to be called **AURELIVS ANTONINVS**. And drawing neere to his enemies, the warres began in a most cruell manner betwene them; wherein in the beginning in some encounters, **SEVERVS** his captaines were ouerthrowne by those of **ALBINVS** his partie. But after that hee had passed the *Alpes*, and was entered into *France*, the warre was kindled in many parts; and in many conflicts and skirmishes fortune shewed her selfe variable, the victorie inclining sometimes to one side, and sometime to the other; vntill at last neere vnto the citie of *Lions*, (wherein **ALBINVS** was) either partie drawing together his whole power, they fought one of the most bloudie battailes that euer was written of: which continued the greatest part of the day without any apparance of aduantage. First the victorie seemed to be of **ALBINVS** his side: for his battalion was of such force, that it made **SEVERVS** to retire, in such sort that his souldiers began to flie; and it so happened that **SEVERVS** his horse fell with him, and euery man held him for dead: and **ALBINVS** his souldiers began to crie victorie, victorie; taking no care but to follow the execution. Then **LETVS** one of **SEVERVS**s his Captains, which vntill then had neuer charged; with a very great troupe of armed men which he brought with him, renewed the fight, in such sort, that **SEVERVS** was rescued: and being remounted vpon another horse, charged with so great force and rigor, that hee tooke the victorie out of **ALBINVS** his souldiers hands, which accounting themselves victorious, obserued no order: and the matter was so handled, that **ALBINVS** his troupes were driuen to turne their backs; and **SEVERVS** followed the execution, killing them euen to the gates of the citie of *Lions*. The number of those which were slaine and wounded, was infinite; and the citie was presently entred, and **ALBINVS** taken; and his head being striken off, was brought to **SEVERVS**. A man may well beleue that hee was not a little ioyfull when hee saw it, considering that a little before hee was wounded and cast to the ground, and by all men accounted for dead, and his enemies victorious; and escaping all this, he now saw himselfe an absolute Lord, victorious, and his enemies confounded. Wherefore let euery Christian reader consider how inconstant all things are in this life; and that a man neither can, or ought to repose his assured confidence in any thing in this world. Great were the cruelties which **SEVERVS** committed after that he had obtained this victorie: for truly if this Prince had not been so cruell and greedie of shedding of bloud, and in matters of gouernment as hee was, I am of opinion that no man either before or after him, had excelled him; considering the actions and enterprises which hee brought to an end, whereof I write but the summe.

Seuerus put to  
death Nigers  
children.

A great bat-  
taille between  
Seuerus and  
Albinus.

The crueltie of  
Seuerus.

These things being past, **SEVERVS** presently wrote to the Senate and people of *Rome*, aduertising them of his victorie, and sending them **ALBINVS** his head, commaunded that it should be set vpon the end of a pole in the publick place, and all those Senators which of **ALBINVS** his partie were slaine in this battaille, he commaunded to be quartered; and those which were taken aliue, he commaunded to be slaine. He was so cruell and vindicative (that some write) that he

mounted vpon a very fierce great horse, and vpon him rode many times ouer the dead bodie of ALBINVS: which is not much to be maruelled at, considering from how cruell and barbarous a nation he was descended. Some write, that he first caused his bodie to be torne in many pieces, and to be throwne into the riuier *Rhodanus*. And SPARCIVS saith, that he commanded his wife and children to be slaine, and did by them as he had done by ALBINVS, and so he made a number of his kinsmen and friends which with him were found in *Lions* to be slaine, and with them other principall noblemen of *France* and *Spaine*. He concluded the victorie which he gat neere *Lions* only in *Rome*, there to make an end of the warre, and after this victorie he presentlie assaulted certaine cities and holds which continued friends to ALBINVS, which he subdued, not without great trouble and danger. And as he was busie in these matters, newes was brought him that one of those legions which he had left in *Arabia*, did mutine, and tooke part with ALBINVS before this battaile: and so he leauing *France* and *Germany* in peace and quiet, and sending into *Britanny* the ordinarie captaines, to keepe the inhabitants in subiection and in peace, he came victorious and triumphing to *Rome*, bringing his armie with him, where he was most solemnly receiued, with great shew of ioy and contentment, although that in truth they stood in great feare of him: whither when he came, he paid his souldiers with larger allowance, then euer theretofore had been seene; and the first day that he went to the Senate, in disgrace and despite thereof, he renewed the titles and memorie of the wicked Emperour COMMODVS, and made him to be canonized, and adored as a God. He also condemned to death, & confiscated the goods of a great number of noble personages of *Rome* which had been Pretors, Consuls, and Senators, for that he found that they had been friends to ALBINVS, and of his faction, shewing letters which he laid were written by them, wherein they had offered their persons and goods to ALBINVS seruice, alleging other reasons & proofes, which peradventure were forged. Finally, he vsed great crueltie, and put many to death, whereby he extremely enriched himselfe both in goods and treasure, whereof some he distributed and gaue to others: but principallie, he enriched and aduanced to honor in the highest degree, one whose name was PLACIVS, a great fauourite of his, who also was an *Africane*, and his countrieman, whom he made Prefect of the Pretorian cohorts, and afterwards he married his sonne BASSIANVS ANTONINVS, whom he had made CESAR, with his daughter, whose name was PLAVTINA; and then he made him his companion and equall, and made the Senat to giue him the ensignes and prerogative of the Empire; by reason whereof PLACIVS grew yet more proud and insolent. Matters standing in the state as I haue said, he made CEASE, and inso much that he claimed himselfe Emperour, in which space he reigned but a small time in *Rome*, in which space he committed many cruelties vpon those which had been friends to NIGER and ALBINVS. He put to death a great number of noble personages most cruellie and horribly. He put to death many matrones, and *Romane Ladies*: and to the contrary, he was all things to his subjects very liberall and bountifull, and bestowed many fauours vpon the poore, and became also very popular, and sought to be pleasing and acceptable to all men, and to that end made the greatest and most coslie feasts and games that euer were made in *Rome*, and deuided money amongst the people. But he stayed but a little while there (as I said) for knowing that matters were in no securitie in *Asia*, principallie that the Parthians infested the bounds and frontiers of the Empire, and desirous to be reuenged of certaine Kings, which had assisted his enemy NIGER, as he was most valorous and desirous

Seuerus came triumphing into Rome.

Placius a great fauourite of Seuerus.

rous of honor and warres, although old and gowtie: yet with his accustomed celeritie he departed towards the East, and being come into *Asia* sooner then any man would haue beleueed, he presently began the warre in *Armenia*, marching against BARZEMIVS King of the Atrenores, who had been PESCENIVS NIGERs friend: The King of *Armenia* durst not make any resistance, but sent him presents, suing for peace, and gaue him such hostages as he required. Whereupon finding no resistance, this valiant Emperour returned against *Arabia felix*, where there was a mutinie, and there tooke and sacked some cities: and from thence returned to the frontiers of the Atrenores, and besieged the citie of *Atrax*, or *Atramas*. But being vnable to take it, for that it was very strong and well furnished, in great furie he went against the Parthians, and the Persians, and besieged the famous citie of *Tessphonte*, wherein King ARTABANVS lay with all his power and household: and after many assaults, encounters, and slaughters of men of either side, he entred the citie by force of armes, and the King escaping by flight, his children and treasure fell into the hands of SEVERVS, which was held for a very great victorie: for the Romanes stood in greater feare of the Parthians, then of any other nation of the world.

Seuerus his enterprises.

SEVERVS presentlie wrote to *Rome*, aduertising them of his victories and good successe, and sent them the description of the countries, cities, riuers, battailes, and assaults which he past, drawne and painted in tables.

When he had here ended all things at his pleasure, he bountifullly and liberally paid his Souldiers: and comming into *Palestina*, and from thence into *Egypt*: he was desirous to see the Pyramides, and other great and auncient monuments in that Countrey: And from thence he returned to *Rome* in great triumph, laden with the spoyles and riches gotten by his victories in the East. And at this his comming, hee married his eldest sonne to PLAVTINA, daughter of his great fauourite PLACIVS, which marriage BASSIANVS ANTONINVS solemnized much against his will; and so would not conuerse or keepe companie with her. Whereupon there began great disliking and diffension betweene PLACIVS and BASSIANVS. And PLACIVS knowing himselfe to be the richest and mightiest man in all the Empire, and seeing that SEVERVS was now old, with whom he was in great fauour, and fearing that if BASSIANVS should succede him and inherite the Empire, he should be ill intreated at his hands: he resolved to kil both the father and the sonne, and to make himselfe Emperour, making choice (to doe this exploite) of a Tribune of the Pretorian Cohorts, whereof hee himselfe was Pretor. But it pleased God that this his treason was discovered by the same Tribune: and the same day that he thought to haue put the Emperours to death, hee by them was committed to death. These were the cruell and excellent historie, as hee may well perceiue which will read this victorie. And so according to his deserts with his life, he ended his priuie blood, at that SEVERVS had escaped this danger, he spent his time in visiting forther before, in hearing complaints and doing iustice, and in most sumptuous buildings in *Rome*, and other cities: and seeking to bring vp his sonnes vertuously, and by abating their pride, to reconcile them and make vnitie betweene them; for they did ill agree, and were very vnquiet and ill affected the one to the other: He desired to establish peace and amitie betweene them, for that hee had determined that after his death the Empire should be diuided betweene them, and to that end inuested them both therein: And so this poore old Emperour laboured in vaine to reforme the euill inclination of his sonnes. And liuing in rest from warre, although not without

domestickall care, he receiued letters importing, that the inhabitants of great *Britannie* were in armes, and rebelled in such sort, that his Legions there were in such daunger, that they were at the point either to bee ouercome and lost, or at least to flie and abandon the countrie; which he tooke very displeasantly. And to the end that the Empire in his daies should not be diminished by the losse of that Iland (it being of such importance) hee determined to goe thither himselfe in person to pacifie the same. And without any delaying of time, went thitherwards with all his forces: and being arriued in *Britannie*, the inhabitants conceiued such feare, by reason of his sudden comming vpon them, that as hee was a Warriour, if he had been inclined to peace, they would haue come to any reasonable composition: but hee rather desiring to punish them, made cruell warre against them, which was both very tedious and daungerous, by reason of the lakes and many euill passages for his men in seuerall places in that countrie; so as he was constrained to make many bridges and other deuices, with wood and timber, for his souldiers to passe: And so hee obtained many victories, and pacified and subdued the inhabitants. And to the end that his Legions from thencefoorth might liue in greater safety, and that the Picts and Scots should not so freely passe their bounds, (as *SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR* and *EVTROPIVS* report) he commanded a most strong wall to be made, which did crosse the Ile from sea to sea, which wall was two and thirtie miles in length, wherein (as I conceiue) hee did but either finish, or repaire that wall which the Emperour *ADRIAN* had made before: which truly was a worke worthie the greatnes of *SEVERVS* his minde, and the mightie wealth of *Rome*. Which when he at his pleasure had ended, in like manner as hee had done all his other enterprises, his old griefe did so much torment him, that he desired and sought meanes to end his owne life: and hauing reigned eightene yeeres and tenne moneths, he died in the same Ile of *Britannie*.

This Emperour was one of those which fought more battailes, and obtained more victories, then any other that euer ruled the *Romane* Empire before him. For he ouerthrew and brought to confusion three mightie *Romane* Emperours, and many other Kings, and subdued an infinite number of prouinces and cities. He tooke so good order for the preseruatiō of his treasure, and was so couetous and greedie in gathering the same together, that notwithstanding his great expences, and the infinite great gifts and rewards which he bestowed: yet hee left more readie money and treasure in his treasure and Exchequer, then any other Emperour of his predecessors. He paid and maintained, and left in the Empire so many legions of souldiers, that there was no cause to feare any King or Nation in the world. Hee left in *Rome* so great abundance of wheate, wine and oile, as was sufficient (as *SPARCIVS* writeth) to maintaine and victuall the same for five yeeres. He erected wonderfull workes and buildings in *Rome*, and in other parts, and in many things performed the part of a good gouernour, and of a wife and prudent Prince: So as the *Romans* vsed to say of him (noting his cruelties and couetousnes; and afterwards his prouisions and victories) That it had been good that this Emperour had neuer bin borne, or that he should neuer haue died: and so after his death he was highly extolled and commended. He left for his equall successors in the Empire his two sonnes, the one called *BASSIANVS*, and the other *GETA*: and when he lay a dying, the last words that he spake to those which were with him were these: When I tooke vpon me the gouernment of the Empire and of the *Romane* Common-wealth, I found it tyrannized and out of order; and now being old and gowtie, leaue it in peace and subiection to my sonnes (if they

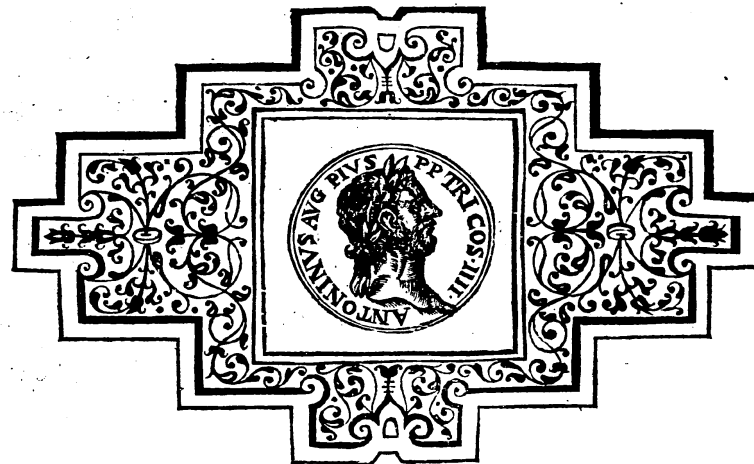
The Brittaines  
subdued by  
SEVERUS.

The death of  
SEVERUS.

The words of  
SEVERUS at his  
death.

they prooue good) a firme and settled Empire; but if they prooue euill, feeble, and without force, and readie to fall. This good Prince was so temperate and spare in his diet, that hee did seldome eate any flesh: for his common foode was salades, pulse, and fruites of his countrie; but he vsed to drinke somewhat deeper; yet neuer so that he was at any time distempered therewith. He was of a very comely personage, representing authoritie and maiestie, and was tall of stature, and vsed to weare a long white beard; his haire was curled and gray, and he spake with a deepe sounding voice. Finally, his personage and minde were fitting for an Emperour of *Rome*. He liued (as *SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR* and others do testifie) *anno Dom.* 203. seuentie yeeres, and died in the yeere of our Lord two hundred and three.

## THE LIFE OF BASSIANVS ANTONINVS CARACALLA, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND fourth of those which were called ANTONINI, and of his brother GETA, being the two and twentieth Emperour of *Rome*.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**A**fter the decease of *Seuerus*, his two sonnes, *Bassianus Antoninus Caracalla*, and *Geta*, tooke the Empire; which two being borne of seuerall mothers (as brothers oftentimes vse to doe) the one deadly hating the other, sought one anothers death and destruction. But *Caracalla* which was a warlike man and bloudie, unable to endure the companie of his brother, which led the life of a Philosopher rather then of an Emperour: and unable to endure that his brother for his good parts should be so much beloved by the *Romane* people as he was, failing to kill him secretly with poison, in the end slew him openly in the lap of his mother in law, which was *Geta* his mother; remaining sole in the Empire. And knowing himselfe to be generally hated, he disposed of himselfe to visit the Empire: and where soeuer he came

*he sought to imitate the fashions of the countrie wherein he was; sometimes attiring himselfe after the Germane fashion; then after the Greeke: besides that he would be called Alexander, and be reputed another Achilles; for that he had trauailed the countreies of those Princes. He was very inhumane and cruell, and so dishonest in his life that hee shamed not to marrie his stepmother Iulia, which was mother to his brother Geta, who also was so shamelesse as to consent to so wicked a marriage. But they both ended accordingly as they deserved: for the Emperour was slaine by the practise of Macrinus, at such time as he went to ease his bodie; and she hearing the newes, falling into despaire killed her selfe, he hauing held the Empire sixe yeeres.*



SEVERVS being dead, his two sonnes, which he had by seuerall women, accordingly as he had ordained remained Emperours. One of them he had by MARTIA which was his first wife; and the other by IULIA, as is already said. The eldest had to name BASSIANVS ANTONINVS, and the other GETA; both very young men, and in vertue farre vnlike to their father, chiefly BASSIANVS CARACALLA which was the eldest: Although that in his youth being but a childe, hee seemed to make better shew of himselfe, to be of a gentle condition, and of a good wit; and profited very much in learning (as SPARTIANVS writeth) and therefore was much beloued and greatly accounted of: but afterwards, with his yeeres, and the Empire, he altdred his condition, and in crueltie not onely surpassed his father, but any other cruell Prince of all that euer were; as though he had been borne at one birth together with NERO.

So soone as he was sworne Emperour in England, where hee then was (for his father carried both his sonnes with him, and his wife IULIA also, which was mother to the second sonne) ANTONINVS CARACALLA practised with the armie to chuse him onely for Emperour, and to disinherite his brother GETA. But the men of warre would not consent thereto, because that GETA was chosen CÆSAR and successor to his father by them; and BASSIANVS ANTONINVS was nominated by his father SEVERVS. Whereupon being out of hope to bring his purpose to effect, accompanied with his brother and mother in law, they agreed to come to Rome, and brought with them the bodie or ashes of their father SEVERVS. But there presently began so many ielousies and suspitions betweene the two brothers, that it was daily feared that the one would kill the other; notwithstanding that IULIA (as though she had been mother to them both) vsed all possible meanes to haue pacified them, and to haue brought them to liue louingly and like brothers together: which she could neuer bring to passe, and so vpon the way either of them did lodge and eate apart; and either of them stood vpon his guard, for feare of the other. And being come to Rome, were receiued with great solemnitie, triumph and ioy; but in their palaces they tooke their lodgings apart, and each of them had his guard and particular officers from the other: and they neuer visited, saw, or spake the one to the other, except when they went to the Senate: so great was the hatred and enuie which the one bare to the other.

The first thing they did after their comming to Rome, was to burie their father, whom they canonized for a Saint, placing him among the Gods, as the custome was to doe, by those which were good Emperours. And seeing that occasion will often be giuen to reade of some Emperours which haue been deified; in my opinion it shall not be amisse, in this place to recite the ceremonies which were then vsed therein. The order which they held (the Emperour being dead) was to assemble the Senate, to consider whether such an Emperour had deserved or were worthie to be placed among the Gods or no: and finding him to haue been wicked,

*Examine betweene Bassianus and his brother Geta.*

*In what manner the Romanes deified their Emperours*

wicked, the Senate would not be present at the ceremonies vsed at his funerrall: but if he had been a good Prince, they all went in mourning attire to doe him honour at his consecration. The manner to consecrate him, was first to burie him without any ceremonies; then they made his image of wood, which resembled a pale sickly weake man, which they placed vpon a high scaffold ouer the entring into the Pallace; which image was clothed in faire rich attire, and on the one side thereof sate the Senate, and on the other side the Romane Matrons, where they sate from the Sunne rising vntill the comming in of the euening, doing nothing but groane and sigh. This order they obserued the space of seuen dayes, in which the Phisitions came and felt the pulses of this Statue, saying, that the Emperour would surely die: at which words, they lamented and scriched out. The sixth day the Phisitions said that he was dead, then the most auncient men carried the image on horsebacke in a beere to a place, which was called the old place; passing thorough that way which was called *Via Sacra*. In this place was erected an edifice after the fashion of a throne, with staires round about it, and vpon this throne they placed this Image; on the one side of the staires were many children, which were gentlemens sonnes of Rome; and on the other side, a number of young Romane damfels which sung some heauie and sorrowfull songs and ditties; and the boyes sung hymnes in praise of the dead Emperour. From thence they carried the Image with the beere to the field of *Mars*, where was another scaffold made of most drie wood, vpon which they placed this Image. Vpon that day people came from all parts of Italy to Rome to see the solemnitie: and euery one there present, was bound to cast vpon the staires, certaine precious odours of sundrie sorts. After this the Senators made shew of a skirmish on horsebacke; and after them the two Consuls gaue a turne vpon their chariots richly adorned, being followed by all the most ancient old men in Rome, and those which had bin Captaines in the warres on foote: all which after that they had gone round about this scaffold, making sundrie shoutes and exclamations, fell to the ground. Then came he which did inherite and succeed in the Empire, and with a burning torch gaue fire to this throne or scaffold; which, for that it was made of most drie wood, in short space was set all on fire.

But before any of these ceremonies were performed, the Senate provided a great Eagle, which being set on that side where the image of the dead Emperour was, while as this image did burne, the Eagle was very finely let loose; which, according to her nature, mounting aloft into the aire, the people said that it was the Emperours soule which flew to heauen there to inhabite amongst the gods: which HERODIANVS doth write at large in the historie of these two Emperours. GETA the younger brother was of a more gentle nature: for shewing himselfe milde and courteous, he began to be generally well beloued of all men. ANTONINVS CARACALLA was sharpe, and would be obeyed for feare; and enuying the loue which he saw al men beare to his brother GETA, & the reputation wherein he was held, he deuised with himselfe how he might secretly kil him with poison, or otherwise how soeuer: he also sought to get the goodwill of the Pretorian souldiers, giuing them many gifts, doing them many fauours, & giuing them leaue to do what they listed. So as it was easily to be perceiued, what manner of gouernment there would be in the Empire, wherein were two Emperours with equall power and authoritie, and so contrarie in condition each to other, that being brothers they practised and desired each others death; and in matters of iustice and gouernment were euer contrarie in opinion, and for Captaines and gouernours which were

*Bassianus sought means to put his brother Geta to death.*

were to be made, each sought to preferre his friends and fauourites, and did the like in chusing of Consuls and other Magistrates: And so all things went by fauours and in contention. And there were committed intolerable disorders, and iniuries, either of them persecuting the contrarie faction, without daring to punish those which were of their own partie, for feare to make them their enemies: whereof grew an vniuersall preiudiciall detriment to all the prouinces, and generally to the whole Empire. Wherefore to auoide these troubles and inconueniences, some practised to make a diuision of the Empire; and that ANTONINVS BASSIANVS should remaine in *Rome* and gouerne the West; and that GETA should gouerne *Asia* and all the East. But this tooke as little effect: for IULIA, mother to GETA, hindred it, thinking to bring them to some composition, and to make them friends: and when she thought that she was in the right way to haue brought them to concord and agreement, BASSIANVS CARACALLA, which was more proud and presumptuous, and who in truth did scorne his brother, as well for that he was his younger, as for that he gaue himselfe more to his booke and to ciuill discipline, then to armes and chiuallrie; hauing alwaies about him honest and learned men: hee determined to kill him in what manner soeuer; which hee had till then assaied to doe by secret and coloured meanes, thinking with himselfe that he was and ought to be sole and onely Emperour, and could not endure any riual or companion in command. And with this cruell determination, as they were lodged both in one palace, GETA being one day with his mother, nothing suspecting any open violence, although hee mistrusted secret practises: BASSIANVS iust at the time wherein euery bodie was at dinner, suddenly entred his brothers lodging, and with the aide of those which came with him, slew his brother in his mothers armes, before he was able to put himselfe in defence, or could be rescued: and hauing committed this detestable murder, with the like furie and hast, as he had done this fact, he sallied forth at his pallace gates, compassed about with his friends and seruants, and shewing great amazement, cried out, that his brother would haue killed him, and said to those which saw him, that he had escaped an extreame danger of death, but his innocencie had preferued him. And calling to his guard, commaunded them to conuay him to his Pretorian Cohorts, where he might remaine in safetie, for so long as he continued within the citie he stood in feare of his life.

*Bassianus slew  
his brother Geta  
in his mothers  
armes.*

Those which heard him, not knowing what had passed, beleued what he said, and both those which heard him, and heard him not, followed him; and the people began to be much troubled to see their Emperour so out of season, and in such haste in such maner to go to the camp. When he came to his camp, where in truth by reason of his former practises, he was better beloued then his brother, the first thing that he did was to go to a place apart, where their ensignes and banners were, which they held for religious and sacred; and then he began with great exclamation to say, That he gaue infinite thanks to the gods for deliuering him from such, and so imminent a danger. And the souldiers flocking about him, maruelling at his so vnseasonable comming, he put himselfe in the midst of them, and with a huge voice began to implore their aid and succour, telling them that his brother would haue slaine him, and being assailed by him, was rescued, and had fought, and God had giuen him the victorie, although with great difficultie, and that he now fled vnto them from the furie of those which would haue slaine him. He spake and fained the matter with such efficacie, that the souldiers beleued him, and notwithstanding that he expressed not so much, yet they plainly percci-

perceiued that he had slaine his brother, as he gaue them to vnderstand: and incontinentlie he promised them, seeing that he remained sole Emperour, that he would bestow vpon them the accustomed fauours, gifts and rewards; and presentlie sending for a great summe of money which remained of his fathers treasure, he diuided it amongst them: wherewith hauing gotten their good wils, although that some were hard to be perswaded thereto, and did contradict it, yet in the end they proclaimed him sole Emperour, and approued the death of his brother GETA, pronouncing him a rebell, and an enemie to the Romane commonwealth. BASSIANVS remaining all that night in the camp amongst the souldiers, the next day compassed with men of warre, returned into *Rome*; and assembling the Senate, he went thither, and brought in his guard with him, wherein he made a set Oration (which HERODIANVS writeth at large) excusing himselfe, and grieuousslie accusing his brother, affirming that he was openlie assailed by him, but being rescued, in defending himselfe, he had slaine his brother. The Senators, some for that they were his fauourites, and others for feare, approoued his death: and he to iustifie his wickednes with greater crueltie, began to proceede against men of all estates, as though that they all had been guiltie, and had practised his death, committing infinite murthers and cruelties. First, he commaunded all his brothers seruants to be slaine, together with many Senators and Romane Knights, which had taken his brothers part. He also made PLAVTINA, the daughter of PLANCIVS which had been his wife, to be put to death. He slew POMPEIANVS nephew to the Emperour MARCVS AVRELIVS the Philosopher, and sonne of LVCILLA and of POMPEIANVS. He caused also all the Gouvernours and Captaines to be slaine, which his brother had placed in the Prouinces. To conclude, he murdered an infinite number of principall men, and men of estate: so as in all parts of *Rome* most horrible murthers and cruelties were committed, for which he is accounted one of the worst and most cruell Emperours that euer ruled the Romane Empire, and was generallie hated and abhorred of all men, sauing of the Pretorian souldiers only, whose loue and good will he bought with his money, and therewith did continue them for his friends (by suffering and induring them, and giuing them libertie in all things) permitting them to commit whatsoeuer outrage or insolencie they would. Hauing exercised himselfe in these abominable cruelties, his owne conscience accusing him, and knowing how much he was abhorred in *Rome*, he determined to depart from thence, and to go to visit all the prouinces of the Empire, which he did, and in his iourney plaid many mad pranks, some of which in truth were very ridiculous. And purposing to go into *Germany*, where *Rome* euer held great armies in garrison against the northerly nations, which could neuer be brought to any perfect subiection: he gaue it out in speeches that he went to reforme the legions, and to visit the prouinces: and taking his way towards the riuier *Danubius*, where (to win the harts of that countrey people) he followed the fashions vsed in that countrey, hunting and killing fierce wild beasts, and apparelled himselfe as a Germane, praising and esteeming their fashions better, then the fashions of the Romanes, and chose such of the Germane souldiers as seemed to be most strong and actiue for his guard. He sought also to win the good will of other men of warre, shewing himselfe very affable and sociable, helping them in person in their bodily exercises, eating and drinking with them such things as they did, and doing many other things like a souldier, and a man of warre: whereby he made himselfe beloued both of the one and the other, although that he forbore not to commit sundrie

*Crueltie vsed  
by Bassianus,  
in putting  
many great  
men to death.*

*Bassianus his  
travailes and  
fashions.*

drie cruelties, killing certaine principall men amongst them.

And hauing set all matters in such order as he thought good in *Germany*, taking his way towards *Thracia*, he passed through *Macedonia*, where a notable folly possessed him: for heere he made shew to be much affected to ALEXANDER the Great, and to publish his noble acts; and sent commaundement to erect his statue in many parts of *Rome*; among which he set vp one with two faces, the one resembling ALEXANDER, and the other himselfe, desiring to make others to beleue (himselfe being so perswaded) that he did very much resemble him: and for that he had read that ALEXANDERS neck stood alittle awry towards one shoulder, he counterfeited the like; and so within few dayes, of an *Almaine*, he was become a *Macedonian* in apparell, behauiour and fashion; and one Squadron of his army he commaunded to be called a Phalanx, for so were they called in that kingdome; and some of his Captaines he caused to be called by the names of some of ALEXANDERS Captaines. Hauing made this shew in *Gracia*, he tooke his way towards *Asia*, where he desired to see the ruines and relicks of *Troy*; and seeing the Sepulchre of ACHILLES, another humour tooke him, which was to resemble ACHILLES; so as he seemed to trauell the countries like a Player, with Comedies and making shewes; at which his lightnes and mutabilitie, the Romanes which were with him were much discontented and ashamed.

Extream  
crueltie exe-  
cuted by Bas-  
sianus vpon  
the citizens of  
*Alexandria*.

Trauelling through *Asia* the lesse, and thence into *Soria*, he went into *Egypt* (as he said) to see the cite of *Alexandria*, because that ALEXANDER the great was founder thereof, where he was most solemnly receiued, and with great ioy, for which he ill requited them: for although that he shewed them a pleasant countenance, yet secretly he was very angry with them: for he vnderstood that they had vsed quips and iests of him behind his back, and gaue him nicknames conformable to his vices, and the cruelties which he committed. Matters, in truth, not so hainous as could deserue so cruell punishment, as that which he inflicted, which was: that the people being vpon a day assembled together to see certaine publike pastimes, he made them to be compassed about by his souldiers, and an infinite number of them of all ages, conditions, and degrees to be slaine, to the great feare, griefe, and terror of the whole cite.

After this his so great inhumanitie done in *Egypt*, he returned towards *Palestina*, and trauelling towards the East with a very mightie armie, of his fathers excellent old souldiers: he inuaded the land of the Parthians, which suspected no such matters, and did great spoile in their conuntries (as SPARCIANVS, SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR, and HERODIANVS doe write) for vpon safe conduit and assurance of peace which he made to the Parthians, he obtained some victories, deceiuing their King ARTABANVS, giuing him to vnderstand that he came of purpose to marrie with his daughter, and the other comming to receiue him in peaceable manner, was sodainly set vpon. But the King (by great hap) escaped by flight. And although that this his victorie were of small importance, yet he made great boast, writing to *Rome* long and proud letters thereof; and in all these actions he forbore not to be cruell: but to gouerne vprightly and to doe iustice, as he ought to haue done, he tooke no care. He was very gluttonous, and vnmeasurably giuen to wine, luxurie and dishonestie of life, so as he married with his own mother in law, IULIA: yet HERODIANVS maketh no mention thereof, but seemeth to be of a contrarie opinion, for he euer speaketh of IULIA, as though she had been mother both to BASSIANVS and GETA: But SEXTVS AVRELIVS writeth it, and also EVSEBIUS, EVTROPIVS and SPARCIANVS say, that

Gluttonie and  
incontinencie  
of Bassianus.

it passed in this manner. IULIA was a most faire woman, and vpon a day, the mother and the sonne in law standing talking together, she carelessly or dishonestly, as it afterwards appeared, letting fall a vaile which she ware, discouered part of her brest: which when BASSIANVS saw, he said, if it were lawfull, I would haue that which I see: she forgetting all honestie, and that she was mother to GETA whom BASSIANVS had slaine, answered, to thee any thing that thou desirest is lawfull: dost thou not know, that the Emperour maketh lawes and is subiect to none. When he heard her say so, setting aside all dutie and loyaltie which he ought to his dead father, and his liuing mother in law, he resolved to marrie her, and celebrated his nuptials with the mother of his brother whom he had bereaued of life. But to returne to the Historie of his life, it passed in this manner, that coming from his inuasion against the Parthians, he staid some daies in the countrie of *Mesopotamia*: for that countrie was excellent good and commodious for hunting & other sports, wherein within few daies, hauing rained full sixe yeeres, he was slaine by treason. The manner whereof HERODIANVS writeth, and saith, that he was much addicted to Mathematicians and Astrologians, and gaue great credit vnto them; and in all matters vsed their opinions and iudgements, and had in *Rome* and with him all the Astrologers that he could get; wherein he resembled his father SEVERVS, who did the like. And being fearefull of conspiracies, knowing what he had deserued; he sent to MATERNVS who was the greatest and most priuate friend that he had, whom he left gouernour of *Rome*, commaunding him secretly to assemble all the best Astrologers that he could get, and demaund of them what death he should die; and procure them to giue their opinions, whether that any conspired or practized his death or no. MATERNVS did that which the Emperour commaunded in the foote of his letter, and with great haste answered him (either faining it, or being so aduertised by the Astrologers) that MACRINVS which was his Prefect, and with him in *Mesopotamia*, went about to kill him, and that therefore he should in any case presently dispatch him out of the way; for so did the Astrologers aduise him. Which letter he sent sealed, and made it vp amongst other letters, to be the more secretly conueyed. The whole packet was giuing to the Emperour as he was going into his chariot, to runne for a wager with other chariots; which was a kinde of sport, wherein he tooke much pleasure, and was greatly vsed in those daies. And he for that he would not giue ouer that which hee had pretended, gaue his letters to the said MACRINVS to reade, and afterwards to make relation to him of the contents thereof. MACRINVS reading all these letters, met with that wherein BASSIANVS was counselled to put him to death, whereat he was much astonished, and concealing that letter, made relation to the Emperour of the contents of all the rest. And considering with himselfe that he which wrote that letter would doublelesse write another, and that at length he should surely die; he resolved first to dispatch the Emperour out of the way: and ruminating vpon the matter, he bethought himselfe of a lustie strong fellow, a Centurion of the Emperours guard, called MARTIALL, who being discontented, murmured against the Emperour and secretly hated him, for that he had caused a brother of his to be slaine, and he himselfe was ill entreated and disgraced. MACRINVS conceiuing this man to be fit for his purpose, after some other discourse told him, that seeing that he had oportunitie to kill the Emperour being euer neere vnto him, hauing charge of his person, hee ought to reuenge the death of his brother, and then flie to him: which with others of his faction would protect and defend him against al such as should

A monstrous  
fact.

T

seeke

The death of  
Bassianus Caracalla.

seeke to offend him. Some daies after that MACRINVS had laid this plot, it happened that the Emperour comming from a temple wherein hee had been neere to a citie called *Carrae*; and riding smally accompanied towards the citie, he withdrew himselfe out of the way behinde a bush, to doe such things as nature required; with one Page with him to hold his horse, the rest for manners sake being withdrawne: which when MARTIALL perceiued, being one of them, faining that the Emperour had called him vpon some necessarie occasion, he ranne hastily vnto him; and before that he was perceiued, stabbed him in behinde; whereof he presently fell downe dead. SPARCIANVS saith, that comming to helpe the Emperour to horse, he stabd him in with his poiniard, and that MARTIALL returning to take horse, from which he was alighted, he by litle and litle withdrew himselfe from the company: but the Page bringing newes of the Emperours death, he began to flie so fast as his horse could runne; but could not make such speede, but that he was ouertaken by the *Germane* horsemen of the Emperours garde: which presently killed him. The death of BASSIANVS being vnderstoode by those which accompanied him, there grew a great tumult among them, without knowing with whom to be angrie; for as then it was vnknewe by whose order hee was slaine, and comming to the dead body of the Emperour the first that came to his aide was MACRINVS, who weeping and lamenting, seemed to be very sorrowfull, and no man suspecting him or any other, all men imagining that MARTIALL had murdered BASSIANVS vpon passion; and for some priuate reuenge. And taking the Emperours dead body they burnt it, according to the custome then: and putting his ashes into a pottle, they sent them to his wife, and mother-in-law IVLIA, which was in *Antioche*, who being in despaire poisoned her selfe: and so they both had such ends as they deserved. BASSIANVS at the time of his death was fully three and fortie yeeres old, hauing raigned sixe yeeres Emperour. He left one sonne which was very yong, whose name was ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, which he had by his wife whose name was SEMIRA, as SPARCIANVS writeth, AVRELIVS VICTOR calleth her SEMEA, a very dishonest woman and his cosen Germane; which liued like a strumpet. ANTONINVS BASSIANVS was by his surname called CARACALLA, for a certaine kind of apparrell which he gaue to the people of *Rome*: he died in the yeere of our Lord 219.

## THE



# THE LIFE OF OPILIVS MACRINVS, ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND THE THREE AND TWENTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR.



## THE ARGVMENT.

**N**o Andentius hauing refused the Empire; for his excuse, alleadged his olde age to bee unfit for the troubles of so important a gouernment: but Macrinus without any such consideration accepted thereof, it being offered him by the souldiers, notwithstanding that hee was the author of the death of Caracalla. He tooke the Empire, made head against Artabanus King of Persia, who rose in armes against the Romanes in reueng of the iniuries done by Caracalla; and being come to a fight which continued two daies, in the end they came to an agreement: Artabanus vnderstanding of the opprobrious death of his enimie. But that fortune which had prepared a troublesome raigne for Macrinus, saw him no sooner out of one daunger, but it cast him into another farre greater, which was this; that Helioabalus a youth of fifteene yeeres old, being by the meanes of an old woman made Emperour, it behooued him to fight with him; and being ouertrowne, fled vnknewne through Asia the lesse, with intent to come to Rome; but being ouertaken by the souldiers which pursued him, in a citie wherein he fell sicke, he was slaine, together with his sonne Diadumenus; whom he had made his companion in the Empire: Hauing raigned onely fourteene monethes.

**B**ASSIANVS being dead, a councill was held in the armie concerning the election of a new Emperour: for there was little account made of his sonne ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS; aswell for that he was but a child, as also for that his mother led such a life, that it was doubted whether he

*Audentius refused the Empire.*

*Opilius Macrinus chosen Emperor.*

he were the sonne of **BASSIANVS** or no. In the army besides **MACRINVS** which was Pretorian Prefect, was **AVDENTIVS**, a man of good fort and of yeeres, very expert in the warres, and an excellent Captaine: of these two they were in great doubt, whether they should choose, and in this doubt they remained two daies, and in the end they determined to choose **AVDENTIVS**, who was a discreet old man, little regarded the Empire, and considering the perils and disorders, would not accept thereof, excusing himselfe by reason of his great age, alleaging, that he was not able to gouerne the Empire as it ought to be, a thing feldome seene that any man would refuse the Empire of the world. The men of warre perceiuing that **AVDENTIVS** would not accept of the Empire, presentlie made choise of **MACRINVS**, who was the author of the murder and death of **BASSIANVS**, and so was he chosen, and gladly accepted of their election. This **MACRINVS** was of a very base stock & parentage, and which with small deserts, and by way of fauour attained to the office of Pretorian Prefect. So soone as he was chosen Emperour, he made a notable flattering Oration to the army, and payed the souldiers, and distributed much money among them, thereby throughly to win their loue and good will, and addrested himselfe with all haste against **ARTABANVS** King of the Parthians, who came with great power against the Romanes, to be reuenged of the iniurie which **BASSIANVS** had done them, knowing nothing of his death. He also presentlie nominated and chose a sonne of his for his companion in the Empire, whose name was **DIADVMENVS**, whom he made to be called **ANTONINVS**, as well to take away the suspicion of the death of **ANTONINVS BASSIANVS**, as for that the name of **ANTONINVS** was very acceptable to the Romanes, in remembrance of the good Emperours **ANTONINVS PIVS**, and **MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS**: for all these Emperours did leaue their owne names, or together with them did take the name of **ANTONINVS**, vntill that for the abominable and execrable life of **ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS**, they left it, as we will presentlie declare. He also wrote long letters to the Senate and people of Rome, reciting the manner of his election, and desiring them to approue the same, with many solemn oathes that he was not guiltie of the death of **BASSIANVS**. The Senate being certified of the death of **BASSIANVS**, approued the election of **MACRINVS**, and the election and companie of his sonne in the Empire.

*A cruell battell betwene Macrinus and Artabanus.*

This new Emperour **MACRINVS**, and his sonne **DIADVMENVS** going against **ARTABANVS** and the Parthians, which came very strong both in footemen, in horsemen, and also brought many camels with them, and the two armies came to a most cruell battaile which lasted two daies together, wherein both the Romanes and the Parthians fought so valiantlie, that in both daies the darke night parted the fray, and either partie cried victorie, victorie, although that in truth there was none: for the slaughter and number of the dead and wounded was equall.

*Peace betwene Macrinus and Artabanus upon conditions.*

**MACRINVS** knowing what **ARTABANVS** came greatly enraged by reason of the iniurie done him by **BASSIANVS**, sent him Heraulds and Ambassadors, certifying him of the death of **BASSIANVS**: and moreover that if he desired the friendship of the Romanes, that he would graunt it. **ARTABANVS** being aduertised of the death of his enemy **BASSIANVS**, was very ioyfull of the newes: for vntill then he had no intelligence thereof, and was also glad of the peace offered him, which he accepted vpon condition that all such prisoners as were taken by **BASSIANVS** through treacherie in time of truce, should be restored, which was accordingly performed, and they concluded a peace; and the King of the Parthians returned

returned home to his country; and **MACRINVS** to *Antioch* in *Soria*. Where he gaue himselfe ouer to lust and sensuality, forgetting the gouernment of the Empire, delaying his going to Rome, whither by letters from thence he was dayly solicited to come; wherein he committed a very great error: for if he had left his army, and had gone to Rome, and there settled himselfe in the gouernment of the Empire, without all doubt both his raigne and life had lasted longer; but he taking no care of that which he ought to haue done, and which most concerned him, gaue himselfe in *Antioch* to pastimes, pleasures, and banketting: whereat the Romane souldiers began much to murmure, and to make little account of him, moued thereto through their desire to returne into their country. They also much abhorred him for that he did most cruellie punish them: for in those times loyalty was so out of vse, and men of warre had such libertie, were so audacious, and had taken such a custome to make Emperours, that they presentlie began to repine and murmure, yea and boldlie to speake ill of **MACRINVS**, and to wish his death, within a little more then one yeare after that they had giuen him the Empire, and within few dayes after plotted the same in this manner. In a citie of *Phenicia* called *Emesa*, was yong **ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS**, who had there a Grandmother, sister to **IULIA** wife of **SEPTIMVS SEVERVS**, which afterwards married with her sonne in law **BASSIANVS**, sonne of the same **SEVERVS**. This his Grandmother whose name was **MESA**, had there another nephew called **ALEXIANVS**, of whom more shall be said hereafter, and she also had in her companie **SIMIAMI**, mother of the said **ANTONINVS**, and another which was sister to **ALEXIANVS**.

*The causes of the death of Macrinus.*

This **MESA** was a very rich woman both in iewels and money: for she had been mother in lawe to two Emperours, the father and the sonne, and it is to be beleued that in their life time there were infinit bribes and gifts bestowed vpon her, and so she remained there after the death of **BASSIANVS** with her daughters and nephewes. These two cosins her nephewes, **MESA** made Priests in a most sumptuous Temple which she builded and consecrated to the Sunne, from whence it grew that this **ANTONINVS** was called **HELIOGABALVS**, which is as much to say, as a Priest of the Sunne: for the Phoenicians did call the Sun **HELIOGABALVS**, to which Temple for their vaine deuotions sake came many Romane souldiers of the legions which lay there in garrison, and many from **MACRINVS** his camp also; which this **MESA** Grandmother to these youths entertained very courteously, bestowing many gifts vpon them; and she shewing them her nephew **HELIOGABALVS**, vsed to tell them that this her nephew was sonne to their Emperour **BASSIANVS**, whom **MACRINVS** had slaine by treason. With these and such like effectually speeches, she brought the matter so to such passe, that what with the courtesie which she vsed towards them, and also for that the boy was a most fine child, they generally began to respect him, some by seeing him, and others by report of him; so as the whole armie loued him, and desired that he might be their Lord and Emperour. And to the contrarie, **MACRINVS** being generally hated of all men, some Coronels and Captaines moued by the gifts and large promises made by this **MESA** vnto them, the greatest part agreed that she should send **ANTONINVS** to their Camp, and then they would proclaim him Emperour. The good old woman which had bin vsed to Emperours courts, setting all other matters apart, tooke her nephew by the hand and went with him to the Camp, and he presentlie was receiued for Emperour, and they sware obedience vnto him (as writeth **HERODIANVS**.) But **IULIVS CAPITOLINVS** saith,

*The policie of Mesa to make Helioabalus Emperour.*

*Helioabalus made Emperour.*

saith, that certaine of MACRINVS his legions being in a mutinie came to seeke HELIOGABALVS. But howsoeuer, as both the one and the other might be, HELIOGABALVS accepted of the Empire, being but fifteene yeeres old: and the matter being published abroad, the newes thereof caused great alteration in mens minds, and all men began to affect him, for that he was both sonne and nephew to Emperours, and for the names sake of ANTONINVS, which they held for blessed and sacred. MACRINVS presently vnderstood these newes in *Antioch*, where hee then was, and made lesse account thereof then he ought to haue done, iesting at HELIOGABALVS, for that he was but a childe, and at his mother and grandmother, deeming it sufficient to send a Captaine of his whose name was IULIANVS; with certaine legions to besiege, and so to ruinate him: which (as it was thought) hee might easily haue accomplished, if hee had himselfe gone presently thither in person. When IULIANVS with his troupes came, HELIOGABALVS forces were not of sufficient power to giue him bataille; but being in their camp, which was well fortified and victualled, they suffered themselves to be besieged: but souldiers of the one side conferring with those of the other; and those of the Campe shewing young HELIOGABALVS to IULIANVS his souldiers, putting them in minde of his father, perswaded them to follow him. Whereof it ensued, that they not onely did so, but apprehending their Captaine IULIANVS, smote off his head, and went ouer to HELIOGABALVS; and the one and the other made such an armie, that MACRINVS determined, with his whole power to come and make head against HELIOGABALVS: and doing so, they ioynd battell in the confines of *Syria* and *Phenicia*; wherein conscience and feare made HELIOGABALVS souldiers to fight valiantly; and of MACRINVS side only the Pretorian souldiers fought well, but all the rest of his armie fought retchlessly, and great part thereof abandoning him went ouer to HELIOGABALVS: wherefore he accounting himselfe lost and forlorne, fled from the bataille; and so HELIOGABALVS had the victorie. MACRINVS and his sonne, with certaine of their friends which would not forsake him, traualled with the greatest speed that they could make, secretly, through the cities of *Asia* the lesse, and came into *Bithynia*, with determination to get to *Rome*; where MACRINVS knew that his coming was much desired. But falling grievously sick in the city of *Chalcedonia*, those which HELIOGABALVS sent to pursue him, found him there; and bringing letters and commaundement to the citie, through the fame of HELIOGABALVS his victorie they were obeyed; and MACRINVS lying sicke, voide of all fauour and friendship, together with his sonne, was there put to death, within one yeere and two moneths after that hee was chosen Emperour. And being dead, all men fixed their eyes and thought vpon HELIOGABALVS.

Surely it is a wonderfull and pitifull matter to consider of the infelicitie and miserie of those times, to see how many Emperours were murdered, and how wicked and vitious the most part of them were, and how small time they reigned; and that which maketh me most to wonder, is to thinke how lightly they were slaine, notwithstanding that they were Lords of the whole world. And how easie a matter it was for a Captaine, hauing the fauour and friendship of fise or fixe Legions, to make himselfe to be obeyed. So as it seemeth that he which first had intelligence of the Emperours death, and was any thing friended, and therewith durst to aduenture, was commonly chosen for his successor, as wee said of IULIANVS: And that which is worse, that he which murdered the last Emperour commonly became his heire; as wee see in MACRINVS and others. And touching him, of whom

*Iulianus a captaine sent by Macrinus slaine by his owne souldiers.*

*A bataille where Helio-gabalus had the victorie, and Macrinus fled.*

*Macrinus falling sicke in Chalcedonia, being overtaken by such as Helio-gabalus sent after him, was by them slaine.*

whom wee now discourse, one feeble old woman, and a childe of fourteene or fifteene yeeres old were sufficient to ouerthrow and ruinate him, being an ancient, wise and mightie Emperour, and to bereaue him both of his life and Empire, and quietly and in peace to enioy the same (if the contentment and rule of the wicked may be called peace and quietnes;) whereby it appeareth more cleere then the light, how variable and inconstant all things are in this world; and that there is no other firme and stable dominion or kingdome, but in the seruice of God: whereof the faithfull Christians in those daies had especial care, and sought no worldly dominion, Magistracies, nor Empire, but to liue holie and vprightly: and so contemning the world, attained the euerlasting kingdome of heauen. And these vnhappy Infidels forbare not to commit and execute any crueltie or treason whatsoeuer, so as they might thereby get the supreme gouernment and commaund, although it were but for three daies. And God for their sinnes permitted (for the example of others) that by the same meanes whereby they obtained it, by the selfe same they commonly lost it; being either put to death by the sword, or else by treason, as they had done by others. And that which is worst of all, together with their bodies, they lost their miserable soules; in such sort, as is said, it happened to the Emperour MACRINVS, who died in the yeere of our Lord two hundred and twentie.

## THE LIFE OF HELIOGABALVS, ONLY OF THAT

NAME, FIFT OF THOSE WHICH  
were called ANTONINI, and foure and  
twentieth Emperour of *Rome*.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**H**ellogabalus being a Priest of the Sunne, attaining to the Empire of *Rome*, so soon as he had taken the Imperiall dignitie became so wicked, that in filthines he farre surpassed all his predecessors.

decessors. He was most dishonest in his life, more then befited a lasciuious and intemperate man, and was so addicted to women, that he graunted them to bold a Senate by themselves. When he was nere to the sea, he would eate no meates but such as were bred farre within the land: and when he was farre from it, he would eate nothing but sea-fish; neither would he eate of any thing that was not of an excessiue price. He was inclined to no kind of vertue, neither regarded any but parasites, ruffians, bawds, and such like persons, and all his actions were so abominable, and his riotousnes so great, that to write the same, were to amasse an heape of villanie. He made one which was his cousin germaine, Caesar, a very honest and vertuous young man, whose name was Alexianus. He was slaine by his souldiers, who for that they could not cast him into a most filthy ditch, trailed him through the citie, and threw him into the riuer Tiber, he hauing held the Empire for a certaine time, the truth whereof is incertaine; writers doe so much differ therein. And had such a death as his most filthy life had deserued.



**M**ACRINVS, dying as he deserued, ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, without any contradiction, was made Emperour: who in truth proued to be such, that in histories there ought no memoriall to be held of him, nor mention to be made of his life; to the end that if it were possible, no man should know that such a monster as he was, had euer attained to the maiestie of the Romane Empire, if wee had not already written the liues of CALIGULA, NERO, VITELLIVS, COMMODVS, and such others. But as one ground commonly produceth vnholosome hearbes full of poison, and which kill; and likewise good and holosome, which heale, and also feedeth both sheepe and serpents: so in our historie in recompence of these wicked Princes, we will oppose OCTAVIAN, VESPASIAN, TITVS, TRAIANE, ADRIAN, ANTONINVS PIVS, MARCVS AVRELIVS, and in part SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, which were singular Emperours, and gouerned the Empire with such wisdome and equitie as was requisite. And so the vices of the one are to be manifested, as well as the vertues of the other, to the end, that if any Princes of our time shall reade their liues, hee may see how abominable and detestable their doings were: and so eschewing the euill, and making choise of the good, may follow the same: and may consider how little a while those cruell vicious Emperours raigned, and what shamefull and vnluckie ends they made: and how that the good liued and gouerned longer time, and ended their daies in peace and quiet, dying of their naturall death, except some, which were murdered by traitors, to vsurpe the Empire.

But comming to HELIOGABALVS, after that he had obtained the victory, and that MACRINVS was slaine, & he chosen for Emperor, he wrote the most louing and kind letters to Rome that could be imagined: but the Senate and people of Rome did hardly digest the newes, for they would rather haue had MACRINVS: but daring to doe nothing to the contrarie, they yeilded obedience to HELIOGABALVS; of whom they presently conceiued a good hope, for that which they heard of his gallant feature, and of the good constitution of his bodie, and for the names sake of ANTONINVS, which in Rome was exceedingly much beloued and respected. In the beginning of his raigne (by reason of his small age) all things were ordered by the counsell and direction of his grandmother MESA, and her fauourits; who taking order for all matters in the East, determined to come speedily to Rome with the young Emperour, which she put in execution: but was driuen to stay longer then she purposed, by reason of the winter which was very tempestuous: wherefore she wintred in Bithynia, where hee began to discouer his wicked inclination, giuing himselfe to most odible luxurie, and apparelling him-

Mesa grand-mother and gouernesse of Helio-gabalus.

selfe in such attire as was farre vnfit for an Emperour, and feeding on most delicious fare, gaue himselfe ouer to all sensuality: which faults his prudent old grandmother endeouored by speech and good admonishment to reforme and amend: but the nothing profited therein. Being come to Rome, he was most solemnly receiued, where he spent the whole time of his raigne in such manner, that we haue nothing else to write of this Emperour, but of his abominable vices; which were such, that I neither can nor will describe them for the filthines thereof. The first thing that he tooke in hand after his comming to Rome, was to build a Temple to his god the Sunne, or HELIOGABALVS, whose Priest he had bin in Phancia; he would also hold that for a Temple, and therein should vse their ceremonies, make their prayers and doe their deuotion. But it pleased not God to permit that the Sunne being a creature, should, in Temples and worship, be made equall to the Creator. He shewed himselfe so effeminate and so addicted to the feminine sex, that the first time that he went to the Senate, he carried his mother SYMMIAMI with him, and tooke order that her opinion should be demanded in all causes; and that from thencefoorth she should be present when any matters of importance were determined: a thing neuer seenie that any woman vntill then, had any voice in the Senate of Rome. After this he made a Chapter-house or Senate apart, where women should meete and consult of, what apparell and attire the Romane Matrones should weare: And proceeding to a farre more shamefull practise, hee commaunded certaine Stewes to be made in his Palaces of common women, for his friends and his fauourits. And delighting himselfe so much in the companie of such, he commaunded vpon a day all the women that could bee found of that name and life, to be assembled together; and he clad in womans attire came into the place where they were, and made a very set and studied oration vnto them, calling them *Commilitones*, a word vsed by Captains to their souldiers when they would doe them honour; by calling them their fellowes and companions in armes. And the matters which therein were treated of, were inuentions and meanes how to vse their filthines and abomination: and thither he brought with him, ruffians and bawdes, which were his brokers in those detestable actions and meetings. In truth this HELIOGABALVS was so detestable in all manner of vices, that it cannot be sufficiently expressed. He was so great a spender and so prodigall in his attire, and in the furniture of his house, in his fare and diet, and his other follies, that that which is written of him seemeth incredible. HERODIANVS and ÆLIVS LAMPRIDIVS write his life, wherein they recount most strange matters, besides what other authors report of him. All his studie and care was, to deuise how hee might spend excessiue, and to finde out such dainties and delicacies, as neuer had been thought of. Hee neuer sate but amongst sweete smelling flowers, mixed with Amber, Muske, and other most exquisite sweete odours; neither would he eate any thing that should not be of an excessiue price, and sought meanes to make all those things which he did eate to be most costly; and vsed to say, that that meate had no taste, which was not deare bought. He attired himself in cloath of gold and purple, set with pearles and most precious stones: and euen in his shooes he wore stones of inestimable value. The chamber wherein he lay and all his palace, was furnished with cloath of gold, of siluer, and of filke; and his beds were of cloath of gold, of siluer, and of filke, couered with Roses and sweete flowers; among which were strawed many iewels and pearles: And all the way whereupon hee should set his feete, betweene his chamber and the place where

Helio-gabalus built a temple in Rome, and dedicated the same to the Sunne.

A Senate of women made in Rome by Helio-gabalus.

The prodigality of Helio-gabalus.

he tooke horse or coach, when he would ride abroad, he made to be couered with the powder of gold and siluer: for hee disdained to tread vpon the earth, as other men did. All his tables, chefts, chaires, and vessels of seruice for his chamber, euen to the basest offices, as close stooles, chamber-pots, and such like, were all of fine gold. He made no account of wax light, but had in his hall and chambers great lampes, which in steed of oile burned most excellent Balsame, brought from *India* and *Arabia*: and euen his very vrnals were made of Onyx and other most precious stones. His expences were so infinite and so excessiue, that no Kings reuenues in the world were sufficient to defray the charge thereof, but his onely: for he did eate and deuoure all the reuenues and rents of *Spaine, France, Africa, part of Germanie, Italie, England, Sicilia, Gracia, Asia, Syria, Egypt, Arabia*, and of all the Ilands and prouinces of the world; and yet all this was not sufficient but that he endured want, by reason of his prodigious expences: for hee neuer ware any one sute of apparell twice, being such as wee haue said. His fingers were euer full of rings, and those which he had once put off, he neuer ware any more: and so in plate of gold or siluer, he would neuer drinke twice of one cup, which hee gaue to him that serued and attended on him that day. And the very Bathes wherein hee did vse to bathe himselfe, must be new builded and furnished with perfumes, and most precious odours; and after once bathing they were to be throwne downe: so as they builded new Bathes continually. His mattresses and beds were neither of wooll, flax, nor feathers; but of the fine flaxe of Hares, and of the downe growing vnder the wings of Partridges. He made certaine feasts in *Rome*, which were the greatest and most costly that euer were made: and hee made to the citizens and to the souldiers a dole and distribution of money and corne, to an indicible value. After the feasts and sacrifices were ended, he gaue to the people (as *HERODIANVS* reporteth) a great abundance of plate, of gold, siluer, and other iewels; which truly was the cause why they endured this detestable man the small time that he liued in the Empire: for the desire of those gifts and benefits which they enioyed by him, as also for that his grandmother, being a most wise and discrete woman, sought by all meanes to reforme his voluptuous sensualitie and rioting, and to procure a good order in the gouernment. But there were great oppressions in the prouinces; and the barbarous nations inuaded the frontiers of the Empire. For he gaue all offices and places of charge vnto wicked men, which did accompanie him in his abominations, and by their counsell hee was gouerned: for depriuing all good and vertuous men from all charge, he sent them into exile. Among which his fauourites, one whose name was *ZOTICVS* was so priuate, and in such fauour with him, that hee was held as a Lord ouer all the rest. This mans counsell was as a law vnto him, and by his direction all offices and Magistracies were sold; and he made Consuls such as were the sonnes of slaues and men of most base condition. The like order he obserued in the chusing of Captaines and Lieutenants, giuing those charges vnto base and simple men: for which and his other vices, notwithstanding that they made benefit of his prodigalitie, yet both the people and souldiers began to wish his death, so as he was oftentimes in great daunger thereof. Which when his mother and grandmother perceiued, they perswaded him to adopt his cosin germane *ALEXIANVS*, and to make him his companion in the Empire, who was the son of *MAMEA* his mothers sister, which he performed accordingly, and *ALEXIANVS* was called *ALEXANDER SEVERVS*; *ALEXANDER* after the name of the great *ALEXANDER K. of Macedonia*; and *SEVERVS* after *SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS*, grandfather to *HELIOGABALVS*.

This

*Zoticus a fauourite of Helio- gabalus.*

*Alexander Seuerus chosen by Helio- gabalus for his companion in the Empire.*

This young man was so well inclined, and so well bred vp, that while as his consented a wicked and dishonest life; he spent his time in learning, conuersing with learned men, and such as were good and honest, and exercising himselfe in armes and in such other practises, as were fit for a Knight and a vertuous gentleman, and sought excellent maisters to instruct him in all those faculties. Wherefore all men conceiuing good hope of him, began to loue and affect him; and the hatred which they bare against *HELIOGABALVS* daily encreased. Which he perceiuing sought meanes to kill *ALEXIANVS*, or at the least to bereaue him of the name of *CESAR*, and his successor: But he could not bring it to passe by reason of the diligence vsed by his grandmother in protecting him: and also for that the men of warre deereley loued him; but vpon a time they would haue slaine *HELIOGABALVS* for that cause, as he was walking in a garden, where he escaped, by hiding himselfe in a corner, so as he was not seene; and through the entreatie of *ANTIOCHIANVS* who was his Pretorian Prefect, the souldiers returned to their campe, where remaining in a tumult and mutining, they highly threatned him; and vpon composition, they required that *HELIOGABALVS* should put from about him, certaine vicious and wicked persons which were very priuate with him, and which sold and gaue offices for bribes; and in such manner dispatched the busines which men had with the Emperour. They also required that certaine of their companies might haue the particular guard of *ALEXANDER SEVERVS*, to the end that *HELIOGABALVS* should not kill him; and that his fauorites and familiars should not conuerse with him, for corrupting him with their euill conditions: all which demands were presently put in execution. But after that the furie of the Cohorts was pacified, *HELIOGABALVS* returned to his former abominable vices, gluttonies, and incredible expences. First when he went forth of *Rome* (as sometimes, hee did) he had with him sixe hundred chariots and horselitters, the principall lading whereof was most dishonest yong boies and wenches, with bawdes and their interpreters, and all was little enough, considering his insatiable beastlines: for as he was most luxurious, so did he account it for a greatnes, to haue the companie of one woman but once; except her to whom he was married, and that one he neither loued nor regarded. For as *HERODIANVS* reporteth, he first married a Romane ladie of a noble house, to whom he gaue the name of *AVGVSTA*, and other titles; and within a while after he forsooke her and depriued her both of her name and honour: and married himselfe to a Vestall virgin; which in the vanitie of the Gentiles was held for a matter so religious, that she which had carnall knowledge of a man, was buried alieue. And so he also left her and tooke another; behauing himselfe as a most beastly barbarous man. And amongst other matters, he did one thing which the diuell himselfe would neuer haue imagined, which was, that he commaunded that all busineses to be done by day, should be dispatched by night; and that all such things as were to be done by night, should be done by day; and so he arose from his bed at the sunne setting, and was then saluted as other Emperours were in the morning: and he laid him to sleepe about day breaking, so as it seemed that the world went backwards. All his studie was to finde meanes to spend excessiue, in his diet, and in all other things. That supper which was of least price did commonly cost thirte pound waight of gold, which after our computation, might amount to the value of about a thousand pounds sterling; and there were some which did cost threescore thousand crownes. And sometimes he promised to giue his guests a Phenix to eate, whereof (they say) there is but one

*Helio- gabalus his progresse.*

*Helio- gabalus his mines.*

*Helio- gabalus turned the day into night, and the night into day.*

*Helio- gabalus his diet.*

one in the world, or else he would giue them a great quantitie of gold for it: which he afterwards performed. When he was nere to the sea, he would neuer eate any fish, but land fowle, and other flesh which should be brought from farre. And when he was farre from the sea, he would eate nothing but fish, which by Posts was brought fresh and aliue, to the end that it should be deere and costly. And for the same reason he would eate such things as were neuer thought of, and had a great quantitie of euery thing: as of the combes of Cockes, the tongues of Pecoockes and of Nightingales. To all his whole court (which was without number) he made ordinarily to be giuen to eate, certaine great beasts, stuffed or forced with puddings, made of the liuers and lights of Peacockes, of small birds braines, Partridges egges, Parrots, and Pheasants heads. He also kept certaine dogs and hounds, which did eate nothing but the soules of Geese: and his Lions (which were many) were fed with Pheasants and other costly birds, for this was all his studie. Truly who so shall well consider of this mans expences, may coniecture what these things aforesaid might cost; and how hard they were to be gotten. He also spent infinit summes of money in keeping in Rome, some of all kinds of the most fierce wild beasts in the world, which were brought from straunge farre countries, as Lions, Panthers, Ounces, Tigres, Hippotames, Crocodiles and many other such like. And if hee were by the sea side, hee accounted it a speciall greatnes of minde to sinke such shipping, as he should finde there laden with merchandise, paying afterwards the worth of both shippe and goods. And being vpon a time reproued thereof by a friend, who asked him what he ment to wast and consume so much; warning him to take heede that he stood not in neede thereof hereafter, whereto he answered saying, what better thing can there be, then, for a man to be heire to himselfe? And said moreover, that he desired not to haue any childre, for that they peraduenture through desire to rule would conspire against him. Finally, the vices and filthie conditions of this wicked Emperour were such; that in that kinde, none either before or after him was to be compared with him: wherefore I will not spend any longer time in so bad a subiect; for the rest of his doings were so filthie and abominable, that they neither may well be written, neither ought to be published; and so could not long be endured: neither were the meanes vsed by his grandmother MESA sufficient to protect him; nor to asswage the wrath and rage of the people, conceiued against him. Hauing (according to HERODIANVS) raigned fixe yeeres: yet AVRELIVS VICTOR, and EVTROPIVS saith, that he raigned but two yeeres and eight monthes, the Pretorian souldiers conspired against him. And as AELIVS LAMPRIDIUS reporteth, they came one day armed from their lodging and campe, and after that they had slaine the most part of his seruants, and such as were his companions in his beastly actions, they killed him in this manner. First they haled him out of a priuie, wherein he (flying from them) had hidden himselfe; and then drawing him from thence, they threw him into a most filthie sincke: from whence (for that therein was not roome enough for him) they traile him like a dogge through the principall places of Rome, and threw him into the riuer Tiber, and tied great stones and waights about him, to the end that his body should neuer be found againe, and so want buriall. All this was done to the good liking and contentment of the people; and the Senate also approoued the same, and commaunded that hee should no more be called ANTONINVS; and that in derelation of him, no other Emperour should euer afterwards be called by that name; and that he should be

The vituperable death of Helio-  
gabalus.

be called TIBERINVS, according to the manner of his death. HERODIANVS writeth, that he was put to death in the Campe out of Rome, whither hee went with his cosen ALEXANDER SEVERVS: and that they killed his mother also, which went thither with them. Wheresoeuer it was, it was in this manner, and he died according to his deserts, and conformable to the life which he had led: for it is the will of God, that wicked princes make euill ends. For being by his diuine prouidence made lords to gouerne and giue good example to their people, to minister iustice and equitie, and to correct and punish the wicked and malefactors, these by their owne euill example hurt and corrupt others; and protect and support the wicked. Let Kings and great Lords and Princes know, that as they haue greater power then others, so haue they lesser libertie to sinne and commit wickednes; and so God inflicteth greater shame and punishment vpon them, then vpon other men. HELIOGABALVS after the opinion of HERODIANVS, died at the age of twentie yeeres: for he saith that he raigned fixe yeeres; and all agree that at the age of fourteene yeeres, he came to the Empire. AVRELIVS VICTOR saith, that he died in the seuenteenth yeere of his age, and is of opinion that he raigned not fully three yeeres, which (according to EVSEBIUS) was in the yeere of our Lord 224. whereby it appeareth that this Emperour raigned not aboute foure yeeres, and so the same EVSEBIUS affirmeth in his ecclesiasticall Historie. *Ann. dom. 224.*

## THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER SEVERVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, SECOND OF THE SEVERI, AND FIVE AND TWENTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.



THE ARGVMENT.

After the death of Helio-  
gabalus his cosen Alexander Severus took the Empire, under whom  
it seemed that the Romane common-wealth had a breathing: for he retaining in the imperiall  
dignitie,

dignitie, those good conditions which before he seemed to haue, would that all causes should be ordered and governed by wise and learned men. He was very severe to Iudges, sharply punishing those which for bribes or other meanes had swarued from the right line of reason and equitie. In the warres he was most fortunate, as a man which governed with wisdom, and returned to Rome triumphing from the East, to the great contentment of the Roman people. He was no enemy to the Christians, but gave libertie to such as would, to become Christian, setting up the image of Christ in his Temples, and was of the mind to haue erected a particular Temple to his name, but was deterred by his Priests. Finally, the German soldiers unable to indure the severitie of his militarie discipline, slew him, together with his mother Mammaea, instigated thereto by one Maximinus. His death was much deplored in Rome; for it was hoped, that seeing that in his youth he governed so well, he would do much better when he should come to riper yeeres.



After the darke cloudes of the forepassed miseries and sorrowes which miserable Rome had indured, it pleased God to graunt light, ioy, and contentment: for when this accursed HELIOGABALVS was dead, by the common consent of the Senate, and of the Roman people, and of all the men of warre, his cosen german ALEXANDER SEVERVS aforenamed, was sworne and obeyed for Emperour, who was the sonne of HELIOGABALVS mothers sister called MAMMEA; and his fathers name was VARIUS, borne in Syria, in a citie called Auresa. He came to the Empire being of the age of 16. yeeres, and gouerned the same little more then 13. yeeres, with such wisdom and goodnes, that he is accounted for one of the best Emperours that euer hath bin in the world: where-to was a great help the discretion and wise counsell of his mother, who was a singular good and wise woman, vnto whom her sonne was most obedient. AELIVS LAMPRIIVS, and HERODIANVS report so many excellencies of this Emperour, that of necessitie I must needs make some little stay, as in a pleasing place. First, he was much affected to literature, and hauing excellent and singular men for his maisters and tutors, he was very skilfull in all the liberall sciences, and was excellent in euery thing: for he was a good Mathematician, and did perfectly vnderstand the rules of Geometric. He was much delighted with Musick, and could paint and carue very well; and also had good skill in Song, but he neuer sung except in secret, in the hearing of some of his chamber. He was a very good Poet, and wrote some works in verse, and could play on the viols, the organes, and the flute, more then indifferent well, but after that he was Emperour no man euer saw him do it. Vnspeakable was the ioy which was made in Rome vpon the day of his election, and comming to the Empire; and infinite were the blessings which by the Senat & people of Rome were powred vpo him that day. Beginning his raigne with the loue and good will of all men, he gouerned the same with such discretion, as made him to seeme rather a wise old man then a youth; and by the aduise and counsell of his wise mother, he chose the wisest, best, and most experienced men that could be found for his counsellors: and he neither did, nor decreed any thing without their opinion and aduise; notwithstanding that of himselfe he was of singular iudgement, and so wise, that no man could deceiue him. Principallie he had euer neere vnto him DOMITIUS ULPIANVS a most wise and excellent Lawyer, a man of a good and holie life, by whose counsell he did chiefly dispose of all matters in his gouernment: although that at that time there met to be of his counsell FABIVS SABINVS a iust and vpright man, who was called the CATO of his time; and with these POMPONIVS and ALEPHENVS, AFRICANVS, VENULEIVS, MODESTINVS, IVLIVS PAVLVS, MECIA-

NVS,

Mammaea was  
Severus his  
mother.

Wise and  
learned men  
Alexander  
Severus his  
counsellors.

NVS, CELSVS, PROCVLVS, MARTIANVS, CALISTRATVS FLORENTINVS, all noble, vertuous and most learned men in the lawes, and which had bin scholars of the great PAPINIANVS, vnto which he conioined other most noble men both in bloud and life, as was his kinsman CATILIVS SEVERVS, CAIVS MARCELLVS, AELIVS SERENIANVS, which were good and vpright men, and others, which he found out to the end, that he might in all things follow their directions and aduise as he euer did, by reason whereof his gouernment was pre-fendie highlie extolled and praised, and there was a sodaine alteration and amendment in all things: for in the time of HELIOGABALVS, and of his father BASSIANVS many abuses & disorders were committed and permitted. Wherefore the first thing that ALEXANDER SEVERVS did, was to reforme all the estates, offices, and magistracies in his owne house, and imperiall pallace, displacing and discharging all those vicious and dishonest persons which HELIOGABALVS had established therein; and would not admit any man to his seruice, or to any office in his house, that was not an honest man, and of good fame and behauiour. The like he did by all the Iudges which HELIOGABALVS had made; and also in the Senate and in the order of Knighthood, he restored to their offices and dignities those which vniustlie had been deprivied thereof. He obserued so good a rule and order in his gouernment, that all matters of iustice were to be determined by men learned in the lawes: and matters concerning the warres were handled by wise men, and such as had experience therein; and by such wise old men as were well read in antiquities, and in auncient histories. Finally, he neuer gaue any charge to any man either for fauour or reward, but for desert and sufficiencie only, being thereto chosen by him and the Senate. He held another custome which in my opinion was very profitable; that when he purposed to send to any citie or prouince any new gouernour, he gaue them to vnderstand thereof, making his name knowne to them before hand, to the end that if any man could alledge any cause against him, why he ought not to be preferred, another might be provided: but the allegation must be iust and true, otherwise they were grievously punished which did falsely slander or defame him. This custome he said, he learned of the Christians of that time, which chose their Priests and Bishops by voices, for their vertues and excellencies sake, and in no case he would permit nor dissemble that any office of iustice of what kind soeuer it were, should be bought or sold; and made diligent enquirie thereof, and did rigorously punish the offenders: for said he, who buieth his office, must sell iustice: and I cannot endure Merchants of charges and offices: for if I tolerate them, I cannot afterward condemne their doings; for I shall be ashamed to punish him that bought, seeing that I permitted him to buy. Besides all this, he was a most severe punisher of such Iudges as tooke bribes, and vsed to say, that he alwayes had his finger in a readines to pull out that Iudges eyes which was partiall, or a receiuer of bribes and rewards. And he was herein so extreme, that amongst other Senators once comming to him to do him reuerence which had been accused thereof, he cryed out aloud, and said, that ARABINVS (for so was his name) did not only liue, but did also hold him for fencelesse, and of no worth, seeing that he did dare to presume to appeare in his presence: and so they write of him, that he seeing an vniust corrupt Iudge, was so troubled therewith, and choler did so much abound and overcome him, that it made him to vomit. To the contrarie, he did greatly honor those Gouernours and Iudges which were good, and when he passed through their prouinces, he tooke them into his litter or chariot with him, and bestowed

Alexander  
first reformed  
his owne house.

The sayings  
of Alexander.

V 2

bestowed many fauours and rewards vpon them, and throughlie to vnderstand the truth concerning these men, he vsed singular diligence and care, the manner whereof was this: He had certaine secret and vnkowne chosen honest men, which diligentlie looked into the dealings of Magistrates, and sought to know the truth of all that passed in all places and prouinces in the Empire. Which care, I would to God that the Princes of our time had: for besides that iustice should then be duly executed, they should know the good from the bad; and then they should also know of many iniuries done in secret, which for feare are concealed by those which endure them; so as the truth neuer commeth to light, and the errors and abuses are seldome punished. SEVERVS would also that good Iudges, Gouvernors and Magistrates should remaine long in their offices and charges, and did vse to say, that it was not a sufficient punishment to depriue an euill Gouvernor of his charge, but to giue him most seuer punishment, yea euen so far forth as to bereaue him of life. When he sent any one to succede in the place where had bin a good Iudge, he sent to him to giue him thanks in the name and behalfe of the whole commonwealth, and bestowed rewards vpon him, as possessions, herds of cattell, and corne, with many other things. As for money he gaue but little; for this Prince although he was very liberall, yet was he nothing prodigall; and the gifts which he gaue were for the most part such goods as fell to him by confiscation, and by order of law and iustice, and such things as became void by some mens death, which died without issue and heires, and so fell to him. Buof his money he was euer very sparing: for he vsed to say, that the publike rents and reuenues ought not to be spent, but in publike buildings, in the warres, and in publike matters, and not vpo the Princes fauorits & familiars: and so both within & without Rome he builded most sumptuous & proud edifices of Palaces, Bathes, Theatres, courts of Audience, and many other. He also diminished the ordinarie charges of his house, and reduced it to a conuenient order, abolishing the superfluous expences of his predecessors. He apparelled himselfe decentlie, but not costlie, and neuer ware any precious stones or iewels, neither would he haue any in his chamber, holding it for a vanitie, that a thing of so small a quantitie should be of so great a price. His diet was ordinarie, neither delicious nor costlie. He was a great feeder, for he had a good and a strong stomach, not that he tooke any delight therein. In drinking he was very temperate, and neuer exceeded mediocritie. And although he were very carefull in his publick rents, and the incomings of his Exchequer, yet he neuer increased the same, neither inuented any new impositions, but rather mitigated and limited those which HELIOGABALVS had imposed: so as in his time the third part of the tribute was not paid, as was in the time of his predecessors. He also reformed the coines of gold and siluer, and the course thereof; so as although it cannot be denied, but that he was most carefull in augmenting his treasure, and in preserving the same, yet he cannot be charged to haue wronged or endamaged any man. He punished all offences ordinarily, but without crueltie: and aboue all he was most seuer against theues, vpon whom he had no mercie, but was very liberall to such as he knew to be poore, to the end, they should haue no occasion to steale, or to couet other mens goods. In all other actions he was very mercifull, and shewed great clemencie, in such fort that in his time there was not any Senator put to death, neither any other man, but that his accusation was throughlie heard, and his offence sufficientlie proued. He neuer gaue any office or charge of gouernment for fauour, or in reward of seruice done him, but for desert, and vsed to say, that offices and

*Alexander  
liberall, but  
not prodigall.*

and places of charge, were not to be giuen to those which sought or procured to haue them, but to those which refused them. He neuer chose any Senatour, but by the voice and consent of all the whole Senate: much lesse he made any man a Knight that was the sonne of a bondman, or of base condition; as other Emperours had done. Besides all this, he was so affable and so gentle in condition, that he admitted any man into his presence, and heard him gladly. He louinglie visited the principall men in time of their sicknes, and permitted any man to informe him in person of his affaires; and hauing heard and vnderstood the demaunds to be reasonable, he perfourmed their requests: if otherwise, he debated the matter with them, and made them to see their error. Being sometimes reprobued by his mother and his wife, which was the daughter of SVLPITIVS (a man worthie to haue bin, or else had bin Consul) alleaging that he being so priuate and familiar, made his raigne of lesse authoritie and reputation: whereto he answered, that it was true, but yet, that it was thereby the more firme and durable. Among all his vertues, he had one which did excell, whereby it is to be beleueed, that although that he were an infidel, yet God gaue him the grace to gouerne well, which was, that he permitted all those which would be Christians to be so: so that in all his time there was no persecution, neither were the Christians grieved, and in his temples he had the image and picture of CHRIST, and of ABRAHAM: but as a blind man without knowledge, he accounted him amongst his other gods, and would haue adored and acknowledged CHRIST for a God, and haue builded him a temple apart, if he had not bin dissuaded by his Priests. Notwithstanding all these good conditions wherewith this Prince was adorned, the people did not forbear to murmur against him, complaining that he was too much ruled by his mother, who was reported to be a most couetous woman, although that in all other matters she was held for excellentlie wife, and very honest and vertuous. ALEXANDER holding so good a forme and rule of gouernment in time of peace, failed not to do the like in time of warre, and in the exercise of militarie discipline, so as in the warres which arose, he throughlie performed the office and dutie of a good and most valiant Captaine, especiallie in those which were most dangerous, as in brieft I will declare, particularlie in those which he had against the Persians, wherein he obtained most noble victories: and although that HERODIANVS writeth otherwise, yet in this place he is not to be beleueed, for all other writers affirme the contrarie. And this his notable victorie against ARTAXERXES the mightie King of the Persians is recited by AELIVS LAMPRIDIVS, EVTROIPIVS, SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR, EVSEBIVS, PAVLVS OROSIVS, and other auncient authors: so as HERODIANVS only writeth this warre after another manner to the dishonor of ALEXANDER, being deceived by false information or report, or otherwise of malice, or vpon some particular occasion.

*Alexander  
held the image  
of Christ and  
of Abraham  
in his temples.*

To the end that the reader may the better vnderstand this warre which ALEXANDER had with the Persians, it shall be requisite that he call to memorie, that in the old time wherein the most mightie King CYRUS passed the Monarchie from the Medes to the Persians, ouercomming King ASTYAGES; this their Monarchie and dominion lasted two hundred and odde yeeres, and they grew extremely rich and mightie, more then I am able to expresse; vntill that in the time of DARIVS, who gouerned infinite Nations and prouinces, ALEXANDER the Great arose against him and entred Asia, and comming to a battaile with him, DARIVS was ouerthrowne and died, and ALEXANDER made himselfe Lord of

*The originall  
succession and  
continuance of  
the kingdom  
and monarchie  
of the Persians.*

*Asia*, and so the Monarchie of the Persians ended, passing to the Greekes: and the kingdomes of *Asia* remained for some space vnder the successors of ALEXANDER the Great; vntill that a most valiant man whose name was ARSACES, borne in the countrie of the Parthians, arose and made himselfe King; whereby the dominion of the descendents and linage of the Greekes, was transported to the Parthians, and became a most famous kingdom, and greatly feared during the time of his successors, which lasted aboue foure hundred yeeres; and the most of them (after his name) were called ARSACES. With this Nation of the Parthians the Romanes had often very daungerous warres, and euer stood in feare of them.

Artabanus the  
last King of the  
Persians.

ARTABANVS being King of the Parthians (of whom in the life of BASSIANVS and MACRINVS we made mention) a Persian borne, being a man of base linage, but of great courage and very politike, whose name was ARTAXERXES, tooke armes and rebelled, and by little and little grew to bee very mightie; and comming to a battaile with the said ARTABANVS, hee ouerthrew and slew him, and made himselfe a mightie King. And so hee againe restored the kingdom of the Persians, and defeated the kingdom of the Parthians; which the Romanes were neuer able to doe. And he published a fame and report, that hee would restore the kingdom of the Persians to their ancient power and greatnes: and not content herewith, he began to inuade the borders of the Romane Empire, infesting the countries of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*. These newes being brought to ALEXANDER, who was then in *Rome*, and had therein reigned three yeeres in peace, exceedingly beloued of all men; and hauing intelligence of the power and forces of this King, duly considering thereof, and holding the action to be very honourable: hee presently with all expedition made preparation for this warre, and went himselfe in person into *Asia* with an infinite number of men of warre. HERODIANVS writeth that he first sent his Ambassadors vnto ARTAXERXES, requiring him to containe himselfe without the bounds of the Empire, and to liue in peace with him. Which request ARTAXERXES (seeing himselfe rich in treasure and very mightie) would not performe; perswading himselfe that it was an easie matter for him to become Lord of all *Asia*. SEVERVS being come into *Syria*, the warres began in either side to be very cruel and bloudie. In which warre he obserued so good order and discipline, that it hath not been read or heard, that any other excellent Captaine hath shewed greater iudgement, or vsed greater diligence. First he maintained such iustice and equitie in his armie, and so seuerely punished theft, robberies, violences, iniuries, and misdemeanours committed by his souldiers, that his Campe seemed to be a very well gouerned citie. He was extremely carefull concerning munition and victuals, as well to provide them, as to preserue them; and that no man should robbe, or defraud any man: so as if any Captaine or Corronel detained neuer so small a quantitie of his souldiers allowance in any thing, he was condemned to die. And in all other things hee was very diligent and careful, principally in curing those which were sicke or wounded in the armie. He endeouored that all his souldiers should alwaies be in very good order, well apparelled, and well armed, and their horses very readie and well furnished, their Ensignes and Tents very neate, and very good. He behaued himselfe very familiarly with his souldiers, and while as hee was at dinner and supper, his Paulion stood euer open, and hee sat in the view and sight of all men, hauing no other meate, but such as all the rest did eate. Besides all this, he paid his souldiers with aduantage, and bestowed many rewards vpon them: and otherwise hee was most

Warres with  
the Persians.

The singular  
good orders and  
prouision for  
the armies.

Note the mar-  
tiall discipline  
of Alexander  
Seuerus.

most cruell and seuer in punishing offences; so as if his armie marched among gardens and orchards, they committed not any thing that might deserue to be reprehended; and he that did otherwise, was whipped with rods of iron. But if hee were a man of worth and of dignitie, he reprooued him with sharpe and reprochfull speeches; hauing these words euer in his mouth; Doe not that to another, which thou wouldest not that another should doe vnto thee: which he learned (as he said) of the Christians. Other more hainous offences or mutinies, he punished with such rigour, that sometimes hee tithed whole legions, which was to put to death the tenth man of all the legion. He did as little endure that any Captaine or Corronel should wrong any souldier, or that he should diminish the least part of a souldiers pay, or allowance. And if he saw that a souldier was poore and out of apparell, he relieved him with what he thought necessarie for him: for (quoth he) how can that souldier liue vnder due commaund, which hath not clothes on his backe, and money in his purse? for hunger and penurie will put him in despaire, and make him aduenture to doe that which he ought not. For these and such like matters, which would be long to relate, this Emperor was infinitely beloued, and feared by all his men of warre, and in his time souldiers were better ordred, gouerned and trained, then in the time of any other Emperour.

That it is to  
tithed a legion.

Returning to the warres of the Persians, I say, that during the time that it lasted, there passed betweene the armies of the one and other partie, many great battailes and encounters; wherein were done many very notable feates of armes, vntill that at the last they came to a battaile wherein they ioyned with all their whole forces; ARTAXERXES bringing in his armie an innumerable companie of footmen, and 130000. horsemen; all very haucie proude men, for the victories which they had lately obtained against the Parthians; and had moreover in his armie seuen hundred Elephants, and one thousand and eight hundred chariots armed with sieths, which the Persians then vsed in the warres. And the Emperour of the other side brought so many and such men, both of foote and horse, as hee who was Lord and commaunder of the Romane Empire might be able to leuie. SEVERVS in this battaile performing the office of an excellent Captaine, visiting euery squadron, encouraging the souldiers with most kind speeches, calling them by their proper names, promising them great rewards, and fighting in person a great part of the day like a valiant Knight; in the euening (for so long did the fight continue) he wanne one of the most fierce and cruell battailes that euer was fought in the world. The King ARTAXERXES escaped by flight, and there were slaine in that battaile tenne thousand horsemen, and so many footmen, that they could not be numbred: as it appeareth by the oration and speech which SEVERVS deliuered in the Senate after his returne to *Rome*, which is recited by LAMPRIIDS. And by the same it appeareth that there were slaine by the Romanes two hundred Elephants, and that three hundred were taken, with one thousand armed chariots, and a great number of Persians; which afterwards were ransomed for a great summe of money. So as after this victorie the Emperour, without any resistance, recouered those lands and countries which the mightie ARTAXERXES had taken: and passing through *Mesopotamia* he enlarged the bounds of the Empire; and leauing therein such a guard as he thought fit, he returned to the citie of *Antioch*. And being in that citie (according to the custome of the Romane Generals) he paid his souldiers, and gaue them great rewards, diuiding the spoiles of the victorie among them; so as they remained infinitely ioyfull and well contented. And so leauing all parts of the East in peace and quiet, hee returned to

One hundred  
and thirtie  
thousand horse-  
men in one ar-  
mie.

A most great  
battaile fought  
betweene the  
Romanes and  
the Persians.

Alexander  
came into  
Rome in tri-  
umph.

The victorie of  
Furius Celsus  
in Africa.

Warres be-  
tweene Seve-  
rus and the  
Germanes.

Alexander  
Severus slaine  
by his Germane  
souldiers, toge-  
ther with his  
mother Mam-  
mea.

Rome, where he entred in triumph with greater solemnitie and preparation, then euer any had triumphed before him; his chariot being drawne (to the wonder of the beholders) by Elephants, which hee had taken: and all the people and Senate of Rome blessed him, and receiued him with inspeakeable gladnes. And at that instant FVRIVS CELSVS obtained a great victorie against the Mauritians and Tingitaniens in Africa, which rebelled. And in Germanie, VARIVS MACRINVS had very good successe: and from Armenia, IVNIVS PALMATVS returned with victorie. After that this triumph was ended, SEVERVS made the accustomed doale and distribution among the souldiers and people of Rome, with the feasts and ordinarie huntings: remaining in Rome certaine yeeres in hearing causes and doing iustice. And in such sort hee diuided the houres, that there was no iot of time lost, and the time of leasure he spent in reading of excellent books; principally the bookes of PLATOES Common-wealth, and TVLLIES Offices; and he did also often vse to reade the Poets, HORACE, and VIRGIL. And he liuing thus in peace and tranquillitie, deerely beloued by the Romanes, and by all the prouinces subiect to the Empire; it being about the thirteenth yeere of his raigne, the Germanes and other northerly nations, with such furie, and such infinite numbers of men (as in former time they had vsed to doe) tooke armes against the Empire; so as hauing past the riuers Danuby and the Rhine, they put all Italy in great feare. By reason whereof the good Emperour ALEXANDER SEVERVS with all haste departed from Rome, with the best and greatest forces that hee then could leue: Which was not done without great grieve and heauines of the Roman people, so deerely was hee generally beloued. And then the warres began betweene his forces and the Germanes, wherein notwithstanding that his enemies were very mightie; yet through his great diligence and valour hee repressed their furie, in such sort, that they were daily put to the worst in all skirmishes and encounters, which passed betweene them. But the ordinarie legions which lay there in garrison, accustomed to rapine and other disorders, permitted in the time of HELIOGABALVS; so as the Emperour was neither able to endure their insolencie, neither they his equitie: for vertue and vice cannot dwell together. Whereupon they conspired amongst themselves to kill him, and to chuse one MAXIMINVS a most valiant old souldier for Emperour, whom SEVERVS had made a Captaine of Tyrones (for so did they call new souldiers) which their deuice they afterwards put in execution. Others write that the cause of his death was, for that following his mothers counsell in amassing of treasure, he was not so liberall to his men of warre and others, as he ought to haue been; and also for that he had determined in his counsell, to leaue the warres of Germanie, and to goe into the East: for which cause the souldiers conceiued great hatred against him. But I hold the first for the most certaine cause; of which opinion were LAMPRIDIVS, and IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS, writing his life, and the life of MAXIMINVS. Finally, whatsoeuer the occasion was, the legions of Germanie killed him, the good Emperour being in his Tent, voide of all mistrust and suspition, neere vnto the citie of Maguntia, or Mentz. And together with him, they slew his mother MAMEA, which they did by the counsell and aduice of the accursed MAXIMINVS, who was afterwards his successor. HERODIANVS and AVRELIVS VICTOR write, that before that they murdered him, they made the other Emperour. SEVERVS was twentie nine yeeres, three months and seuen daies old when he was murdered, and had reigned thirteene yeeres and nine daies. His death was more lamented in Rome, and with greater forrow then euer was any Emperours before him;

him; and all the cities and prouinces of the Empire were extremely grieved thereat. In this manner was this most excellent and most vertuous Prince slaine by treason, who neuer had commaunded any man to bee slaine, in the yeere of our Lord 237. And although that we reade that he was married, yet wee reade not of any children that he left behind him.

## THE LIFE OF MAXIMINVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND SIXE AND TWENTH Emperour of Rome.



### THE ARGVMENT.



Maximinus was a Thracian borne, of a base and ignoble house, but he attained to credit through the actiuitie of his body, which brought him in to fauour with many Emperours; yet Heliogabalus did not greatly please him, being riotous and lasciuious. But fortune, as it is blind, so doth it blindly bestow her benefitts and fauours, and aduanced him in the end to the Imperiall dignitie: wherein he behaued himselfe so cruell and tyrannously, that poore Rome could neuer haue had a worse, or more wicked Prince. He first vpon sundrie occasions put to death all Alexanders friends; and being ashamed of his owne linage, he also put to death all such as had knowne his father. And shewing himselfe very courteous in his doings, he turned against the Christians, and vsed against them new and vnaccustomed torments. He discovered a conspiracie, which he punished severely; and sought to continue the loue of his souldiers, being of opinion that it lay in them as well to support him in the Empire, as it did to gine it him. He warred against the Germanes, and was of so basefull a nature, and so cruell, that in a manner all the whole Empire rebelled against him. And in his life time the old Gordianus was made Emperour in Africa. But above all the other rebellions, that of Rome did most displease him; against which, coming in a great rage, and hauing in a manner besieged it, he was slaine by some Roman souldiers, considering

*sidering the miseries which their countrie was likely to haue endured, if Maximinus obtained the victorie. And to the end that no memoriall should remaine of so wicked and so cruell a man, they flew his sonne also; whose heads being caried to Rome, brought great contentment to the ciitie.*



How great good a good Prince bringeth into the world, and how dammageable and harmefull it is to lose him; the death of ALEXANDER SEVERVS did sufficiently manifest to the Romane Empire; which during his life time enioyed all the contentation that could be desired, of equitie, clemencie, and tranquillitie. And he dying, and that cruell monster MAXIMINVS succeeding him, who raigned but three yeeres; in exchange of these and other blessings, there ensued discord, ciuill warres, wrongs, robberies, cruelties, seditions and other calamities. Wherefore, in my opinion, men ought more earnestly and with greater instancie to pray to God to send them a good King and gouernour, then for health, wealth, or long life: for in the raigne of a wicked and vniust Prince, vices abound, which corrupt good customes and manners, and vertue is suppressed, and men liue in daunger both of life and goods. And in the time of a good Lord and gouernour, all these defects are repaired and amended: for the rust raigning, the wicked amend and become vertuous. For (as the Philosophers say) Such as is the Prince, such will be the subiects: so as hee which prayeth for a good King, may iustly be said to pray for the benefit of the whole kingdome: For it doth oftentimes plainly appeare, that more and greater benefits are reaped through the diligence and industrie of a good husbandman, then of the fertilitie of the earth. And so we see that some places which are barren, doe abound with necessaries to the vse of mans life; and to the contrarie, other places which are most fertill, through euill gouernment, become wilde and ouergrowne with weedes, yeeld little profit. And so the histories, and experience doe shew vs, that in time of good and peaceable Kings, men grow rich and mount to estates and dignities: and in time of troubles and calamities which happen when the gouernment is in the hand of tyrants, many lose their estates and liues, and sometimes their foules, by their meanes, and all things goe to confusion and out of order.

But comming to our historie, the good Emperour SEVERVS being dead, as he had neither sonne nor brother that might challenge the Empire; and MAXIMINVS being the chiefe man in the armie, and of greater might and strength then any other, they all agreed to chuse and sweare him for Emperour, willingly yeelding obedience vnto him, which they ought not to haue done: for hee prooued to be wicked, cruell, and couetous; notwithstanding that hee was old and loden with yeeres. And because that this man was of a notable stature of bodie, and came to the Empire by great aduenture, I will briefly declare the successe of his life, which I presume will be a pleasing historie.

This MAXIMINVS was the sonne of a man whose name was NICEA, borne in *Gotland*, and his mothers name was ABA, of the nation of the Alanes, which liued in a village in *Thracia*; so as of either side he descended of most fierce nations; and he afterwards grew to be so tall of stature, that he seemed to be a Giant: for (as IULIVS CAPITOLINVS reporteth) he was eight and a halfe geometricalle feete high; which is two foote and a halfe more then we see any man ordinarilie to be in these daies. And as he had a great bodie, so had he all parts thereof proportionable to his greatnes: for he had a good face and was very faire, with great

*Maximinus chosen Emperour.*

*Maximinus his linage.*

*The stature of Maximinus.*

great full eies, and was so extremely strong, that a cart heauilie loden, and which two oxen could hardlie moue, he would easily draw and turne at his pleasure; and with his fist he brake a horses leg: and (as IULIVS CAPITOLINVS saith) striking a horse in the chap with his fist, he brake out all his teeth, and with a spurne with his foote, he split him in pieces: and also with his fist he brake a stone, and with his hands cleft a tree, and did many other things, which were they not recorded by very true authors, would be accounted for fables. And besides all this, he was of so great courage, that he was neuer knowne to stand in feare of any thing, and was naturallie fierce, proud, and presumptuous, and made no account of any man. His bringing vp when he was a boy, was in keeping of beasts (for his parents were poore, and liued in the countrey) and afterwards his mind increasing with the strength of his bodie, he came to the Romane armie to seeke enterainment to be a souldier, and to follow the warres: where by reason of his greatnes of bodie and his extreme strength, he was soone knowne, and admired of all men, which was in the raigne of SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS, who was father to BASIANVS and GETA. CAPITOLINVS writeth, that SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS being in *Soria* with his armie, celebrating the birth day of his sonne GETA, with many sports and reuels (which was a thing much vsed in auncient time) and giuing the winners for reward iewels, collars, bracelets, souldiers girdles, and such like things: MAXIMINVS, who was but newly come to the army, and could scarcely speake the Latine toong (which was then the vulgar Romane speech) came before the Emperour, and intreated him to giue him leaue to try himselfe in those exercises. The Emperour marueiling at the vnmeasureable greatnes of his person, and seeing him so faire and well proportioned, granted his request, but vpo condition, that he should not encounter & contend with any Romane souldier, but with such as were water-bearers, and feruitors of the camp, among which were many very valiant strong men. MAXIMINVS comming to handie gripes with them, ouercame sixteene of them which were of greatest strength, and fought out for that purpose, without resting betweene while, or once taking any breath, and without being moued by any of them: for which victorie, the Emperour caused some iewels of small price to be giuen to him, but not any such as were vsuallie giuen to the souldiers; and commaunded also that he should receiue pay, and be entered in the muster roll to serue as a souldier. Vpon a day the Emperour riding to view his camp, saw this MAXIMINVS (who was yet but a raw souldier) out of order, wherefore he willed a Corronell to call him into his ranke, and to instruct him in the dutie which he ought to obserue in the warres; and MAXIMINVS imagining that the Emperour spake of him, came before him, and kneeled downe at his feete. The Emperour desiring for his pastime to see whether he could runne well or no, spurred his horse, and gaue sundrie turnes in the field, and seeing that MAXIMINVS euer kept euen with him, and that his horse was tired, and he running afoote, shewed no signe of wearines, he rained his horse and asked of MAXIMINVS whether he could wrestle: whereto he answered, that he would wrestle so much and so long as it should please his maiestie. The Emperour marueiling at his strength, made choise of certaine of the strongest men in all his army to wrestle with him, and MAXIMINVS without breathing or any resting ouercame seuen of them. Whereupon SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS commaunded a collar of gold to be giuen vnto him, and certaine peeces of siluer, and made him one of his guard, and commaunded that he should attend in the Pallace: and by this meane he came to be much esteemed among the Corronels,

*The force and bodily strength of Maximinus.*

*Maximinus began first to follow the wars in the time of Septimius Severus.*

*The footmanship of Maximinus.*

Corronels, and men of war: And he daily increased both in stature and strength; for when he came to the camp he was but a boy; and sometime in wrestling he would ouerthrow twentie or thirtie of the strongest men in the armie: And in batailles and encounters he euer bare away the price, and chiefest honor, performing strange things: wherefore SEVERVS fauoured him very much, and gaue him notable places and charges in the warres. He did eat and drinke according to the proportion of body, or rather more: for CAPITOLINVS writeth, that he did daily vse to eat fortie pound waight of flesh, and to drinke a measure of wine, which containeth about fixe gallons of our English measure.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS dying in *England*, as we haue said, he serued his sonne ANTONINVS BASSIANVS, and was a Corronell, and had other offices and dignities in the warres. And after the death of BASSIANVS in *Syria*, he would not serue MACRINVS, for that he held him for guiltie of the death of his Lord; but returning to the village wherein he was borne, he there purchased certaine possessions and liued there for a space in rest, vntill that MACRINVS was dead; and that the young most virtuous HELIOGABALVS came to the Empire: at which time he came to *Rome* to him, as to the sonne of BASSIANVS, and Nephew to SEVERVS, both which had been his Lords; imagining that hee should haue been as much respected by him, as he had been by them. But HELIOGABALVS more regarding lasciuious and dishonest men, then such as were of worth and valorous, he found with him no such entertainment as he expected: For when he came to kisse his hand, HELIOGABALVS said vnto him; MAXIMINVS, it is told me that in wrestling thou art too hard for twentie or thirtie men; I would gladly know whether thou darest to aduenture in amorous assaults to encounter as many women. Which speeches did so much displease MAXIMINVS, that he would presently haue abandoned the court: but that certaine of HELIOGABALVS his friends (for his honours sake) staied him. For they held it for a shame to him, that one which was held to be the most valiant and strongest man of his time (and who for that cause was by some called ACHILLES, and by others ATAX) should not be entertained in his pay to serue in his armie: and so there was giuen him by HELIOGABALVS the leading of certaine footemen. But MAXIMINVS abhorring and vnable to endure the behauiour of this effeminate Emperour, in all the time of his raigne after that time, neuer came into his presence: sometimes faining himselfe to be sicke: and other times seeking occasion and meanes to absent himselfe, vntill that the good ALEXANDER SEVERVS was made Emperour, after the death of HELIOGABALVS; and then he returned to *Rome*, where SEVERVS receiued him very gladly, commending him highly in the Senate, and made him a Corronell and commander of the fourth legion, which he had raised of new souldiers. MAXIMINVS accepted the charge, and performed his dutie singularly well therein in the warres of *Germany*, where he shewed great prowesse: by meanes whereof, and of the gifts which he vsed to bestow vpon his souldiers, and of the Emperours fauour; he wanne such honor and reputation with all men, that ALEXANDER (as we haue said) being slaine by his souldiers, he was by them created Emperour: and some write that he was one of those which conspired his death. Of such force is the desire to rule, that men forgetting the dutie and loyaltie which they owe, and the benefits which they haue receiued; practise notable villanies and commit horrible treasons, to the end that they may raigne and command: nothing remembring that by the same meanes, that they obtaine rule and dominion, by the selfe same they commonly

Maximinus  
his diet.

The dishonest  
speeches used  
by Heliogaba-  
lus to Maximini-  
nus.

Offices giuen by  
Seuerus to  
Maximinus.

commonly lose their gouernments, and are throwne downe by the same meanes that they mounted.

After that MAXIMINVS saw himselfe an Emperour, as he was naturally proud and fierce, and as base of condition as he was high of stature, so was he of opinion that his best course was to make himselfe obeied rather for feare, then for loue; and presently began to shew himselfe most cruell. His election being knowne in *Rome*, (after they had lamented the death of ALEXANDER SEVERVS) was generally displeasing to all men. And vpon report of his crueltie, they stood in great feare of him: in so much that both men and women made vowes and prayers to their gods, to the end that hee might neuer come to *Rome*. The first crueltie that this most fierce Barbarian committed, was to put to death all those which had serued, and been familiar with ALEXANDER SEVERVS: and then he banished an infinit number of others, and would not suffer that either in the armie there should be any Captaine, or in the Senate any Senatour, that had been placed therein by him. And for as much as he was ashamed of the baseness of his owne linage and parentage, he commaunded all those which were neere about him and had knowne his parents, to be slaine: among which were many, which in time of their pouertie had relieued them, of compassion and in charitie. And to all these his cruelties he added a greater: for he persecuted the Christians, which were fauoured by ALEXANDER: and by his commaundement was the sixt perfection of the Church of God, principally those were persecuted which had the charge and gouernment of others; wherein he vsed strange kinds of cruelties, and new deuises in putting people to death, reposing such confidence in his owne strength and courage, that he held no man sufficiently able to kill him. Wherefore, as CAPITOLINVS reporteth, he held himselfe for immortal, yet one day in his presence vpon the Theater these verses were recited in the Greeke tongue.

Maximinus his  
election greatly  
displeased  
Rome.

*Whom one man cannot bereaue of life,  
many his blood may easily spill,  
Th' Elephant is great yet done to death,  
strong is the Lion and men him kill,  
If through thy valour thou feare not any one,  
beware what a number may doe to thee alone.*

The crueltie of MAXIMINVS did principally extend it selfe against such as were rich, and in high degree and authoritie, which he treated very ill: and for very slight occasions did put to death; and confiscated their goods: which the common people little regarded; for the rich are commonly odious and hatefull to the baser sort, and to such as are poore. On the other side, he cunningly held himselfe in the loue and good liking of men of warre: for besides their ordinarie payes, he gaue them many pensions and rewards, and prouided all things necessarie for them, and tooke as great paines as any ordinarie souldier, with incredible courage and diligence: and as he was a strong man, and had a very able bodie; so he euer went armed, and vpon all occasions was as readie as any souldier in the armie, and had alwaies valiant men about him, although of base degree and condition. Finally, the effect of all his actions was to be feared, and to command like a tyrant; which was the occasion that a noble Romane gentleman called MAXIMVS, who had been a Consul, conspired against him, and practized with the old souldiers which had serued SEVERVS, and with some others; to whom MAXIMINVS his behauiour and conditions were nothing

pleasing: that whereas hee with his armie was to passe a riuer vpon a wooden bridge, so soone as he should be come to the farther end thereof, the bridge behind him should be broken or drawne away, and so he abandoned to his enemies. But this was reuealed vnto him, or else (as some surmised) it was a matter fained by him, thereby to haue the better colour and cloake to shadow his cruelties, which he executed in so high degree, that hee made 3000. persons to be slaine, which he said, were guiltie of that treason.

After this a great multitude of SEVERVS his old souldiers mutined, and withdrawing themselves from the Campe, proclaimed one QVARTIANVS for Emperour (as HERODIANVS writeth) but CAPITOLINVS saith, that his name was TICVS, and it may be that he was called by both the one and the other; who for that he was a man of great account, was by MAXIMINVS deposed from the charge which he held. And the souldiers (against his will) perforce made him to accept the Empire, which he not without great reason refused: for one MACEDONIVS, who seemed to be his great friend, and was one of those which had aduanced him to that high dignitie, within few daies after murdered him, as he lay sleeping vpon his bed. And hauing striken off his head, carried the same to MAXIMINVS: who greatly reioyced to see himselfe freed from so great a daunger. And although that he then gaue him good countenance which brought it, yet he afterwards put him to a cruell death, accordingly as for his treacherie he had deserued. First, for murdering his soueraigne: secondly, for being a traitor to his friend.

With these two good happes, the tyrannie and crueltie of MAXIMINVS encreased. But following the warres he went out of *Hungarie* into *Germanie*, and making most cruell warre against the Germanes, hauing in his armie those souldiers which ALEXANDER SEVERVS had left, which were many and very well trained and of great experience, whose number he encreased, so as with them he wanne many battailes, putting all to fire and sword where he came, spoyling all that was in that countrie: and in all the encounters that euer happened, he euer fought with his owne hands in person, and performed more in fight then any man in the whole armie. Hauing pacified all matters in *Germanie*, so as he found no more resistance, by reason of winter which then came on, he returned into *Hungarie*, from whence he wrote to the Senate, extolling his victories; and sent vnto them all his battailes and skirmishes depainted in tables. I cannot particularly set downe the murders and cruell slaughters of men, which he commaunded to be executed in *Rome* at this time, for the multitude of them; for he did put to death many men which had been Consuls, and confiscated their goods, vsing infinit other tyrannies against the noble and most principall men, presuming onely vpon his owne personall great strength, and the power of his armie; to which he gaue many great gifts. And yet among his men of warre he forbore not to execute notable cruelties; for he more desired to be feared then any thing else; wherefore both in *Rome* and abroad they studied how they might be ridde of him, and to finde out some other man fit to be Emperour; which began in *Africa* and passed after this manner.

In the Prouince of *Africa*, MAXIMINVS had a Proctor, who with great rigour and authoritie gathered his rents and reuenues, and being of his maisters conditions committed incredible extortions and outrages, robbing and pilling the country, doing wrong to all men, and not content therewith, but as he despoiled many of their goods, so he likewise bereaued them of their liues. And he persecuted

Executions  
done in *Rome*  
by Maximinus  
his order.

perseuered so in his rapine and crueltie, that the people could not any longer endure his oppression: wherefore the most principall amongst them concluded to kill him, and did so; and afterwards considering with themselves how great and how dangerous a crime they had committed, they resolved to commit yet a greater, which was to create an Emperour. Wherefore conferring with the souldiers of those legions which lay in *Africa*, and detested MAXIMINVS for his crueltie, they all agreed to choose GORDIANVS a noble man who was Proconsul of *Africa*, and to make him Emperour, being a man welnie fourescore yeeres old. GORDIANVS as I said, was of a most noble linage, and by his fathers side descended from the GRACCHI, and by his mother, from the most excellent Emperour TRAIANE, and had bin Aedil, Questor, Pretor, and Consul in *Rome*; and had held many other offices and dignities; and had been Captaine and gouernor of many countries and prouinces, which he had gouerned with great wisdom and authoritie: and at that time was Viceconsul in *Africa*, by the appointment of ALEXANDER SEVERVS, who was MAXIMINVS his predecessor, by whom for his deserts and vertues, he was greatly honored and esteemed: for GORDIANVS was a noble and most temperate man in all his actions. He was a man of a tall stature, rather enclining to be fat then leane, and of a goodly presence. His face was high-coloured, representing great authoritie. He was in his fare and diet (as in all other matters) very temperate, and was learned, and much giuen to the studie of Philosophie. He was married to the daughter of SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS, and by her had sonnes and daughters, and by chance had with him when he was chosen Emperour a sonne, whose name was GORDIANVS (as was his) who had been Consul, and was held in great honor and reputation, whom they also chose Emperour together with his father. The souldiers and the country people being assembled together (whereof one MAVRICEA Decurion, was the chiefe and first motioner of the matter) they entred in a tumult into GORDIANVS his house and lodging, who thinking nothing of any such thing, in the beginning was in great feare and trouble, thinking that they came to haue killed him, but after that he vnderstood wherefore they came (for they told it him) he vtterlie refused their offer, excusing himselfe by reason of his old age. But they came so resolute, that although he would neuer so faine, yet he could not otherwise choose, but must accept of the ensignes, and title of Emperour which they gaue to him, together with his sonne. GORDIANVS although he were thereto compelled, and accepted thereof against his will, yet he presentlie wrote with all expedition, giuing the Senate aduertisement of his election, and how that he had consented thereto and accepted of the Empire, to the end to deliuer the same from the tyrannie and crueltie of MAXIMINVS. And hauing published the same in the citie of *Tifdro*, where he was chosen Emperour, he tooke his way towards *Carthage*, with the magnificence, ensignes, and officers of the Empire, where he was with great ioy receiued. From thence he sent his Ambassadors to *Rome* with particular letters to many his friends and kinsmen, and likewise tooke order that VALERIANVS the Pretorian Prefect of the legions and companies which lay neere *Rome* should be slaine, whom HERODIANVS calleth VITALIANVS (who was a most cruell man) a fauourite and great friend of MAXIMINVS. These letters were receiued with incredible ioy and gladnes, for the great hatred which they bare against MAXIMINVS, and VITALIANVS OF VALERIANVS was slaine accordingly, by those which were sent for that purpose.

The Senate and people of *Rome* approued the election of GORDIANVS and

Maximinus  
his rent-gatherer  
slaine in  
*Africa*.

Gordianus  
chosen Em-  
perour.

Gordianus  
refused the  
Empire.

Maximinus  
and his sonne  
adiudged for  
rebels and en-  
emies to the  
Romane com-  
monwealth.

of his sonne, and MAXIMINVS and his sonne (who was already made CÆSAR, and named for his successor) were adiudged enemies and rebels; and the people with great furie tare in pieces many ministers of MAXIMINVS his crueltie, among which were some which were not culpable. They also slue SABINVS the Prefect of the citie, for that he endeoured to haue hindered the approbation of GORDIANVS, and the Senate chose and made CÆSAR a yong man whose name was also GORDIANVS, who was the old GORDIANVS his nephew: and so there was a sodaine great alteration in all things, for euery where was great feare and confusion. The Senate afterwards considering in how great danger the citie was, and what might ensue thereof, by reason of the great power of MAXIMINVS, made great preparation, writing their letters into all the Prouinces, commanding that all those gouernours which were therein placed by MAXIMINVS, should be displaced, and therewith also they published GORDIANVS for Emperour. This order and direction (as HERODIANVS writeth) in the most part of all the Prouinces was obeyed, and in the most of them they slue the gouernours set there by MAXIMINVS. And in some places they did the contrarie, killing or apprehending the messengers, so as euery where was bloudshed: for the crueltie of the Emperour had made all men cruell. So soone as the newes of that which happened in Rome and Africa came to MAXIMINVS (CAPITOLINVS writeth that) he tooke so great griefe, and was therewith so enraged, that he cried out like a man bereaued of his wits, and running his head against the wals, tumbled in the floore, rent his cloaths, and made many other shewes and signes of furie and passion. This fit being past, the next day he assembled his whole armie, whereto he made a speech, complaining to them of the treacherie of the Africanes, and of the lightnes and inconstancie of the Romanes, prouoking them all that he could to be reuenged, and making great promises, assured them that they should possesse the goods of all those which had offended: And when he had ended his oration, he presentlie gaue them their ordinarie pay with great aduantage, shewing himselfe very liberall, so as they all promised to serue him faithfullie, notwithstanding that many among them hated him deadlie. In this manner vsing all possible diligence, MAXIMINVS directed his iourney towards Rome, with the best souldiers, and the greatest prouision of munition that he could make, with intent to assuage his wrath, by the execution of his extreme crueltie, and so he began to march, not so fast as he would, for the great number of men, of carriages, and baggage which went with him, and want of victuals: for all the cities (being risen against him) had put all the victuals and fruites of the earth in safe keeping.

While as these things passed in Germany and in Rome, CAPELIANVS who was Gouernour and Captaine of the Prouinces of Numidia, and Mauritania in Africa, arose against GORDIANVS, as well for that they were auncient enemies, as for that CAPELIANVS was a very great friend to MAXIMINVS, and established there by him, who so soone as he heard that the GORDIANS were chosen Emperours, put those legions which were vnder his commaund in order, leuying thereto the greatest force that he could, and tooke his way towards Carthage against them, against whom came yong GORDIANVS, with all the forces that he could leuie (the old man remaining in the citie in great care and feare of that which afterwards followed) and these two armies ioyning battaile (which was very bloudie) CAPELIANVS in the end had the victorie, and GORDIANVS was ouerthrowne and slaine: for the greatest part of his people were Visonies, or raw souldiers, and not accustomed to the warres. The father hearing of the death

of

Young Gordianus  
slaine in a  
battaile.

of his sonne, and of the losse of the battaile, seeing no hope of reliefe, and the victorious enemy at the gates of the citie, with the girdle which hee ware hung himselfe: and so died he with reproch & dishonorably (hauing a few daies enioyed the name of Emperour) which had liued fourescore yeeres very honourably and in great reputation. And CAPELIANVS following his victorie entred Carthage, where he slew the most principall of those which escaped from the battaile; and robbed many houses and temples, shewing great crueltie both within the citie, and abroad in the countrie also; robbing and sacking townes and villages, vnder colour of reuenge of the wrong done to MAXIMINVS, seeking by all means possible to please his souldiers, with a desire to make himselfe Emperour.

The fame of this aduenture came speedily to Rome, wherewith the Romanes were incredibly troubled and perplexed, to see themselves deprived of the fauour and succour which they hoped for from GORDIANVS and his sonne. And knowing that MAXIMINVS came like an enraged lion against them (for redresse and remedie against so great a daunger) the Senate assembled in the Temple of IVPITER, and after many consultations held betwene the most principall and best experienced men of the citie, they chose MAXIMVS PVPIENVS, and CLODIVS BALBINVS for Emperours; both which had held great offices, and had been valorous Captaines and gouernours, and liued with great fame. And to please the people which consented not to this election, the Senate named yong GORDIANVS, nephew to that GORDIANVS who hanged himselfe in Carthage, CÆSAR, who was his daughters sonne, and of the age of eleuen yeeres. These two being created and sworne Emperours, and hauing taken the Imperiall robes and ensignes, and leuied the greatest forces that in Rome and the borders thereof they were able; MAXIMVS PVPIENVS, who was the wiser, and most sufficient man of the two, departed from the citie, to make head against MAXIMINVS; who with great haste and furie came towards Italy, and had conceiued incredible ioy, for that he was giuen to vnderstand of the death of GORDIANVS and of his son, and of the victorie which CAPELIANVS had obtained against them: but after that he knew of the election of the new Emperours in Rome, his rage and wrath redoubled. And vnderstanding that PVPIENVS came against him with a sufficient armie, he put his troupes in order; and hauing passed the Alpes, entring into Italy (where hee thought to haue found great plentie of victuals) he found all cleane contrarie: for al sustenance was carried away, and those places and townes which were not fortified, and able to defend themselves, were abandoned and left desert: wherefore the souldiers for the hunger and want which they endured, began to murmur and to speake ill of MAXIMINVS; and hee punishing some of them for it, grew hatefull to all. And drawing neere to the citie of Aquileia, which hee made account to enter without difficultie, hee therein found very great resistance: for besides that the citie was very populous and rich, there were therein for the defence thereof, two Romane gentlemen, which had been Consuls; the one was called CRISPINVS, and the other MENEFILVS, which had in such sort furnished the citie with men and munition, that MAXIMINVS with great difficultie passing the riuer, and encamping himselfe before it, gaue a very cruell assault, in which much people died of either side: but those which were within, defended themselves so valiantly, that he was enforced to alter his determination, to raise his siege, and to retire. And while as MAXIMINVS lay before Aquileia, and PVPIENVS with his armie marched towards him, Rome endured a great misfortune: For there arose contention and debate betwene the Pretorian souldiers

And old Gordianus hung  
himselfe in his  
girdle.

Maximus Papien-  
us and  
Clandius Bal-  
binus chosen  
Emperours, and  
Gordianus the  
nephew of old  
Gordianus  
made Cesar.

Maximinus  
entred Italy.

and the people of *Rome*, about two souldiers which were put to death by two Senatours, whose names were *GALLICANVS* and *MECENAS*. And both parties taking armes, there were slaughters and cruelties committed, the like whereof haue been seldome heard of: for the citie was set on fire, and great part thereof burnt, without that the new Emperour *BALBINVS* was any way able to quench or stay it: and seeing that he could not redresse so great an euill, he retired himselfe to his palace. So as whosoever shall well consider hereof, shall finde that the three yeeres tyrannous gouernment of *MAXIMINVS* (for so long it lasted) was the cause that the citie of *Rome* and the whole *Romane* Empire were neuer free from warres, tumults, robberies, murders, and all manner calamities. And he (as I haue said) lying before *Aquileia*, getting little by the assaults which he gaue, by reason of the great resistance made by the besieged, and wanting victuals: for *PVPIENVS*, and the Senate had commaunded all to be carried away out of that territorie, and the borders and marches thereabouts: and ioyntly herewith his souldiers daily heard that all the East revolted and rebelled against him, by letters from the Senate of *Rome*. With this feare and for the secret hatred which the old *Romane* souldiers bare against him, they agreed to mutine and to kill him; seeing that *Rome*, wherein were their parents, their wiues, children and kinsfolkes; and also that all *Italy* was enemie vnto them, and had proclaimed them rebels. It happened that *MAXIMINVS* and his sonne one day about noone reposing themselves in his Tent, the same souldiers and many others with them, came very boldly to his pavilion, and without any resistance slew him; the like they did by his sonne, saying, That of an euill fire could neuer prooue good whelpe: when he had reigned three yeeres, and was sixtie and odde yeeres old; and his sonne nineteene, and somewhat more. His death was allowed and approoued by all the armie: and so soone as it was knowne in the citie of *Aquileia*, they opened the ports and became all friends. And they sent the heads of the tyrannous Emperours to *Rome*, where with inspeakable ioy they were receiued, and by the way they caried them to *PVPIENVS*, who was in *Rauenna*. This happened in the yeere of our Lord 240.

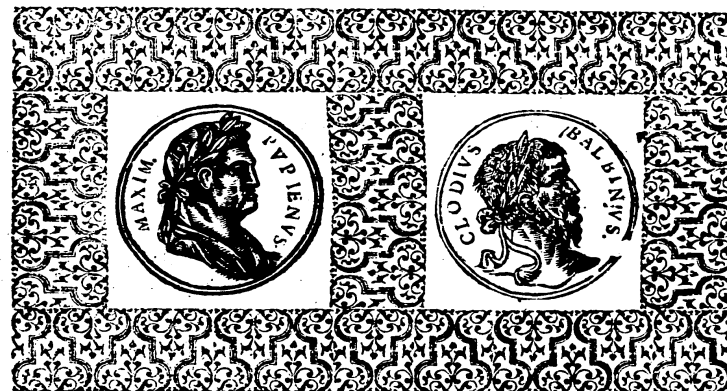
*Maximinus  
and his sonne  
slaine in his  
Tent.*

*Anno Dom.  
240.*

THE



# THE LIFE OF MAXIMVS PVPIENVS, AND CLODIVS BALBINVS, ONELY OF THOSE names, and seuen and twentieth Ro- mane Emperours.



**A**fter the death of *MAXIMINVS*; *MAXIMVS PVPIENVS*, and *CLODIVS BALBINVS*, without any contradiction continued Emperours; which (as I said) were so already created: and *PVPIENVS* who then was in *Rauenna*, with all speede went to *Aquileia*, to satisfie and content the armie, which *MAXIMINVS* had left there; where, by those of the citie and of the armie, he was with great ioy receiued, sworne, and obeyed: and he paid the souldiers, and gaue them great rewards; and afterwards dispatched and sent the legions very well contented to their prouinces, and places where they vsed to remaine. And himselfe came to *Rome* with some companies of Germanes for his guard; by reason of the discord betweene the Pretorian souldiers and the citizens, which vnderstanding of the death of *MAXIMINVS*, pacified themselves, and went with the Senate to receiue *BALBINVS* into the Empire, and *GORDIANVS* for *CÆSAR*, as is afore said: and so they were most solemnly entertained. And being come into the Senate, besides the ordinarie acclamations, blessings and applauses, in remembrance that these Emperours were created by the Senators, they vsed such like speeches: The Princes wisely chosen, rule accordingly; and those which are chosen by vnwise men, and such as know little, in such like manner end their daies.

daies : wherein they seemed to note the men of warre which made choise of MAXIMINVS. Which speeches the Pretorian souldiers tooke in so ill part, that they presently began to dislike and to bee displeased with the raigne of PVPIENVS and BALBINVS; and held themselves for scorned and disgraced, in that the Senate should seeme to triumph over them, and to haue taken from them the authoritie to make Emperours: so great was their pride and ambition, that from thence-foorth they not only wished, but practised the death of them both; which gouerned all things most excellently and prudently, and made very good and profitable lawes and ordinances; and into all the prouinces where neede required, sent ordinarie legions, doing iustice to all men indifferently, greatly honouring the Senate; and generally to all men shewed themselves gentle and courteous. But all this sufficed not to get the goodwill of the souldiers: for vertue and goodnes doe not pacifie the hatred of the wicked; and by so much their enuie and malice the more encreaseth, by how much they see those whom they hate, exercise themselves in vertuous and good actions. In such sort, that as those accursed men, in time of peace were not so much esteemed; neither had the libertie to liue so dissolutely and licentiously, as in the time of warres, all their care and studie therefore was (although they dissembled and kept it secret) how they might without daunger to themselves, kill those two vertuous and honorable old princes, PVPIENVS and BALBINVS. Whereto the emulation, ielousie and contention betweene these Emperours, although in secret, opened the way to their determination; for BALBINVS held himselfe for farre more noble and of a more auncient house and family, then PVPIENVS: For it was three hundred yeeres or little lesse since that his ancestors came from the Ile of *Cales* in *Spaine*, with the great POMPEY, and being made citizens of *Rome* had liued euer honorably and richly; and therefore as PVPIENVS was but of a new risen family, he made account to be more regarded then he, and disdained him. And PVPIENVS notwithstanding that he was a newer citizen and lately risen; yet was he of greater courage, very graue, and seuer, and had held many offices and magistracies; which with great valour and wisdom he had discharged, and therefore was of opinion that in true nobilitie, which wholly consisteth in the vertue of the person, he did farre excell BALBINVS. And thus their vaine presumption cost them both their liues. And notwithstanding that they stood vpon these points; yet they no way forgot ought that might concerne the good gouernment of the Empire. These two wise Emperours hauing agreed betweene themselves, to goe the one into the East against the Parthians; or to say better, the Persians, which ruled in the East, as I haue already declared, and by meanes of the ciuill discords past, had entred the bounds of the Empire and taken certaine cities. And the other to the warres of *Germanie*. And as one day all the whole citie was busie in beholding certaine games and pastimes which were made, and with them was the greatest part of the Emperours garde and household; so as they remained in their pallaces finally accompanied, without any mistrust or suspicion of any insurrection. Wherof the Pretorian souldiers being aduertised; came with great fury fully armed in order of battaile, towards the Emperours pallace: which when PVPIENVS vnderstoode, and that they came to kill him, he commaunded in great haste the companies of Almaines which were his guard, to be called: which truly had been sufficient to haue defended them. And he also gaue BALBINVS to vnderstand thereof, desiring him to doe the like. But BALBINVS entering into a fond suspicion, that PVPIENVS sent for his guard to haue done some

Emulation betweene Balbinus and Pupienus.

some thing against him, did not onely leaue that vndone which was requested at his hands, but letted and hindred it, so that the guard was not called. By which meanes the Pretorian souldiers had oportunitie to enter the imperiall pallace in safetie; and there finding none to resist their furie, they tooke both the Emperours, and despoiling them of their imperiall robes, vsed the poore princes with all kinde of villanie, as if they had been two theecues; carrying them through the middest of the citie towards their lodging: but hearing that the Almaines came to rescue them, they slew them vpon the way; leauing their dead bodies in the streets. And the young GORDIANVS meeting them by chaunce, who (as we haue said before) at the request of the people was chosen CÆSAR, was by them hailed AVGVSTVS and Emperour. And they crying to the people said, that seeing that those two Emperours were dead, which in despite of them were chosen by the Senate; they should now receiue GORDIANVS for Emperour, which they themselves had desired to be made CÆSAR; and so they went to their lodging leading the youth with them, who yet was not fully fourteene yeeres old. The Almaines after they vnderstoode of the death of PVPIENVS and BALBINVS, seeing there was no hope to rescue them, returned to their lodgings, which was in the fields neere vnto *Rome*. And so these two good Emperours ended their liues, hauing reigned two yeeres, and in reward for pacifying the Empire and deliuering the same from the tyrannie of MAXIMINVS, these base rascals put them to death by murthering them, which PVPIENVS (as saith IULIUS CAPITOLINVS) did before Prognosticate: for when they were chosen, he said to BALBINVS; tell me BALBINVS, what good shall we reape, if we kill this accursed cruell beast MAXIMINVS? BALBINVS answered, we shall win the loue of the Senate and of the people of *Rome*, and generally of all the world; it is true quoth PVPIENVS, but I feare me we shall incur the hatred of the men of warre, and that it will cost vs our liues. Which happened, as wee haue declared, in the yeere of our Lord 242.

The Emperours Balbinus and Pupienus slaine by the Pretorian souldiers.

Gordianus Nephew of the old Gordianus proclaimed Emperour.

The words of Pupienus to Balbinus when they were chosen Emperours.

Ann. dom. 242.

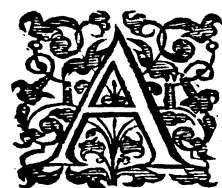
THE



THE LIFE OF GORDIANVS THE YOUNGER, SO CALLED FOR THAT HE WAS NEPHEW TO THE OLD GORDIANVS, BEING ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND THE eight and twentieth Emperour of Rome.



This Gordianus was Nephew of the old Gordianus which died in Africa.



After the death of these two good Emperours PUPPIENVS and BALBINVS; GORDIANVS being chosen by the Pretorian souldiers (who in their life time was CÆSAR) the Senate and people of Rome seeing no other remedie willingly approoued his election; for he was generally well beloued of all men for the deserts of his Vncle and grandfather; and through this election ensued concord and agreement betweene the souldiers and the citizens; and so he began his gouernment in good order and had good successe. The first thing that he did, was to make many feasts, games and shewes, and to giue many gifts and rewards, both to the citizens and souldiers; whereby he made himselfe exceedingly well beloued. This happened by reason that this young prince tooke, and followed the counsell of wise men. Presently in the beginning of his raigne a certaine Captaine named SABINIANVS rebelled in Africa, and it happened so well, that the gouernour of Mauritania by the commaundement of GORDIANVS, comming against him; those which conspired with him, tooke him prisoner, and crauing pardon for their offence, brought him to Carthage; and there deliuered

deliuered him into the hands of GORDIANVS his Captains. Who being deliuered of this care, there remained yet another, which was for the warrs against the Persians, who (as we haue said) vsurped certaine lands of the Empire; against which it was concluded that the Emperour GORDIANVS should go himselfe in person: and notwithstanding that he was then very yong, hauing married the daughter of a most learned and eloquent Gentleman, whose name was MISITHEVS, whom he presentlie made Prefect, the authoritie and counsell of the father in lawe made the raigne of the young Emperour GORDIANVS verie fortunate, and much esteemed. For notwithstanding that MISITHEVS was but of a mean parentage, yet he was a man of much vertue, and so discreet & considerate in all his actions, that notwithstanding that GORDIANVS was but a child and very young, and somewhat inclined to vice and sensuality; yet he made him an excellent Prince and Gouernour, both in peace and warre. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that the principall and most necessarie thing that apperteineth to any King or Prince to make him good, is, to haue good and wise men for his counsellors, and that his court be replenished with honest men, and of good conuersation: Which the same GORDIANVS apparantlie manifested in a letter written by him to his father in lawe, in answer to another written by him, wherein he had counselled him what he ought to do, and had reproued him for some thing that he had done in this manner. The Emperour GORDIANVS AVGVSTVS to his Father, and Pretorian Prefect, greeting. If the Almighty Gods had not defended and protected the Romane Empire, I had truly by this time bin deceiued, and sold by these wicked and dishonest men: for I now know, and do very well comprehend, that I ought not to haue giuen the charge of the Romane Cohorts to FELIX, neither to SERAPIO of the fourth legion: and because I will not rectie all my errors, I acknowledge that I haue done many things that I ought not. But thanks be giuen to the Gods, that thou guiding and instructing me, which doest nothing for couetousnes or reward, I haue perceiued and vnderstood many things, which being shut vp in my pallace with my seruants, I should neuer haue learned, neither was it possible for me to haue knowne. For consider thou a little I pray thee what I could do, being blinded, and sold by MAVRVS, who was confederate with GYNDIANVS, REVERENDVS and MONTANVS; so as whatsoeuer they commended or reproued, trusting to their iudgement, I presentlie accepted and allowed. The truth is, Father, that that Prince is very unfortunate, who hath not about him those which may plainly tell him the truth: for as the King cannot be among the people, neither can he know what passeth and what is said, of necessitie he is to vnderstand it by the relation of those with whom he is conuersant, and according to their information, good or euill, to gouerne and dispose of all matters, God giue thee health. By this letter is confirmed that which I said, and how that the good counsell of his father in law, was of great efficacie to make him a good Gouernor.

In the beginning of the raigne of this good Emperour, there were scene certaine signes and tokens in the aire, and vpon the earth, whereby many men did prognosticate that his raigne should not long continue. The first was so great an eclipse of the Suane, that the day seemed to be turned to night: so as euery where the people kindled lights, thereby to see to do their necessarie busines, so long as the eclipse continued. And one yeere after that, there was so great and so terrible an earth-quake in a manner through all the prouinces of the Empire, that many cities and townes were destroyed, and some cities were swallowed vp by the earth,

Misitheus father in lawe to Gordianus.

A Letter written by Gordianus to his father in law Misitheus.

A great eclipse of the Sunne.

A great earth-quake.

Gordianus  
going to the  
warres against  
the Persians.

Gordianus his  
victorie a-  
gainst Sapor  
King of Persia.

The death of  
Mithrius.

earth, which did open in many places. This being past, and the losses repaired in the best manner that could be, GORDIANVS departed from Rome towards the warres of Persia, with great prouision and infinite summes of money to pay the souldiers which he caried with him, which were many in number, and excellentie well armed and trained: for he had so good an armie as euer had any Emperour; and marching ouer land from Italy to passe the streight of Hellespont, he tooke his way through Mysia, to stay the Gothes and other nations which came downe with intent to haue inhabited Thracia, against which he obtained some victories, and left those prouinces free from troubles, and in peace. And hauing past that streight, he marched with his armie through Soria, and came to the citie of Antioch which the Persians had taken, and fought some batailles with the mightie Sapor King of Persia, who succeeded his brother ARTAXERXES in that kingdome; where obtaining some notable victories, he recovered the citie of Antioch. And from thence went further, and conquered the great cities of Carras, and Nisibe: for being terrified with the first batailles, Sapor was in so great a feare, that notwithstanding that he had leuiued a very sufficient army, yet he not only durst not fight with GORDIANVS, but abandoning the said cities and others, retired himselfe into his kingdome, forsaking and leauing the limits and confines of the Romane Empire. In this warre all things were gouerned and done by the counsell and direction of MITHRIS, GORDIANVS his father in law, who was his Prefect and captaine generall, and gouerned all things so well, that he failed not in any thing; and so by his counsell and valour GORDIANVS obtained many victories: and the Romane armie proceeded, being excellentie well instructed and trained, aswell in the discipline which appertineth to souldiers, as in all other things which were requisite for the warres. The like happened in all other matters, which were expedient for the good gouernment of the whole Empire: for he was so good and so wise a man, and therewith the good inclination and disposition of the Emperour did so concur, in whom wanted no sufficiencie nor discretion for his age, that all the time of his raigne (which were fixe yeeres) the Romane Empire enioyed peace, rest, and all happines. And while as all things were in this estate, MITHRIS fell sick and died. IULIUS CAPITOLINVS writeth, that he was secretlie poisoned by PHILIP, who succeeded him in his charge, and was afterwards Emperour, and who also was the cause of the death and destruction of the Emperour GORDIANVS; who so soone as MITHRIS was dead, made PHILIP his Prefect and Captaine generall, nothing suspecting him of treason. This PHILIP was borne in Arabia, of a base and dishonorable parentage, but was a very valiant man, and bred vp in the waies in the Romane Armies, and had held many offices and gouernments. So soone as this barbarian was aduanced by GORDIANVS to that high dignitie, he practised how he might obtaine the Empire for himselfe, and sought by all meanes to win the good will of the souldiers, and to make them enemies to GORDIANVS. It hapned that in the armie was great scarcitie of victuals, which was done by the secret practice of PHILIP, and the souldiers imagining the negligence of GORDIANVS to haue bin the cause thereof, determined to make PHILIP equall with him in the Empire, and that he should be as his tutor and gouernour: which the vertuous young GORDIANVS patientlie endured. For he could not withstand the audacious determination of the souldiers; and PHILIP seeing himselfe equall with him, became presentlie so insolent and audacious towards GORDIANVS, (by reason of his young yeeres, and the fauour of the armie) that he began to commaund

commaund all, as though he had bin sole Emperour. But GORDIANVS being vnable to indure this disgrace (for great and noble minds can hardlie suffer themselves to be despised and oppressed) assembling the armie, complained openlie to the Captaines and souldiers of the pride and ingratitude of PHILIP, calling to mind the benefits which he had bestowed vpon him, and sought to perswade them to depose him from the Empire. PHILIP seeing this, setting all shame apart, assembling togethers such as were of his faction, and seeking to get the good will of all men, brought his purpose to so good issue, that the miserable Emperour GORDIANVS being abandoned, was brought to such extremitie, that he sent to intreate PHILIP, that if he would not permit him to be his equall, yet at the least that he would be pleased to allow him the dignitie of CESAR: which seeing he could not obtaine, he desired that he might be his Pretorian Prefect: which being also denied, he requested him to do him the fauour, that he might be one of his Captaines so long as he should liue. To this his last petition his cruell mind seemed to yeeld, but afterwards considering how much GORDIANVS was beloued in Rome, in Africa, and in all the other Prouinces, as well for his naturall vertues, as for the nobilitie of the house from which he was descended, he commaunded him to be slaine. And this was the end of the noble and worthie young Emperour GORDIANVS, who raigned fixe yeeres, foure alone, and two in the companie of PVIENVS and BALBINVS, in the yeere of our Lord 247: and in the twentieth yeere of his age. GORDIANVS was of a pleasant and very noble condition, of gentle behauiour, very studious, and giuen to learning; so as they write that he had in his Librarie threescore and two thousand bookes. He was infinitely beloued of the Senate and people of Rome, and generally of all nations of the Empire, and no lesse by the souldiers and men of warre which called him their sonne: although in this short sodaine furie, after the maner of beasts they killed him by the procurement, deuise, and treason of PHILIP; and their furie being past, they made him a sepulchre in the confines of Persia, whereupon they wrote this inscription in the Larine, Persian, Hebrew, and Egyptian tongues, to the end that of all men it might be read and vnderstood:

The wicked-  
nes and ingrati-  
tude of  
Philip, and  
the miserie of  
Gordianus.

The death of  
Gordianus.

Ann.Dom. 247.

*To the sacred Gordianus, who overcame the Persians, the Gothes, and the Sarmates, extinguished the Romane Ciuil discords, and likewise subdued the Germanes, but not the Philippicks*

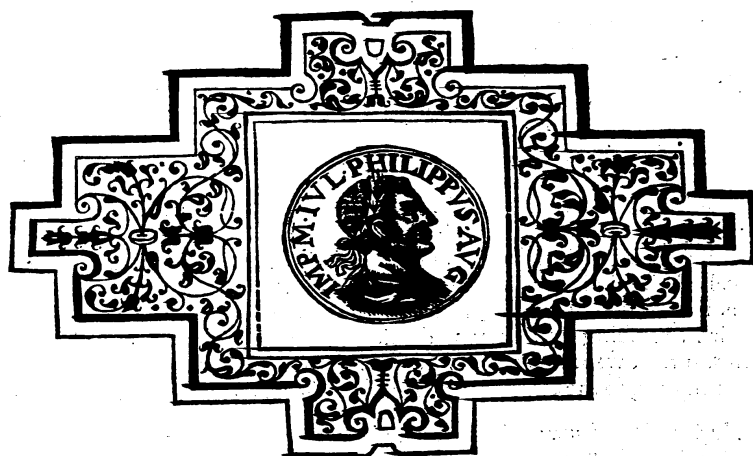
which seemeth to be annexed thereto, for that in the Philippick fields he was put to the worse by the Alanes; and also for that he was commaunded to be slaine by PHILIP.

Y

THE



## THE LIFE OF PHILIP THE FIRST, AND NINE AND TWENTITH EMPE- ROVR OF ROME.



**B**y the subtiltie and wicked practises (which wee haue alreadie before declared) this traitor PHILIP came to the Empire, and was sworne and obeyed by all the whole armie: and he presently aduertised the Senate of his election, and of the death of GORDIANVS, concealing the manner thereof; alleaging that hee died of his naturall infirmitie. The Senate giuing credit to his letters, confirmed and approued his election, and gaue him the name of AVGVSTVS: which when he vnderstood, hauing a great desire to come to *Rome*, and to see himselfe Lord thereof, hee made a dishonourable peace with the Persians; and leauing vnto them the prouince of *Mesopotamia*, and part of *Syria*, he came with his armie towards *Rome*. But first he desired to visit his countrie *Arabia*; wherein, for a memoiall of his name, he builded a citie, which he called *Philopolis*, in the fields neere the place where he was borne; & made his son his companion in the Empire, whose name was also PHILIP

Philip made  
peace with  
the Persians.

LIP

LIP, a child of sixe or seuen yeeres old: who (as AVRELIVS VICTOR, and EVTROIPIVS doe write) was naturally so sad and so sowe, that he was neuer seene to laugh, neither could any man by any deuice prouoke him to laughter. PHILIP being come to *Rome*, although hee was receiued as soueraigne Lord, yet was his coming nothing pleasing to the Senate nor Romane people, considering that he had left and giuen away the prouince of *Mesopotamia* to the Persians: Which when hee vnderstood, after that hee had made a great largesse, and distributed much money and other gifts among the people, thereby to get their good wils and friendship; he sought occasion to make warre against the Persians, and proclaimed the same; with a determination therein to haue recovered the honour which he had lost. But that warre ended before it began, without any breach of peace: for the Persians promised to restore the prouinces without warre or any resistance.

PHILIP hauing now raigned two yeeres (and a thousand yeeres being expired since that *Rome* was founded) hee commaunded certaine feasts and games to be made, which they called Secular, which was (as it were) to celebrate the birth day of *Rome*; which feasts were made in *Rome* euery hundred yeeres. Yet concerning the time there were many opinions; and some Emperours celebrated these feasts and shewes before their time, as the Emperour CLAVDIVS before remembred. But the truth is, that they were called Secular: for they could be made but once in all a mans whole life time. Finally, they were the most sumptuous and notable that euer were made in *Rome*: for so did OCTAVIVS make them, and CLAVDIVS also, as I haue said. And afterwards the Emperour DOMITIANVS, although he obserued not the iust computation of the yeeres, as did the Emperour CLAVDIVS, but followed the account of AVGVSTVS CESAR: and after that, SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS; and now this PHILIP celebrated the same, with the greatest pompe and magnificence that euer had bin seene before this time, as EVSEBIVS recordeth, who saith, That in the place called *Circulus Maximus*, were hunted and slaine an infinit number of wilde beasts; and that there also fought two thousand Sword-players, who (as wee haue said) slew one another to giue pleasure and delight to the beholders, in as furious manner as men now adaises vie to fight vpon challenges in single combats. It is also written, that in POMPEIES Theater were such shewes and games, that they lasted three daies and three nights continually; wherein were so great lights that men might see as well at midnight as at noone daies; whereof EVTROIPIVS and POMPONIVS also make mention. In these disports and about the end of them, as they were many, and there was little heed taken, POMPEIES Theater tooke fire, and the greatest part of the timber worke was burnt, with other very sumptuous buildings neere vnto it; which fire was hardly quenched. PAVLVS OROSIVS writeth, that this PHILIP was the first Christian Emperour that was truly baptized, and that beleeued and receiued the faith of Christ. Other authors affirme, that both hee, his mother and his sonne were christened; and that ORIGENES wrote certaine letters to him, wherein he perswaded him to beleue and to obserue the Christian faith. Others say, that he did but faine and dissemble it, thereby to make himselfe the stronger against DECIVS, through the helpe of the Christians, which DECIVS rebelled against him: But I rather beleue OROSIVS and EVSEBIVS.

PHILIP and his sonne living thus in the quiet possession of the Empire, the Goths, which in the time of GORDIANVS had infested *Thracia*, came now from *Scythia* with a very great armie through *Misia* into *Thracia*, and did much hurt therein,

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therein, burning many cities and townes: against which, the Emperour sent for Captaine one MARINVS, a man very expert in the warres, and very valiant of his person, who so soone as he was established in his charge, with the aide and fauour of the men of warre, whereof he before was Captaine, and of the ordinarie legions of *Illyricum*, leauing the seruice wherein he was emploied, resolved to rebell, and to make himselfe Emperour, holding it lawfull to betray him, that had been a traitor to another: and for such was presently sworne and proclaimed by the armie. When PHILIP vnderstood hereof, hee was much troubled: and in great feare complained to the Senate of the ingratitude and presumption of MARINVS. Some write that DECIVS was there present, who being a man of great wisedome and experience, very nobly descended, and was afterwards Emperour, did recomfort and encourage him, and perswaded him not to bee grieued therewith: for (quoth he) MARINVS his presumption will shortly cost him very deere, which happened so indeed: For within few daies after, the same armie which had chosen him, being discontented with the manner of his cariage toward them, were as readie to bereaue him of his life, as they were to make him Emperour; and accordingly slew him. Which newes being brought to PHILIP, and he remembring what DECIVS had said in the Senate, gaue him the charge and commaund of the armie against the Gothes and Scythians, with a great encrease both of men and munition, and of all things necessarie for such an enterprife. DECIVS as a man of experience and discretion, and sufficiently able to discharge that office, came to the armie, where within few daies al the souldiers as well for the worthines of his person, as also for that they stood in feare of PHILIP for those matters alreadie lately passed, resolved to make him Emperour: and so indeed by force and against his will they made him to take the ensignes, name and dignitie of Emperour. When DECIVS saw himselfe aduanced to so high estate, hee practised a cunning policie, which was thus; He priuily sent a secret messenger to tell PHILIP that he had accepted the title of Emperour, being perforce constrained thereto, as was well knowne; but held no man for Emperour but PHILIP; and that he therefore should not be offended: for hee did assure him that so soone as he could possibly get any libertie, he would renounce the Empire. This hee did to the end that PHILIP should take no care, nor make any such preparation against him, as reason required: and finally, to temporize vntill that he might encrease his power, and make himselfe able to defend his cause. But PHILIP (whether he gaue credit to his speeches or no) forflowed not his busines, but determined with himselfe to repose no trust in any other Captaine, but to goe against him himselfe in person; and to that end leuied many new troupes, and sent for the ordinarie legions out of fundrie prouinces, threatening and swearing that he would teare DECIVS and the rebellious legions which were with him in peeces. And so departed from Rome, commanding his men of warre with such choler and in such haucie manner, that he became hatefull to all men. And they holding DECIVS more worthie of the Empire then him, before hee went out of *Italy* in the citie of *Verona*, proclaiming DECIVS Emperour, his owne souldiers killed him, cutting his head off, by the midst of his face, iust with the vpper row of his teeth.

So soone as the newes hereof came to Rome, the Pretorian souldiers killed his sad sonne, who was neuer knowne to laugh; being (according to some writers) about the fift yeere of his and his fathers raigne; and after some other writers, the seuenth: which happened in the yeere of our Lord two hundred, fiftie and two, after EVSEBIUS his computation.

Truly

Truly it was the iust iudgement of God, that by the same meanes that he obtained the Empire, he lost the same: and the same souldiers by whose hands he put his good liege Lord GORDIANVS to death; euen the very same souldiers killed him: so as, as he was a traitor and disloyall to his soueraigne; so found he none faithfull to him being lord.

## THE LIFE OF DECIVS, ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND THIRTITH EMPEVOVR OF ROME.



**P**HILIP and his sonne being both dead (in such manner as before is expressed) DECIVS without any contradiction was confirmed Emperour: for the Senate presently chose him in his absence, and gaue him the title of AVGVSTVS, and so did all the prouinces and the armies: For all writers affirme, that morally this DECIVS was an excellent man, and was endued with many vertues and iusticiencies, and was very wise and discreet, and of great experience, and had held many offices and dignities before he attained to the Empire; which he obtained not by fauour or any sinister meanes; but for his deserts and goodnes: and so executed the same wisely and vprightly, with singular equitie and authoritie. The like he did in the Empire, during the small time that he enioyed the same: and aboue all, he was a most politicke, valiant and excellent Captaine; so as he might iustly haue been numbred among the good Emperors, if he had not (as an infidell) persecuted the Church of God and all Christians, with most excessiue crueltie, such, as the like thereof had neuer been seene: the

Y 3

which

Marinus rebelled against Philip.

Decius made Emperour by the souldiers against his wil.

Preparation made by Philip against Decius.

Philip slaine in Verona by his owne souldiers.

The seventh  
persecution of  
the Church  
of God.

which (as some writers affirme) he did of malice, and for the hatred which he bare against his predecessor the Emperour PHILIP, for that he was a Christian: And so in his time the Church of God suffered the seventh persecution. In such sort hee persecuted in his crueltie, staining therewith his other vertues, that he crowned many with martyrdome; leauing to vs examples of their holy and vertuous liues and endings. This emperour was borne in a citie called *Cabali* in the lower *Pannonia*, which we call *Hungarie*, and (as we haue said) was of a very noble and auncient linage. So soone as he saw himselfe an absolute Lord through the desire he had to come to *Rome*, he made CORNELIUS LICINIUS VALERIANVS generall of his mightie armie, who was a wise man and of great experience: so as for his good conditions, and his age, being threescore and sixe yeeres old; he was of great authoritie, and to all men seemed most fitte for that charge. When DECIVS was come to *Rome* hee shewed himselfe in all thing a very good gouernour, and preferred the authoritie of the Senate; following their counsell and opinion in all matters of gouernment. And among other things, he permitted them to chuse a censor at their pleasure, which was an auncient magistracie of great authoritie; for his office was to correct the manners and customes, and to reforme the abuses and disorders of the people, and therefore had supreme iurisdiction ouer all men: and this office, from the time that *Rome* came to be commaunded by one head, the Emperours vsurped, and made themselves Censors. Whereupon the Senate chose the said VALERIANVS for Censor, notwithstanding that hee was absent: and moreover, without any request made by DECIVS; they nominated his sonne (whose name was also DECIVS) CÆSAR, and his successor. And so he remained in the citie about one yeere, gouerning all things with great wisdom and equitie, by the aduise and consent of the Senate, to the great contentment of all the *Romane* people, excepting the Christian common-wealth: against which, he (as a blinde man) made generall edicts and decrees, whereby he commaunded them to be slaine, and persecuted (as EUSEBIUS testifieth.) And whereas the Gothes at this time inuading *Thracia* and *Misia*, had subdued the greatest part of those prouinces; DECIVS determined in person to make head against them, and carrying his sonne with him, he left the gouernment in the hands of the Senate; and leuying new forces, he marched against the Gothes; and comming where his legions were, within few daies after he ioined battaile with them: wherein although it were very doubtfull; yet in the end he obtained the victorie, and slew 30000. of them; and constrained the rest to flie to the mountaines and other places of hard access, not daring to come into the plaines; and brought them to such extremitie that he had easily destroyed them, if he had not been betrayed, as you shall heare. For the King of the Gothes sent him word, that if he would giue him leaue quietly to depart, he would abandon that land, and returne to his countrie; but the Emperour hauing taken the passages, imagining that hee might easily kill them, or take them prisoners, and so punish their breach of peace graunted them in the time of BALBINVS, would not yeeld to the Kings request; and hauing brought them to such a streight that they could not escape out of his hands, he gaue the charge to a notable Captaine of his, whose name was TREBONIANVS GALLVS, being a *Romane* gentleman and gouernour of the frontiers of *Misia*, to keepe certaine passages, through which the Gothes might passe; and to that effect gaue him the commaund of a great number of souldiers. Who hauing a desire to make himselfe Emperour, by such meanes as then were vsed, not onely dis-

Valerianus  
made Censor by  
the Senate.

The Senate  
chose young  
Decius, Cæsar  
and his fathers  
successor.

the battaile be-  
tweene Decius  
and the Gothes.

charged

charged his office wherein he was employed, very ill, but gaue secret intelligence to the King of the Gothes that hee would let him passe, aduising him therewith to diuide his armie into two parts, the one halfe whereof hee should lay in ambush; and with the other, hee should assault the Emperours campe, who mistrusted no such matter: and that faining feare, hee should flie backe and draw the Emperour into his ambush, where hee might in fastie kill him. This contract being made, the effect followed (as writeth POMPONIVS LETVS) but IORNANDES relateth it after another manner. Yet all authors agree that through the treason of his Captaine GALLVS, the Emperour DECIVS came to a battaile with the Gothes, to their great aduantage; wherein notwithstanding that he, and his souldiers fought most valiantly, yet both himselfe and his sonne therein ended their liues. IORNANDES writeth, that before that a man could well iudge of the victorie, the young DECIVS was so mortally wounded with an arrow, that he fell from his horse in fight of his father the Emperour, who with a loud voyce called to his souldiers, willing them not to bee dismaied: for the death of one Knight would be no hindrance to the common-wealth, neither to the battaile. But in the end foreseeing his perdition, and that the Gothes apparantly had the victorie; to the end that he would not fall into his enemies hands, he clapt his spurres to his horse sides, and giuing him the head, leapt into a deepe lake of water which was there by; wherein through the waight of his armour he was soone drowned: so as his body was neuer found. The Gothes following the victorie, made great slaughter in the *Romane* armie, which was put to route; and those which escaped fled to the legions which TREBONIANVS GALLVS commaunded, who as a confederat with the Gothes, was in fastie; and sought no reuenge for the death of the Emperour. And in this manner ended the life and raigne of the Emperour DECIVS, who had oftentimes deserued the same for the cruelties which he commaunded to be executed vpon the Christians, which happened in the yeere of our Sauour 254. and in the fiftith yeere of his age, when hee had raigned but onely two yeeres. It is not knowne who was this Emperours wife, neither what his father and auncetors names were, or who they were; neither can wee set downe any particularities, as we haue obserued in the liues of other Emperors, for that no author maketh any mention thereof, and all write very little of him. I say this to the end that the reader may vnderstand, that I will not presume to write at large in a matter, wherein I finde such breuitie vsed by the authors: for I seeke rather briefly to set downe the naked truth, then to beautifie the Historie with leasings, as I haue seene some men doe. My purpose from the beginning hath been to be brieue: for I doe not properly write an Historie, but the sum and an abridgement of Histories, containing the liues of the Emperours, whereof we will write more largely when it shall seeme more expedient, although that in the times whereof we now write, the historiographers wrote so negligently, and obserued so little order, that a man can hardly draw that little out of their writings which we treat of.

Trebonianus  
Gallus betrayed  
Decius and  
was the cause  
of his death.

A battaile be-  
tweene Decius  
and the  
Goths.

The generous  
speeches used  
by Decius see-  
ing hee was  
mortally wound-  
ed fall to the  
ground.

The miserable  
death of De-  
cius.

Ann. dom. 254.

THE



THE LIFE OF TREBO-  
NIANVS GALLVS, ONLY  
OF THIS NAME, AND ONE  
and thirtieth Emperor of Rome.



**T**HE Gothes hauing, through the occasion aboue expressed, obtained this victorie, wherein both DECIVS and his son died, those souldiers which thence escaped recouering GALLVS his campe, hailed him Emperour, knowing nothing of the treason which hee had committed: and hee which desired nothing more, accepted the same, and tooke the Ensignes of the Empire. When the newes of the death of DECIVS and of his son came to Rome, and of the slaughter made in the Romane armie (before that GALLVS his treason was discovered) the Senate vnderstanding that the armie had chosen him for Emperour, and that his companies had rescued those which escaped from the battaile, confirmed his election, and gaue him the name and title of AVGVSTVS. But this GALLVS, notwithstanding that he was a gentleman, and descended of an high lineage, was not contented with the treason which hee had vsed towards his Emperour and foueraigne Lord, but through a desire to come to Rome, made peace with the Gothes; the most shamefull and vituperable, that euer was made by any Romane

since

A dishonorable  
peace made by  
Gallus with  
the Gothes.

since that Rome was first founded: for he agreed and promised to pay them yeerely a great summe of money; making that people which was held for Lord of the world, and subduer and tamer of all other Nations, tributarie to the barbarous: so as to the end that he might be called Emperour, hee made both himselfe and the Empire tributarie, and subiect to the Gothes. Such power hath ambition and desire to raigne, that men thereby make themselves slaues and bondmen to some, conditionally that they may commaund and haue authoritie ouer others. And he prospered as ill therewith as he had deserued: for the Gothes afterwards brake the peace, and did more harme in his time then in any age before, sacking and spoiling the prouinces of *Thracia*, *Misia*, *Thessalia*, *Macedonia*, and the confines and frontiers thereof: for all which hee tooke little care. And of the other side, the Persians in *Asia* seeing the good successe of the Gothes, entred with great power into the countries of *Mesopotamia*, and *Syria*; which were prouinces of the Empire: and afterwards passing forwards they subdued *Armenia*. But GALLVS taking no care for these things, made his sonne BOLVSS his companion in the Empire, who was a very childe. And afterwards, hee not onely permitted the persecution inflicted by DECIVS vpon the Christians, but encreased the same. There began also in his time a most cruell generall pestilence, whereof died an infinite number of people; which began in *Ethiopia* in the confines of *Egypt*; and from thence infected all parts of the world, and continued tenne yeeres: during which time (as PAVLVS OROSIVS recounteth) there was no prouince, no citie, nor particular house which was not left in a manner desolate with this vniuersall plague, whereof he compiled a booke, as EVSEBIVS and S. Cyprian beare record, which liued in those times. So as all the raigne of this wicked Emperour was unfortunate and sorrowfull, as well for the prouinces which hee lost, as for the calamities before recited. Onely he had one notable victorie in the prouince of *Misia* against the Gothes, vnder the leading of EMILIANVS a Captaine of his: wherein he slew many thousands of them, and followed the execution for certaine daies journey. This ouerthrow was the ruine and totall destruction of GALLVS: for EMILIANVS waxing proud for so great a victorie, and returning from it with an imagination of that which afterwards ensued, gaue great gifts among his souldiers; and so getting their loue and goodwill, was called, chosen and sworne Emperour. Which when GALLVS vnderstood, with al the haste that he could make, he departed from Rome with a great armie, leading his sonne with him: against whom EMILIANVS boldly came to a battaile and had the victorie, wherein GALLVS and his sonne were both slaine, and their souldiers went to serue EMILIANVS. This happened in the yeere of our Lord 256. GALLVS being then (as testifieth AVRELIVS VICTOR) of the age of seuen and fortie yeeres, and in the second yeere of his most vnhappy raigne.

The Gothes  
brake the peace  
made with Gal-  
lus.

The Persians  
entred the pro-  
uinces of the  
Empire.

An vniuersall  
plague in the  
time of Decius.

Emilianus  
ouerthrow  
the Gothes in a  
battaile.

Emilianus  
chosen Empe-  
rour.  
The Emperour  
Gallus and his  
sonne both  
slaine in bat-  
taile.  
Anno Dom.  
256.

THE

THE LIFE OF EMILIANVS,  
ONLY OF THIS NAME,  
AND TWO AND THIRTITH  
EMPEROVR OF ROME.



**E**MILIANVS succeeded GALLVS in the Empire: Some authors account him not in the number of the Emperours, and shew a reason for it, considering the small time that he held and enjoyed the same; which was rather in name then effect: but seeing that hee was so, I haue thought good to make particular relation of him, for as much as EVTROPIVS and other authors haue done the like. I say then, that the Emperor GALLVS being ouerthrowne and slaine, and EMILIANVS remaining victorious, ioyning both armies in one, he began to vse the name and authoritie which was giuen him. But as the time of his raigne was so short, that it lasted not aboute foure moneths, there can no notable thing bee written of him: for as his time was very brieft, so doe authors briefly write. Hee was by birth an Africane, borne in the countrie of *Mauritania*, of base and obscure parentage, and from his youth was bred vp in the warres: and as he encreased in yeeres, so did he in honour and offices. At length the Emperour DECIVS made him Captaine Generall, and gouernour of the frontiers and confines of *Sarmatia*; in which charge GALLVS left him, and there succeeded that which wee haue recited, which was to obtaine a victorie against the Gothes, and to rebell against GALLVS; and afterwards to ouerthrow and kill both him and his son, and to make himselfe Emperour. So soone as these matters were ended, hee wrote with all speede to the Senate, giuing it to vnderstand of his victorie, and election, putting them also in minde of the negligence and euill gouernment of GALLVS, and of the prouinces which the Romane Empire had lost in his time, promising very confidently to recouer *Thracia* from the Gothes, and *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia* from

The origine of  
Emilianus.

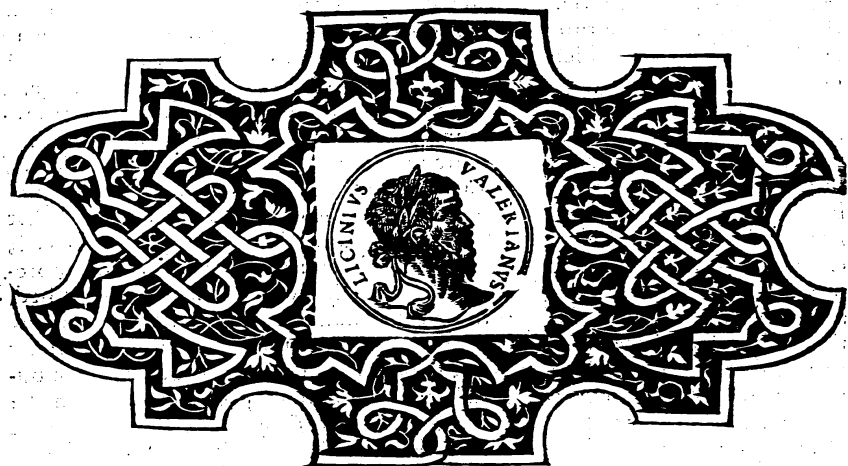
Large promiser  
made by Emilianus.

from the Persians, and to cleere all the confines of the Empire from all their enemies: which his purpose as he would haue put in execution, he was hindred; for the armie which was in the Alpes, wherof VALERIANVS, a man of noble linage and of great authoritie, was Captaine, who reprooued and in no case would allow the election of EMILIANVS, rose against him, and chose their Captaine for Emperour. Which when EMILIANVS his souldiers vnderstood, moued with the reputation of VALERIANVS, which, as we will declare in his life, was very great, and to auoide ciuill warres, they determined to approoue and confirme his election: and so in a manner by the common consent of them all, EMILIANVS was slaine, being fortie yeeres old, when hee had raigned little more then three moneths. And all his troupes went to serue VALERIANVS, to whom they sware, and obeyed him for their Lord and Emperour. And this was the remnant of the raigne of EMILIANVS, because his end should bee such as was his beginning. And in truth writing this discourse, and considering in my minde of the estate and condition of things in those times, I was moued with great admiration and pitie, to thinke of the miseries which then were in the world: for where there was such dissolution and disorder, that souldiers did daily murder their Emperours, and chose others such as they pleased, and no man sought to punish them, or to reuenge the wrong; what shal a man think was done in the particular prouinces? what robberies, what iniuries and outrages were there vsed? What execution of iustice could that Emperour commaund to be done, which came to the Empire by treason, and by killing his soueraigne Lord? It is credibly to be beleueed, that he would easily pardon all offences, vpon condition that hee might be obeyed; especially such as were committed by principall and mightie men. And moreover, oftentimes the newes of the election of an Emperour was scarcely published, and his election confirmed, before that the like newes came, that he was slaine by those which had chosen him, or by some other more mightie personage. And it may be that it happened so vnto them, for that they tooke no other care, nor busied themselves about ought else, but how they might support themselves in the Empire. And so the reader shall finde that thirteene Emperours which preceded VALERIANVS, of which wee will treat, died violent deaths, and none of them naturally, as wee say, in his bed, beginning from the time of the good MARCVS AVRELIVS, vntill this man. And so the same VALERIANVS, together with his sonne, and other Emperours also died by the sword. In the time that this VALERIANVS and GALIENVS raigned, there were thirtie tyrants which vsurped the name of Emperour; which killing one another, or complotting it by some other meanes, none of them died of his naturall death: so as, so soone as one was proclaimed Emperour, he might be assured to come to an euill end. In such sort, that among all the miseries of those times, the greatest was to be an Emperour; and the Emperours were such, and came to that dignitie by such meanes, that by the iust iudgement of God they made such ends. And although that in al estates there were disorders and confusion, and so it appeareth by the histories of those times; yet onely the holie faith and Christian doctrine encreased, as well in vertue and holines of life, as in number of people: but they escaped not free from persecution and miseries. This I haue thought good to note and to consider in this place, thereby to shew that men ought not so much to blame these times wherein wee now liue, as some haue done; commending the customes of ancient times, diffaming and reproouing all that passeth in our time. I doe not denie but that wee now are wicked and sinners; but let the discrete reader make a comparison of the

Emilianus  
slaine by his  
souldiers, and  
Valerianus  
made Emperour.

the common order now obserued in all things, with that manner of gouernment in those daies; and he shall cleerly perceiue the difference, and how farre this doth excell the time then, through the mercie of God, whom we beseech to amend what is amisse.

## THE LIFE OF THE EM- PEROVR VALERIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND THREE AND THIRTIH EMPOVR OF ROME.



*Valerianus  
fauoured of  
all men.*

**W**E haue alreadie declared, how that VALERIANVS was chosen Emperour, by the souldiers whereof he was Generall, and how that EMILIANVS was afterwards slaine, by the hands of his owne souldiers; and that all reduced themselves vnder the seruice of VALERIANVS; and that in this manner he was held for Emperour both in Rome, and abroad, with as great fauour and good liking of all nations, as euer any had bin. VALERIANVS when he was chosen Emperour, was of great age: for all authors which write of him affirme, that he was then fullie threescore and ten yecres old; which time he had spent with great honor and fame vnder both good and euill Emperours, by meanes of his excellent conditions and sufficiencies; and had attained to many dignities, and had held many magistracies and offices: among which, in the time of the Emperour DECIVS he was made Censor of Rome, and was highlie honored and extolled by the same DECIVS, and by all the Senate; and was also of a very noble and auncient house and familie. Finallie, in all his life time before that he was Emperour, he was honored and happie in all his doings; and so there was great hope that

that he should haue redressed and ended all the calamities and miseries of his time. All which hapned cleane contrarie: for after his ioyfull beginning, in all the rest of his age he was miserable and infortunate. When he came to the Empire he had two sonnes, the one called GALIENVS, and the other (as himselfe) VALERIANVS, which he had by seuerall women. TREBELLIVS POLLIO and others say, that VALERIANVS was but his nephew. His victorie and election being knowne in Rome, and with great ioy and gladnes confirmed, GALIENVS being then there, was by the Senate and people chosen CÆSAR, and his fathers successor, as afterwards he was, as EUTROPIVS writeth: but SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR saith, that his father made him AVGVSTVS, which was, his equall and companion with him in the Empire, both the one and the other might well be. His second sonne VALERIANVS (as some say) was made CÆSAR; and others name him not. VALERIANVS beginning to take vpon him the gouernment of the Empire, the first thing that he did, was to nominate and appoint Captaines chosen among many noble men, which had serued in the warres against the Parthians, the Persians, the Gothes, and other northerlie nations, and which were men of experience, and had shewed themselves valiant in armes; and so he determined to go himselfe in person (and did so) to the warres of the East, against the Persians, which was the most dangerous: for SAPOR King of Persia had inuaded and taken certaine prouinces of the Empire.

*Galiennus made  
Cesar by the  
Senate.*

There was also in those times in the East one CORIALVS an audacious man, and of great account, who with the consent of SAPOR King of Persia, proclaimed himselfe Emperour, and seased on the cities of Casarea, Antioch, and other cities and places in the borders; but his prosperitie soone ended: for his owne people of malice, and fearing the coming of VALERIANVS, flue him before that VALERIANVS arrived. EVSEBIVS reporteth, that this Emperour in the beginning of his raigne was so gentle and so great a friend to the Christians, that he suffered not any wrong or violence to be done vnto them, but fauoured and honored them in so high degree, that his house and pallace was as a Church and an habitation for them, but afterwards through the deceit and perswasion of a Magician or Nigromancer, who was an Egyptian borne, an arrant coosoner, and a notable maister in forcerie and witchcraft, he not only desisted from fauoring them, but vsed extreme crueltie in all places wherefoeuer he found any of them: so as in his time was the ninth persecution of the Catholike Church, whereof PAVLVS OROSIVS in his histories maketh particular mention. For which sinne it was beleueed, that God permitted the great misfortunes which befell him, which were: that he passing with a great armie into the East against SAPOR King of the Persians, SAPOR which was a man of great courage and very mightie, came to meete him; betweene which it was supposed that there would haue been a very great battaile; but it happened otherwise: for the Emperour through the negligence (as some say) of the Generall of his armie who conducted him, but as others say, through the treason and deceit of the same Generall, was set in a place without any sufficient guard, where being compassed about by SAPORS men of warre, all the passages were taken in such sort, that being vnable to make any resistance, he was taken prisoner by SAPOR. Who as a proud barbarian, besides the other iniuries which he vsed to the poore old imprisoned Emperour, euery time that he tooke horse, he made him to stoupe downe, and he setting his foote vpon his neck, mounted on horseback. In this sorrowfull bondage and miserie liued this poore old man fixe or seauen yecres, and his sonne GALIENVS tooke no care to procure

*Corialus chosen  
Emperour by  
the consent of  
the King of  
Persia, and  
his death.*

*The ninth per-  
secution of the  
Christians.*

*Valerianus  
taken prisoner  
by Sapor King  
of the Persians,  
and his rage.*

procure his libertie, to the great shame and disgrace of the Romane Imperiall maiestie.

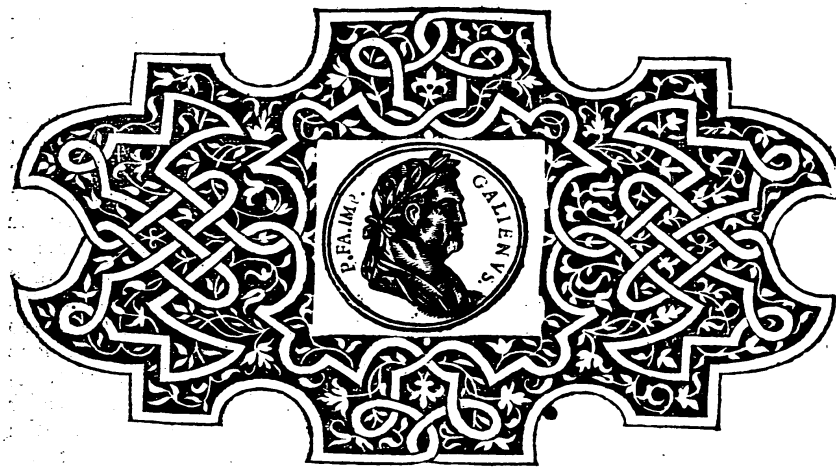
This imprisonment of the Emperour was so much abhorred through the world, and Sapor was so much reprobued for the excessiue crueltie which he vsed towards him, that not only those which were subiect to the Romane Empire; but also the barbarous Kings which were friends to it, were greatly displeased therewith: so as presentlie so soone as they vnderstood thereof, they wrote their letters vnto him, that he should freely without any rancome set him at libertie; of which letters TREBELLIVS POLLIO translateth one, which I will set downe verbatim, whereby it may appeare how much the power of the Romanes then was by them esteemed. BELSOLVS King of Kings, to King Sapor, greeting. If I were assured that the Romanes might at any time be wholie overcome, I would reioice with thee for the victorie which thou hast obtained against them, whereof thou makest such vaunts, accounting thy particular good to be profitable for vs all. But seeing that through their fortune, or their force and vertue, that nation is so mightie, consider and take good heed that the taking of an old Emperour (and that through treacherie) redpund not to the hurt of thy selfe and thy successors: and consider how many people and nations the Romanes, of enemies, haue made subiects and vassals to their Empire, by which in former time they haue bin overcome. We haue heard & do know, that in times past the Gaules ouercame them, and that the great and mightie citie of Rome was entred, yea and burned by them, and now it is manifest that the same Gaules are subiect to the Romanes. And haue not the Africanes ouerthrowne the sometimes: yet at this day they are their subiects, and do serue them. I will not make mention of any more auncient and farther remote examples, only I will say, that MITRIDATES King of Pontus was Lord of all Asia, and yet in the end was ouerthrowne by them, and at this day all that part of Asia which he commaunded, is subiect to the Romanes. If thou wilt follow my counsell, make benefit of the occasion which is offred thee, to obtaine a perfect peace with them, which thou maist do, by restoring VALERIANVS to his people: and so I conclude, that thou hast had great fortune, whereof I am glad if thou know how to vse it. This is the contents of this Letter, and of others, which he receiued from other Kings, which in effect import the same. And the Bactrians, the Albanians, the Iberians, the Scythians of mount Taurus, and other nations of the East were so much displeased with the taking of VALERIANVS, that they would not receiue the letters, wherein Sapor wrote vnto them of his victorie: and so they sent their Ambassadors to the Captaines of the Romanes, offering them their aid and assistance for the deliuerie of the Emperour. But all did not auaille to mitigate the pride and presumption of that cruell King. For all the time that VALERIANVS liued in his power, he vsed him worse, then if he had bin the arrantest slaue in the world, and in the end (as EVSEBIVS writeth) hauing commaunded his eies to be pulled out, he died of age and sorrow in prison. And AGATHVS, a writer of no small authoritie, writeth, that before that he died Sapor made him to be fleyed aliue: such was the pride and crueltie of this barbarous King. VALERIANVS died in the eight yeere after that he was chosen Emperour; and because that the most of the time he liued in prison, the rest of his raigne they put to the account of his sonne GALIENVS, who was chosen Emperour at the same time with him.

A Letter from King Belsolus to Sapor King of Persia.

The death of Valerianus.



# THE LIFE OF GALIENVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRE AND THIRTITH ROMANE EMPE ROVR.



## THE ARGVMENT.



Valerianus being taken prisoner by the King of the Persians, his sonne Galienus, in whose companie he had ruled the Empire the space of seauen yeeres; neither made any preparation to reuenge the wrong done to his father, neither took any care to redeeme him from imprisonment with money or any other meanes; and so seeing himselfe alone in the Empire, wholly forgetting his father, leading a life no lesse rechelesse then dishonest; spending his time in banquetting, bawchings, lasciuiousnes, and in beholding sometimes bloudie and cruell; and sometimes pleasant and ridiculous spectacles. This Emperour made so small account of his owne glorie, and was so carelesse of the Empire which he possessed; that notwithstanding that he vnderstode of the rebellion of many prouinces, and that many men were made Emperours, yet he seemed not to regard the same, alledging that he could liue well enough without them: In so much that a woman, the Queene Zenobia, was so bold as to make head against him, and to defend her selfe against his armies. Finally, going against Aureolus, who made himselfe prince of Slaunonia and was besieged in Milane, through the conspiracie of some which aspired to the Empire, he was slaine in a battaile, when he had reigned

eight yeeres alone, and seuen together with his father; whose death although it was displeasing to his souldiers, was not much lamented by the Romanes; which vnder his government had seene in a manner all the whole Empire ruinated, together with his owne greatnes.



When VALERIANVS was taken prisoner, his son GALIENVS was admitted for sole and absolute Emperour; although that in his fathers time he was but AVGVSTVS. I haue already declared how offensive the imprisonment of VALERIANVS was, and how that all the world surmised that GALIENVS would haue employed all his power, for the libertie of his father, and to haue been reuenged of the iniurie done vnto him: but he put no such matter in execution; for it was the least part of his thought; so as it is to be beleued, and many were then of opinion, that he was rather glad that his father was a slaue to the King of Persia, then otherwise: for by that meanes he was sole Lord of the Empire; which he commaunded fifteene yeeres, seuen yeeres in the life time of his father, although in prison; and the rest afterwards. The Historie of which Emperours, is the most confused and hardest to write, of all that euer I haue read or handled in any life: for in the space of these fifteene yeeres; there were more excellent men which tooke vpon them the name of Emperours, or were so, although tyrants; then in three hundred yeeres before, after that IVLIVS CÆSAR had oppressed the libertie of Rome. For in the time of GALIENVS there were thirtie Emperours chosen, and obeyed in diuers places: let the discrete reader then consider, that where there happened so many accidents, which often came together, what order or rule there can be obserued, but that there will be confusion and obscuritie in the Historie, principally considering the breuitie which I am to vse; and hauing so little light from the authors. For I say, that although that many haue treated of the life of this Emperour, yet no one hath written so plaine and distinctly as he ought to haue done: and besides this, in some things the one writeth cleane contrarie to the other. Therefore I will vse my best endeavour to bring this obscuritie and confusion to light, wherewith let the reader rest satisfied, seeing I cannot possibly doe otherwise; except I should writhe the matter very much at large, which were to disorder the whole, thereby to set one part in order. I say then, that in the raigne and time of GALIENVS; there were greater warres and calamities, then the Romane Empire had euer endured. For VALERIANVS (as PAVLVVS OROSIVS noteth) hauing generally and particularly persecuted the Catholicke Church in all places and parts in his subiection, it pleased God, as well in his owne person, as in his ministers and officers, and in all those which therein were confederates, to vse public and notable punishment in all parts, in the time of his sonne, and the greatest part thereof in his owne time, living in captiuitie. And notwithstanding that GALIENVS so soone as hee alone swaied the scepter of the Empire (as EVSEBIVS and OROSIVS testifie) commanded the persecution inflicted vpon the Christians to cease, sending his letters and edicts to all parts: but as hee did it as an Infidell, and for feare onely, so the diuine iustice ceased not to punish the excessive cruelties past, for a fained present amendement. So as during the whole life time of GALIENVS, the Empire was vsurped by diuers tyrants, which were called Emperours: onely Italy and Rome continued firme to him. And in that time also, strange Nations entred and inuaded the Empire with fire and sword; of one side the Germanes came downe into Italy, and passing the Alpes came as farre

In the time of Galienus were thirtie Emperours in sundrie parts.

The authors excuse.

Harmes done in the Empire by strange nations, in the time of Galienus.

farre as Rauenna: The Gothes robbed and spoiled all Pontus, and a great part of Asia the lesse: and in Europe all Gracia, Macedonia, and their confines: The Sarmates subdued and robbed Austria and Hungary: The Germanes passing through France entred Spaine, so farre as to the citie of Tarragona, which they destroyed: The Persians and Parthians already possessing Mesopotamia, seized vpon the greatest part of Syria. So as in conclusion all things went so to wracke, that all writers affirme, that the Romane Empire had then ended and come to confusion, had not those tyrants, which in many places rose and called themselves Emperours (some of which were very valiant and worthie men) holpen to defend and plucke the Empire out of the hands of those strange Nations, as wee will declare. And the Emperour to whom it appertained to, prouide for all things, although that in the beginning he made some good shew of himselfe, performing some things as a valiant Captaine, and ouercame and slew INGENVS a wise and valiant Knight, which rebelled and was called Emperour; being Captaine and gouernour of Hungary and Austria; and also fought a battaile wherein hee ouercame the Gothes, in which victories he vsed incredible crueltie, so as in one citie he left no man living, of what age soeuer: But yet afterwards hee gaue himselfe so much to vice and sensuality, that while as the world was infested with wars and battailes, hee remained the most part in Rome, taking his pleasure among whores and bawdes, compassed about with roses and flowers; seeking new delights, oftentimes bathing himselfe; studying how hee might keepe figges and other fruites greene all the yeere; and how they might last two or three yeeres; hauing ordinarily at his table most exquisite and delicate meates, and of great cost. And in such manner he passed his time, that nothing troubled him, neither tooke hee any care for the losses which daily ensued of the lands of his Empire. It is a strange matter to consider, that the Romane Empire at that time was not onely vexed and molested with warres and persecutions by men, but euen the very heauens and elements did seeme to conspire, and to plague it: for TREBELLIVS POLLIO writeth, that the heauens were darkened in such sort, that for many daies space, they neuer saw the Sunne; and therewithall the earth did oftentimes shake in Rome, in all Italy, in Africa, and other countries: and with those Earthquakes, many great buildings fell downe, and slew an infinite number of people. Principally in Asia many cities were destroyed, and the earth opened in many places, and shewed great vaultes and caues; and there sprang out at them great streames of salt water. And there were heard thundrings and rorings in the bowels of the earth, without any thunder in the aire, as is vsuall: whereat many were so amazed, that they died with feare. The Sea exceeded his limits, and overflowed and drowned many cities; and many prodigious and wonderfull things happened. After this followed the most cruell pestilence that euer was heard or written of: so as in Rome there died in one day of that infirmitee fife thousand persons. For all which accidents GALIENVS tooke so little care, as though there had been no such matter. And when it was told him that the whole kingdome of Egypt rebelled against him, he answered; And what then? cannot we liue without the linnen cloth of Egypt? And being aduertised of the spoile and losse of other prouinces, he answered so scornefully, and so retchlessly, that hee seemed to care for nothing: which was the occasion that so many tyrants made themselves Lords and Emperours in his time. Of which it shall not be amisse to say something, seeing that we haue shewed the course and conditions of GALIENVS, and of his raigne; to the end that his historie may bee the better vnderstood. If I should speake of them

Great harmes done in sundrie parts of the world in the time of Galienus, by Earthquakes and other fearful things.

them all at large, and describe their parentage, and all their acts; it would bee an endlesse peece of worke: for (as I said) they were in all thirtie. But let the reader vnderstand, that all the accidents and occurrences cannot bee set downe in order as they passed: for they were so many, and happened in so many places, and many of them at one instant, that it would bee impossible to bee well vnderstood, if I should obserue the order of the time, wherein euery thing happened: for to speake of one matter I must leaue another; so as the historie would be abrupt and very confused. And therefore we will begin with those matters which happened in the East; and when we shall briefly haue giuen notice thereof, wee will passe to other parts. Wherefore let him that shall reade it vnderstand, that many of these things came to passe at one instant; and sometime before those which are treated of.

VALERIANVS then (as we said in the beginning) being taken prisoner, and his sonne vsing no industrie to set his father at libertie, the souldiers and Captaines which of his armie remained in the East, went disperfed and scattered with great sorrow for the disgrace which they had receiued; greatly offended with the carelesnes of GALIENVS. Wherefore BALISTA, who was Prefect and Generall of the Emperour VALERIANVS his armie, a very excellent man of warre, very sufficient, and diligent in making prouision for the armie, and in all other things requisite for the warres; and another singular Captaine of great experience and age, who was of greatest estimation of any man of his time, whose name was MACRINVS, assembling the Romane legions and cohorts together in a certaine place, with the consent and good liking of them all; they agreed to chuse an Emperour, to defend and conserue the bounds of the Empire, to recouer what was lost, and to set VALERIANVS (if possible) at libertie; seeing that GALIENVS took no care thereof. And after long consultation betweene BALISTA and MACRINVS, in the end MACRINVS was chosen and obeyed for Emperour; and with him his two sonnes, the one named MACRINVS, and the other QUIETVS, were made his companions in the Empire: and he presently made BALISTA Prefect or Generall of his armie. When MACRINVS saw himselfe an Emperour and very mightie, by reason of the armies in the East, which he speedily drew together and put in good order; he marched with them to the confines of the Persians, and in some battailes repressed their insolencies by reason of their former victories. But standing in feare of a valiant Captaine whose name was VALENS, who was Proconsul in the prouince of *Achaia* in *Gracia*; hee sent against him a great armie vnder the commaund of PISO, who had bin Consul, and was a very noble and valorous gentleman, to seise on that cuntry, and thence to passe into *Italy*. When VALENS vnderstood thereof, to the end to be of greater authoritie and power, he caused himselfe to be chosen Emperour, and tooke the ornaments and ensignes of the Empire, wherewith hee drew so many men vnto him, that PISO was driuen to retire with his troupes into *Thessalia*, and there was ouerthrowne and slaine by such, as VALENS sent against him: PISO hauing first proclaimed himselfe Emperour, vsing the same policie which his enemy had done. But VALENS did not long enioy this victorie; for within few daies after he himselfe was slaine by his owne souldiers. And MACRINVS who raigned Emperour in the East, after that he knew what passed concerning VALENS and PISO, not contenting himselfe with that which he held, determined with a great armie to goe to *Rome*, to rinate the Emperour GALIENVS (if hee were able) and other tyrants which rebelled: and left behind him QUIETVS one of his sonnes, and with him BALISTA,

Macrinus made Emperour in the East, together with his two sonnes.

Valens made himselfe to be chosen Emperour.

Piso slaine by Valens his souldiers.

Valens slaine by his owne souldiers.

STA, with certaine troupes of his best souldiers for feare of O DENATVS, of whom we will speake hereafter. And he began his iourney with fise and fortie thousand good men of warre, and marching our land through *Asia* the lesse, passing the streights of *Constantinople*, he entred into *Thracia*. But before all this, there arose another tyrant in *Slauonia* and *Dalmatia*, whose name was AVREOLVS, and was commaunder of those men of warre, which for the Empire were in those quarters, who (as some say) against his will, was constrained by his souldiers to take vpon him the state and ensignes of the Empire. So as it appeareth that in that small time, euery one held himselfe sufficient to be an Emperour; and that armie which made none, was held to be of little worth and of no reputation: but trulie the world paid them their due, for none of them died of their naturall death, and most of them were slaine by those which chose them. And MACRINVS being to passe with his armie through those countries which were in subiection to AVREOLVS, as both of them sought to be foueraigne Lords, they fell at variance, and MACRINVS fought a battaile with AVREOLVS his forces, whereof an excellent man called DOMICIANVS was Generall: wherein MACRINVS and his sonne were ouercome and slaine, there ending their high purposes and great power: But before that he fought this battaile (in his way passing through the prouince of *Achaia*) he ouerthrew the *Goths*, which had made great spoile and slaughter in the lands of the Empire, whereupon they retired, and a little withdrew themselves. And of MACRINVS his souldiers which escaped from the battaile, 30000. went ouer to AVREOLVS, and so where AVREOLVS thought that he should haue lost, from thence arose his fortunate gaine. Which newes when the lawfull Emperour GALIENVS vnderstood in *Rome*, finding himselfe too weake to subdue AVREOLVS, he made with him a kind of league and peace, thereby to end the warres which he had begun against POSTHVMVS, another excellent Captaine who rebelled in *France*, and was called Emperour: of whom (although this be his place) we will speake hereafter, to the end first to make an end of the troubles in the East, notwithstanding that in all parts of the Empire there were tyrants; neither can we make an end of AVREOLVS, because he outliued GALIENVS, and died in the time of his successor CLAVDIVS. I say then, that in the parts of the East there was an excellent wise man, whose name was O DENATVS, who was Prince and Captaine of a certaine people called Palmerini, inhabiting a prouince in *Syria*, and he seeing all things out of order (as all the rest did) sought to make himselfe absolute, and in the beginning, as writeth TREBELLIVS POLLIO, he was called a King; but afterwards things happening prosperously with him, he tooke vpon him the name and state of an Emperour, imparting the title and dignitie with HERODE the eldest of three sonnes, which he had by his first wife. This his tyranie was both honorable and profitable to the Romane Empire: for he perfourmed many very notable exploits against SAPOR King of *Persia*, who held VALERIANVS prisoner: so as sauing the setting of his person at libertie (for that could not be done) in all the rest he gat sufficient satisfaction for that which was lost, and recouered what SAPOR had vsurped. For raising many troupes of excellent good souldiers, he gaue him many battailes, in which he gat the victorie, recouered all *Mesopotamia*, and the noble cities of *Nisibe* and *Carras*, and compelled the same King SAPOR to flye (hauing first ouerthrowne him) and taking his wiues, his treasure and riches, he marched so farre as to the citie of *Tesiphonte*, and had other great aduentures and victories. But forasmuch as his chiefe purpose was against MACRINVS and his sonnes, he sent a great present

Aureolus Emperour in Dalmatia.

A battaile betwene Macrinus and Aureolus, wherein Macrinus was slaine.

A peace made by Galienus with Aureolus.

Posthumus Emperour in France.

Odenatus taketh the name of Emperour.

The prowess of Odenatus.

Odenatus accepted by Galienus for his companion in the Empire.

of iewels and prisoners which he had taken from the Persians, to the Emperour GALIENVS: and GALIENVS was so fickle and so base minded, that he not only accepted of the presents, but confirmed his election, giuing him the name of AVGVSTVS and his companion in the Empire, and he triumphed in Rome for the victorie which the other had obtained in Asia. While as O DENATVS gat these victories in the East, other great multitudes of Gothes (besides those which were already entred Thracia and Grecia in Europe) came downe into Asia the lesse, and so into Bithynia, burning and spoiling the countries.

When O DENATVS vnderstood of the death of MACRINVS and of his sonne, (as I haue declared) he presentlie resolved to march against QVIETVS, who was his other sonne, whom he had left in the East with BALISTA the Prefect of his armie, when he was proclaimed Emperour. And this iourney prouing so prosperous to O DENATVS as the rest had done, with little difficultie, he gat QVIETVS into his power, and made him to be slaine, and afterwards did the like by BALISTA. And although that some say that BALISTA was consenting to the death of QVIETVS, and that afterwards he attempted to make himselfe Emperour; yet all agree that he was put to death by O DENATVS, and in this manner remained he without any contradiction Lord of all the prouinces of the East, and valiantlie warred against the Persians. He had two other sonnes, the one called HERENNIANVS, and the other TIMOLAVS by his second wife ZENOBIA, the most manly and valorous woman that euer was in the world.

O DENATVS liuing in this prosperitie feared of all the Princes of the world, it happened that a cosen germane of his, whose name was MEONIVS, practised his death in hope to haue had the Empire of the East after him, and vsed such meanes that O DENATVS and HERODE his eldest sonne, who by his fathers order was also called Emperour, were both found dead, and MEONIVS the traitor and murderer, as he was wickedlie moued to kill O DENATVS; so it pleased God to permit him to be slaine in the like manner, and was within few daies after put to death by the same souldiers which help him to execute his treason, being a man which no way deserued the Empire, except by being of kin to O DENATVS: for he was a most vile and a wicked man. ZENOBIA, O DENATVS his wife remaining with her two yong sonnes a widow (seeming rather to haue neede of a tutor and gouernour, then to be able to rule and gouerne others) with courage and prudence more then manly began to rule, and caried herselfe therein with such wisdom and valour, as is incredible: and to the great disgrace of GALIENVS in his lifetime, and of CLAVDIVS his successor, she possessed the Empire of the East many yeeres, on the one side making warre against the Persians, and on the other side defending herselfe against the Romane Emperours. The vertues and noble acts of this woman were so many, that I would I had longer time to describe them: but because they require a particular historie, we will with our wonted pace hold on our way, wherein of force we must returne to meete with her, because that she liued in her prosperitie vntill the time of the Emperour AVRELIANVS, of whom we are to treat hereafter, where we will speake of her fall and end, if God permit. But to the end that the excellencies and vertues of this woman may be the better knowne seeing we recite not her acts, I say first that ZENOBIA was of an excellent good constitution of bodie, and was exceedinglie faire and beautifull, not very white, but somewhat browne. Her eies were great and black, very cleere and bright, and in all parts of her body she was proportionable. And as she was most excellently beautifull and amiable, so had she an honest

Odenatus and his eldest sonne brought to their end through the treason of his cosen germane Meonius.

The valour of Zenobia.

The stature and beautie of Zenobia.

nest countenance, and had such white and bright shining teeth, that they rather resembled pearles then teeth. Her voice was cleere, but sounding deepe more like a man then a woman. Herewith she was most honest and continent, and would neuer lye with her husband after that she was with child; neither twife, vntill that by naturall signes she knew whether she had conceiued or no. She was very wise, and learned, and most perfectly spake the Latine, Greeke, and Egyptian tongues, and was very liberall and temperate in all things; somewhat seuer, and yet pitifull. In her diet she was most temperate, but yet when she inuited any guests, she would alittle excede, more to please others, then for any naturall desire. She was serued very ceremoniously, and with great honor, after the custome of the kings of the Persians.

When she made any speech to her men of warre, or sate in counsell among them, she came armed with a caske vpon her head, and rode in the like manner. She delighted much in hunting, and did other things shewing strength and courage, as though she had bin a valorous and gallant Knight. She vaunted much that she descended from CLEOPATRA, and from the PTOLOMYES Kings of Egypt; and she said, that she also descended by another line from the great SEMIRAMIS Queene of Babylon. By meanes of this her prowess and valour, she held the Empire of the East, and was called AVGVSTA the space of many yeeres. As for her two sonnes HERENNIANVS and TIMOLAVS, I find not written what their end was, but only that they had the habit and ensignes of Emperours, and are reckoned in the number of the tyrants of those times. TREBELLIVS POLLIO writeth, that the Emperour AVRELIANVS made them to be slaine. Others as firme, that they died of their naturall death. So soone as the Emperour GALIENVS (being in Rome) vnderstood of the death of O DENATVS, thinking to make a better hand against ZENOBIA, he commaunded souldiers to be leuiued, and to be sent into the East against her and the Persians, and sent with them a Captaine whose name was HERACLIANVS, who with his troups was ouerthrowne by ZENOBIA's forces. The Gothes also in those times made another incursion into Asia the lesse, sailing through the sea called Mare Euxinum, and were overcome by ATHENVS and CLEOPHANVS Captaines sent by GALIENVS: but yet for all that they made great spoile in those coasts, and were also againe overcome by sea, by another Captaine called VENERIANVS, and so that nation did much harme in the confines of the Empire, although that sometime they were ouerthrowne therein. About this time there was in the kingdome of Egypt another Captaine of certaine companies of Romanes, whose name was EMILIANVS, who after some tumults which happened therein, did as he saw others do, and proclaimed himselfe Emperour, and with great courage and audacitie seised on that most auncient kingdome. But as these buildings had but weake foundations, so small force and a little foule weather ouerthrew them, which was in this manner. GALIENVS (notwithstanding that he was carelesse and negligent) sent from Rome against him a Captaine called THEODATVS, who tooke such a course, that EMILIANVS his friends failing him, he was apprehended by THEODATVS, and afterwards put to death in prison.

I presume that the reader will imagine me to be very tedious in writing the life of this Emperour, seeing hee was so remisse and negligent; hauing briefly written the liues of others which were good and excellent: But if he shall consider that in this Historie are comprehended the liues of thirtie tyrants, whereof many did better deserue to haue been Emperours then GALIENVS; he shall haue

The chastitie of Zenobia.

Her learning.

Her moderation in her diet.

Zenobia delighted in hunting.

Herennianus and Timolauus called Emperours.

Heracelianus ouerthrowne by Zenobias forces.

The Authors excuse.

haue greater reason to accuse me of breuitie, then of being too long. But to auoyd the breach of order I will be as brieft as possibly I may. While then that matters passed in the East in this manner, the other prouinces of the Empire were neither in rest, nor peace; but rather, there was not any of them wherein were not warres, battailes and tyrants which called themselues Emperours, the right Emperour GALIENVS solacing himselfe in *Rome*, contented with *Italie*, which only obeyed him in peace. The rest sometimes obeyed him, and sometime they denied him their obedience, and he taking no care to finde any redresse, sent onely certaine Captaines which did some thing; whereof we will say somewhat. In this generall hurle burlie *Africa* forbore not to vse some alteration, although not so much as other prouinces did; for at that time there was therein for Captaine generall thereof, a Romane Knight called FABIVS POMPONIANVS; and for Proconsul and gouernour another, whose name was VIVVS PASSIENVS; who for that they would haue an Emperour of their owne making, agreed to chuse and nominate a Tribune whose name was CILVS, a man much esteemed and commended, aswell for his excellent good cariage, as for his vertue and iustice; and also for his personage: for he was exceeding tall of stature and of an excellent good constitution. And they hauing effected their purpose, the poore mans maiestic lasted but seauen daies: for he was put to death by the order of a woman dwelling in those countries, which was a kinswoman of the Emperour GALIENVS, whose name was GALIENA; and after that he was dead they shewed extreame crueltie to his body. After whom I finde not that any man rose against GALIENVS in *Africa*, yet hereof great and many scandales, and much trouble ensued in that countrie. While these things passed in the places aforementioned, in *Hungarie* and in the marches thereof, was a Captaine of the armies in *Dalmatia* and *Slauonia*, called REGILIANVS which rebelled; and with the consent and good will of the inhabitants of those prouinces, he was proclaimed Emperour: for they were greatly incensed against GALIENVS for the cruelties by him vsed in those countries, when hee ouercame EVGENIVS, whom in the beginning (we say) to haue rebelled in that countrie, and to haue been ouerthrowne and slaine by GALIENVS. Truly it is a troublesome peece of worke to make relation of all the tyrants, and it is as strange a thing to consider, that of all the Captaines that VALERIANVS father to GALIENVS made, there was not any one of them, but in the time of GALIENVS was called Emperour, wherein they shewed little loyaltie to their countrie and their Lord: But it was growne to a custome to doe so, so as they seemed to haue right thereto. Neuerthelesse it argued the great iudgement of VALERIANVS in chusing for his Captaines, men of so great courage and valour. There were also besides these Captaines, others, which in this confusion of the Empire were called Emperours; amongst which was one TITVS, a notable man, who in the time of MAXIMINVS had been Tribune, but he continued with this title but fixe monethes; for the same souldiers which chose him, killed him. And in the same manner, began and ended CENSORINVS a man which had been Consul; and had held other offices and dignities. And another Captain called TREBELLIANVS, was chosen and proclaimed Emperour, by the Ysaui; which are a people inhabiting the mountaines bordering vpon *Cilicia* in *Asia* the lesse; who many daies gouerned those quarters, against whom GALIENVS sent a Captaine called GAUSIOLEVS borne in *Egypt*: betwene which two, was fought a most cruell battaile, wherein TREBELLIANVS was ouerthrowne and slaine. Yet for all this, the Ysaui remained not in peace, but

Celsus made Emperour in *Africa*, and put to death by a woman.

Regilianus called Emperour in *Hungarie* and *Dalmatia*.

Titus made Emperour by his souldiers and slaine by the same.

Censorinus began and ended in the same manner.

but rebelled many times afterwards; more for that their countrie was inexpugnable and of hard access, then for the valour or vertue of the inhabitants. And to make a conclusion, let vs write of those which in *France*, and the marches thereof were called Emperours, from the time of the imprisonment of VALERIANVS, vntill the death of his sonne GALIENVS: which of purpose I haue left till the last; because that in those warres GALIENVS employed himselfe, and finally therein ended his daies. There was for captaine generall of the armies in the prouinces of *France*, an excellent and valorous man, whose name was POSTHVMVS, of whom (speaking of the tyrant AVREOLVS) we made mention; whom VALERIANVS did highly honor and esteeme; and for that cause his sonne GALIENVS held him in great reputation, and so soone as he came to the Empire sent him his sonne SALONINVS, whom hee intituled CÆSAR, to be brought vp and instructed by him; and he began to doe so. But afterwards seeing the retchlesnes and ill gouernment of his father GALIENVS (forgetting the loyaltie which he ought to his soueraigne Lord) putting the sonne to death, he sought to get the Empire for himselfe. Yet others write, that he was prouoked and compelled by the inhabitants of that countrie (which deadly hated GALIENVS) to accept of the name of Emperour; and that they slew SALONINVS, scorning to haue a boy for their Lord. But howsoever it was, POSTHVMVS with great courage and discretion made himselfe Lord of all *France*, and with the like gouerned the same the space of seauen yeeres, defending it valiantly, and obtaining many great victories against the Barbarians and northerly nations, which continually inuaded it and made incursions. Against POSTHVMVS, GALIENVS leuied an armie, for that he was so neere to *Italie*, and notwithstanding that he was retchles, vicious and carelesse, yet he wanted not sufficient courage for the warres; if he would haue followed them, as he did his pleasures and ease. And went against POSTHVMVS, hauing with him for generall of his armie, a noble man called THEODOTVS, and also another called CLAUDIVS, who was a man of great goodnes and vertue, and afterwards was Emperour. And being come before a citie wherein POSTHVMVS was, the French-men did not onely defend him, and the citie, shewing great courage and loue; but the Emperour GALIENVS in a skirmish was wounded with an arrow, by meanes whereof he was constrained to raise his siege. And holding this for a very doubtfull warre, he made peace with AVREOLVS, who at that time was called Emperour in *Slauonia*. But that was not sufficient to defeat POSTHVMVS: for he was supported by VICTORINVS, who was an excellent captaine and a yong man, whom POSTHVMVS made his companion in his Empire; with whose aide & diligence (although that most commonly his side was ouerthrowne) he defended himselfe and prolonged the wars many daies; hauing somtimes prosperous, & somtimes aduers fortune. And GALIENVS returning to *Rome*, as though that he had left all in peace, entered thereinto in great triumph, giuing himselfe ouer to his old course of life and accustomed pleasures; whither daily newes were brought vnto him (besides the strange nations which molested the Empire) of captaines and other notable men which intituled themselues Emperours, whereof his wickednes was the occasion, being hated and scorned for his retchlesnes and stupiditie; which are things which make wicked men audacious; and giue good men hope and meanes to seeke redresse. POSTHVMVS liuing all this time (as is said) in great prosperitie, together with his sonne of his owne name whom he intituled CÆSAR, and afterwards Emperour, and his companion in his Empire; gouerned with great

Saloninus son of Galienus put to death by Posthumus who also was called Emperour.

justice

The French rebelled against Posthumus, and in his place chose Lolianus. Posthumus and his sonne slaine in the warre against Lolianus.

justice and seueritie. But the Frenchmen desirous of noueltie, rebelled against him, and chose for Emperour a Captaine whose name was L O L I A N V S, a man of great fort, very valiant and of great experience: and these two warring one against the other, P O S T H V M V S and his sonne were slaine by him and them; and so hee was paid for the treason which he committed against G A L I E N V S. And L O L I A N V S remaining Emperour in those parts, notwithstanding that he was very valourous and of great power, yet hee could neuer attaine to that authoritie which P O S T H V M V S had; as well for that hee was not chosen by common consent, as for that V I C T O R I N V S, whom (as we haue said) P O S T H V M V S proclaimed Emperour and his companion, held great part of the countie and was called Emperour. This V I C T O R I N V S was a womans sonne, whose name was V I C T O R I A or V I C T O R I N A, which was so valourous and manly, and so desirous to raigne, that she was therefore called mother of Armies, and V I C T O R I N V S was altogether ruled by her counsell; and she afterwards after the death of her sonne, tooke vpon her to make an Emperour of her choosung: so great was her minde and policie.

V I C T O R I N V S with the fauour and reputation of his mother, made resistance against L O L I A N V S the new Emperour, which slew P O S T H V M V S, so as V I C T O R I N V S obtained the victorie against L O L I A N V S and slew him; and remained sole Lord, together with his mother whom he called A V G V S T A. To say the truth, V I C T O R I N V S was an excellent and valourous Prince; but he was luxurious, and therefore raigned but a little while: for by the treason of a souldier (from whom hee had taken his wife) hee was slaine in the citie of *Agrippina*, now called *Colleine* in high *Duchland*: which so soone as his mother vnderstood, with the aide and assistance of some of her friends, she proclaimed her nephew V I C T O R I N V S Emperour, who was the same V I C T O R I N V S his sonne. But the furie of the men of warre was such, that they presently slew the sonne as they had done the father. Yet for all this, V I C T O R I N A gaue not ouer her desire to rule and commaund: for by the meanes of her friends and fauourites, she perswaded T E T R I C V S a Senatour of *Rome*, who had a certaine government in *France*, to proclaime himselfe Emperour, and his sonne C Æ S A R, and he did so; and prooued an excellent and valourous Prince, and made himselfe Lord of all *France*, and of the greatest part of *Spaine*, obtaining also some victories against the Northerly nations; and his raigne continued long, euen vntill the time of A V R E L I A N V S. And the right Emperour G A L I E N V S enioyed *Rome* and all *Italy*, which neuer forooke him: and the other tyrants (by turnes) the one destroyed the other; or else were slaine by their owne souldiers. I gesse that I haue very neere treated of all the tyrants, except of one whose name was S A T V R N I N V S, and of another called M A R I V S. Of S A T V R N I N V S then I say, that the souldiers which chose him presently bereaued him of his life: and M A R I V S his Empire lasted but seuen daies.

Through all parts and prouinces of the Empire there were committed infinite murders, robberies, violences, insolencies, and all kinde of cruelties, tyrannies and treasons, with famine, pestilence, and other euils and calamities, seldome heard of, but in the time of this G A L I E N V S; and the greatest part thereof caused through his vice, crueltie, and negligence: and so it pleased God that hee had the like end as other euill Emperours had, which was complotted in this manner. An excellent Captaine (whereof the warres produce abundance) called M A R T I A N V S, compounding with another called H E R A C L I A N V S, and one other whose name was C E R O N I V S, determined to kill G A L I E N V S, to the end that one of them

Tetricus chosen Emperour by the meanes of Victorinus.

Saturninus and Marins called Emperours, the one was slaine presently, and the other raigned 7 daies.

A conspiracie against Galienus.

them should haue the Empire; each of them alleaging that they did it for the generall good of the whole Empire. And hauing laid their plot, they presently put it in execution: for it happened that G A L I E N V S went from *Rome* with a great armie against A V R E O L V S, who (as we haue said) was called Emperour: and they two had been companions in the Empire. But afterwards falling at variance, A V R E O L V S tooke the citie of *Milan*; and G A L I E N V S hauing besieged it, M A R T I A N V S and the other traitors, which had agreed with A V R E O L V S, fained that the said A V R E O L V S was making a fallie, and came to charge that place where G A L I E N V S was: whereupon he with greater haste then good speed, went from his lodging smally accompanied; but before that the rest of the armie could come together, hee was slaine by those which came with him, together with a brother of his, whose name was V A L E R I A N V S. And so G A L I E N V S ended both his life and his raigne, when as the Empire was little lesse, then rent in peeces and vsurped by forraine nations: for the Gothes and Scythians held a great part of *Thracia*, and of *Macedonia* in *Europe*, and some prouinces in *Asia*. Z E N O B I A raigned and ruled all in the East: and in *France* and part of *Germanie*, T E T R I C V S and V I C T O R I N V S; and in *Slauonia* and *Illyricum*, A V R E O L V S, who was besieged in *Milan*; and so all the rest liued, part vnder the obedience of G A L I E N V S, and part vnder tyrants. The souldiers of his armie were greatly offended with his death: for they hoped to haue had the sacking and spoile of that citie; so as

M A R T I A N V S and his companions were driuen to satisfie them with readie money: but none of those conspirators could attaine to the desired title of Emperour. This happened in the yeere of our Sauour I E S V S C H R I S T 271. after E V S E B I V S, and in the fifteenth yeere of the raign of G A L I E N V S.

Galienus and his brother Valerianus slaine.

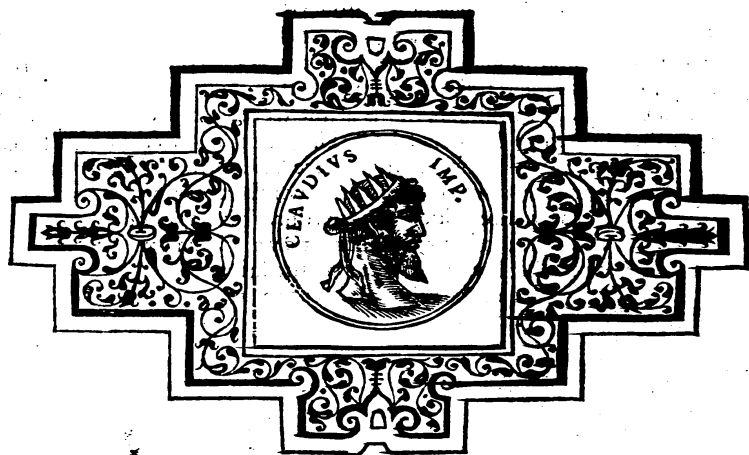
Annus Dom. 271.

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THE



# THE LIFE OF CLAV- DIVS THE SECOND, AND FIVE AND THIRTITH EM- PEROVR OF ROME.



Et thinketh that I haue perfourmed a great peece of worke, seeing that I haue ended the life and historie of GALIENVS; whose historie is so confused and out of order, and by the authors written so obscurely, as it appeareth: which being ended, I come now to recount vnto you the life of CLAVDIVS the second, who was one of the most vertuos and valorous Emperours that euer was in the world.

So soone as the Emperour GALIENVS was dead, the men of warre of his armie were so highly displeased, that neither MARTIANVS nor any of those which conspired with him in his treason, either could or durst take vpon him the name of Emperour; but rather by the common consent of all men, CLAVDIVS who came thither with GALIENVS, one of the most excellent Captaines of them all, as well for his goodnes and vertues, as for the worthines of his person, and great and notable seruices which hee had done in former time, was chosen Emperour. It cannot distinctly be set downe of what linage or countrie hee was: for some say and affirme, that hee was borne in *Dalmatia*; and

was

was descended of an ancient familie: others say, that he was of *Dardania*, and was sprung from the blood of the Troians: and some (as AVRELIVS VICTOR saith) affirmed, that hee was the sonne of the Emperour GORDIANVS. He was a very tall man of person, his eyes were cleere and bright, and he had a great and full face; and was very strong and of maruiculous force: so as in wrestling and other exercises, which young men of warre doe vse, he euer wanne the prize; and was also of holy, vertuous, and excellent good conditions and behaiour. He was very chaste and continent, very true, temperate, iust and vpright, both before that hee was Emperour and in the time of his raigne. He deerey loued his friends and kinsmen, and greatly honoured strangers. He persecuted the euill, and seuerely punished them; and was an extreme enemy to vnjust Iudges. He made excellent lawes and ordinances, and in very short time reformed the Common-wealth: so as when he died, it seemed to be another world. Before that he was Emperour, he did many noble feates of armes in the seruice of GALIENVS, against POSTHVMVS in *France*, and against the Gothes in many parts, and likewise in other wars. Wherefore he was worthily chosen by all men to the dignitie of the Empire. For which occasion so soone as his election was knowne in *Rome*, the ioy was great which was conceiued thereat by all estates, and with incredible great goodwill they confirmed his election, with great applauses and blessings of the Senate. When CLAVDIVS was inuested in the Empire, hee gouerned the same with so great wisdom and courage, as in a good Prince was requisite. The first battaile or conflict that he had after he was Emperour, was against AVREOLVS, who (as we said) was in *Milan*. Who vnderstanding of the death of GALIENVS, fortified himselfe in such fort, that hee made account to haue remained sole and absolute Emperour. But CLAVDIVS hauing reinforced his armie, fought many battailes with him; amongst which, in one which was very notable, he obtained the victorie, which hee deserved, fighting therein most valiantly. Whereupon AVREOLVS retired himselfe into *Milan*, and from thence sought to come to some composition with CLAVDIVS, as hee had done with GALIENVS: but CLAVDIVS, as a vertuous and victorious Prince, would not heare of any agreement with a tyrant, but answered, That such demands might well haue been made to GALIENVS, who could haue endured AVREOLVS his conditions, and stood in feare of him: but of him he was not to expect any vnjust or vnlawfull matter. AVREOLVS was afterwards slaine, as some say, by his owne souldiers; and as others say, by CLAVDIVS his commandement, fighting at the foote of a bridge. But wherefoeuer, CLAVDIVS became Lord of his armie, and of all the countries which he possessed: and going with this victorie to *Rome*, he was there receiued with great triumph and feasting: and there he established the affaires of the Empire in such fort, as could not be bettered: and did nothing without the consent of the Senate. And his goodnes comming to be knowne, hee was obeyed in all places and parts of the Empire, sauing in such as were vsurped by tyrants and barbarous nations. And as all his studie and care was how hee might restore the Empire to the former libertie, and to recouer what therof was lost, exposing his person to all kinds of daungers; it was debated in the Senate, and that very doubtfully and with diuers opinions, what warre was first to be vndertaken, and whether he should goe against TETRICVS and VICTORINA, which held *France* and *Spain*; or into the East against ZENOBIA; or else against the Gothes and other nations, which also vsurped and infected sundrie parts of the Empire. But the good Emperour CLAVDIVS soone resolved them of that doubt, saying, That the first warre that hee

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would

The stature  
and strength of  
Claudius.

The victorie of  
Claudius a-  
gainst Aurco-  
lus.

The death  
of Aurco-  
lus.

After sundrie  
arguments  
Claudius pre-  
pared himselfe  
to go against  
the Gothes.

would vndertake should be against the Gothes and other strange nations; for they were enemies to the common-wealth; but as for the tyrants they were enemies to him only: wherefore he was bound to reuenge a publique wrong before a priuate iniurie. This his resolution being approued by the Senate and people of *Rome*, he with all possible diligence leuied the greatest armie that euer was leuied by any Emperour for such a warre; and truly he could not well haue had any lesse, considering the present necessitie: for the Gothes (as *IORNANDES* in the actes of the Gothes, and *PAVLVS OROSIVS*, and others do write) had for the space of fiftene yeeres vsurped many parts of the Empire, and had destroyed many cities therein; amongst which, some were very great and principall. And notwithstanding that by *MACRINVS*, and by *CORNELIVS AVITVS*, and in one place by the same *CLAVDIVS* in the time of *GALIENVS*, they had beene sometimes defeated and ouerthrowne; yet neuertheless they still held all *Thracia*, and in a manner all *Macedonia* and other prouinces.

New commo-  
tions made by  
the Gothes.

At the same season that *CLAVDIVS* determined to make warre against the Gothes, they through their greedie desire of spoile & bootie, and for reuenge of some battailes which they had lost, and beleeuing that *CLAVDIVS* would be sufficientlie busied in warring against *TETRICVS* and other tyrants, moued many northerly people & nations to come against the Romanes. Whereupon they ioined themselues with the *Heruli*, *Trutungi*, *Virtungi*, and other vnknowne nations, exceeding in all the number of three hundred thousand fighting men, besides seruants and disarmed people: and taking their way through *Hungarie*, and downe the *Danubie*, they freighted two thousand barks and ships with men and munition. Some are of opinion (as I say) that this fleet came down the *Danubie*; and others affirme, that this was a fleet that the Gothes had by sea: the auncient authors wrote it so confusedlie, that I continue of my first opinion, that the Gothes were neuer mightie by sea, neither then, nor at any time before. In conclusion, they brought so many men, and so great store of armes and victuals, that they made the whole Empire to quake for feare, only the inuincible Emperour was not dismayed, but with a select gallant armie marched against them, and being readie to come to blowes with them, he wrote a bricfe letter to the Senate, wherein he shewed the great difficultie and the danger wherein he was; and yet wanted not courage to assault his enemies, the effect whereof was this:

Claudius his  
Letter to the  
Senat of Rome.

Fathers conscript, I do giue you to vnderstand, and hold you it for certaine, that into the lands of the Romane Empire are entred three hundred and twentie thousand men of warre; I go to fight with them, if I ouercome them, it is reason that you giue me such thanks and reward as such a deece shall deserue. But if it happen otherwise, consider I pray you that I fight after that *GALIENVS* hath raigned, the commonwealth being rent in pieces, and almost ruinate, and that I shall fight after the tyrannies and rebellions of *EVGENIVS*, *REGILLIANVS*, *LOLIANVS*, *POSTHVMVS*, *CELSVS*, and many others, which in contempt of *GALIENVS* rebelled against their countrey and commonwealth. And we may well say that we now haue neither whole sword nor lance: for *France* and *Spaine* which are the sinewes and strength of the Empire, are vsurped by *TETRICVS*, and the crossebowes and archers (although it be as shame to speake it) *ZENOBI* hath them all: so as hauing such want of all things necessarie, whatsoever small matter shall be by vs perfourmed, is to be reputed great. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, *CLAVDIVS* led with him an excellent and well experienced army, and by his wisdome and good direction came to a battaile, wherein the Gothes

Gothes were ouerthrowne, and an indicible slaughter was made of them, which was one of the most noble victories that euer was gotten in the world, wherein there was an incredible number of enemies slaine and taken prisoners, and a great abundance of spoile taken by the souldiers: Insemuch as the same *CLAVDIVS* in a letter (extant to this day) written by him to *IVNIVS BROCHVS*, writeth, that he had slaine, taken, and put to flight three hundred thousand men, and taken two thousand ships: so as the houses were filled (almost to the tops) with swords, lances, shields and targets of the subdued, and the shores of the riuers, the seas, and the fields were full of bones, and the wayes stopt vp with the dead carcases of the enemies. For this victorie there was conceiued great ioy in *Rome*, and battaile were taken many barbarous Kings, and other men of great account, and there were so many prisoners, that there was neither prouince nor citie wherein were not many slaues of them.

A most noble  
victorie obtain-  
ed by Clau-  
dius against  
the Gothes.

After this victorie in *Thracia* neere to *Constantinople*, and in *Macedonia* neere to the citie of *Thessalonica*, *CLAVDIVS*, his Captaines fought sundrie battailes with the Gothes which were possessed of those cities, in all which, through his good fortune, his enemies were ouercome, in such sort, that he restored to the Romane Empire all that which therein they had vsurped; so as the Gothes were wholie driuen out of it, and in long time after durst not hold vp their heads. Likewise this most valorous Prince (as *EVTRUPIVS* and *AVRELIVS VICTOR* report) had another very notable victorie against the Germanes, neere to a lake called *VENACUS* (now *Garda*) the enemy being little lesse then two hundred thousand strong: so as hauing freed the Empire from strangers, and meaning to haue gone against *TETRICVS* and *ZENOBI*, or against some other tyrants remaining, it happened, that the good Emperour fell sick in such sort, that (as *TREBELLIUS POLLIO* saith) within few daies after it he died of his naturall death, a thing which I most desire to see in an Emperour, which seldome happeneth but in such Emperours as are good and iust, as this Emperour was. When he died he had raigned only two yeeres, and for his death (except *TETRICVS* and *ZENOBI*) all were very sory, which happened in the yeere of our Lord 273. and by a decree made by the Senate, he was honoured with all kind of honour, and placed in the number of the gods. His statue made of gold was set vp in the Capitoll, and his target of gold was set in the Senate. Truly they did it with great reason, for considering his high attempts in the beginning,

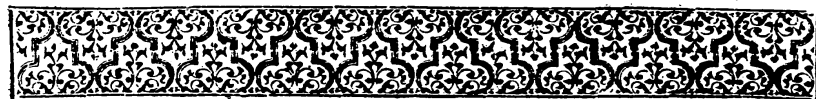
Claudius his  
victorie a-  
gainst the  
Germanes.

The death of  
Claudius.

Ann. Dom. 273.

without all doubt if it had pleased God to haue giuen him longer life, *CLAVDIVS* had wholie defeated all the tyrants of the Empire, and had againe set it in perfect libertie.

(..)



THE LIFE OF THE EM-  
PEROVR QVINTILIVS, ONLY  
OF THAT NAME, AND SIXE AND  
THIRTIH EMPEROVR  
OF ROME.



**T**HE Emperour CLAVDIVS had a brother whose name was QVINTILIVS, who as he was his brother by nature, so was he in behaiour, condition, and vertue: for he was very wise, and as expert in the warres as in ciuill gouernement: by reason whereof he was much esteemed and beloued, and was left with certaine legions to guard *Italy*, when his brother went to the warres against the Gothes. The death of CLAVDIVS being published, the little armie which QVINTILIVS commaunded, moued thereto by his deserts and vertues, chose him Emperour, and his election was approued by the Senate of *Rome* so soone as it was aduertised thereof, and they gaue him the name of AVGVSTVS (after EVTROPIVS) and hauing accepted the Empire, and beginning to make a good shew of his valour, hauing reigned only seuentene daies, newes was brought him that the victorious armie which his brother had with him so soone as he was dead, had made choise of a noble man called AVRELIVS for Emperour, of whom we will presentlie discourse. Wherefore QVINTILIVS being out of hope to be able to make his partie good against him, as well for that he was a man of great valour and courage, as for that that army was the whole power of the Romane Empire, desiring to die in his estate rather then to liue de-  
 ued

ued thereof, hauing first founded the will of his souldiers, and finding no hope in them, he caused his vaines to be opened, and so died voluntarilie bleeding, hauing reigned, as some say, twentie dayes, and as others say, but seuentene.

*The death of  
Quintilius.*

THE LIFE OF AVRELIVS,  
ONLY OF THAT NAME,  
AND SEVEN AND THIRTIH  
EMPEROVR OF ROME.



**A**FTER QVINTILIVS, AVRELIVS succeeded in the Empire, or to say better, after CLAVDIVS: for so soone as CLAVDIVS was dead, in the same maner as the armie in *Italy* chose QVINTILIVS, the other great armie which CLAVDIVS led, chose AVRELIVS, and he remained Emperour; and was one of the most mightie that euer reigned in *Rome*; and is by the historiographers compared in his feates of armes with the greatest and best Captaines of the world, which were ALEXANDER the great, and IVLIVS CESAR, for the great victories which he obtained in the small time of his reigne, and the provinces which he subdued with incredible celeritie, marching from one to another, as we will briefly declare; although that in his condition he was neither equall to them, neither did he any way imitate them; chiefly, he did much differ from CESAR in clemencie, for he was cruell and bloudie: wherefore it was said of him, that he was necessaric for the Empire, but yet he was ill beloued by the most part thereof. Others said, that AVRELIVS was fit to be a Captaine, but not to be an Emperour; and so he is neither accounted among the good Princes, nor amongst the euill: for of the one side he set the Empire at libertie, by destroying all the tyrants, and of the other side he vsed much crueltie. Some say, that he was borne in *Dacia*, and others say, that he was borne in *Misia*, the truth whereof is incertaine, and so FLAVIVS VOPISCVS who doth most copiously and particularlie write his life, leaueth it in doubt; but all agree that he was of a meane linage, and of poore parentage. He was tall of stature, and of great strength, and  
 had

had a gracious and pleasing countenance; and with his faire aspect he seemed to be a perfect man. In his diet he did somewhat exceede ordinarie. And from his infancie he was inclined to the warres and militarie discipline; and in obseruing it and making it to be obserued, he was most seuer. He was of great courage and singular strength, and exceedingly desirous to come to haue blowes with his enemies. And being a souldier he euer desired to fight, and procured skirmishes and encounters: and for that there was another in the armie whose name was also AVRELIANVS, to distinguish the one from the other, they called this, AVRELIANVS with his hand vpon his sworde: for vpon all occasions he was in a readines with his pike or sworde in his hand, desiring to be doing. With which readines and valour he made himselfe famous wherefoeuer he came, and performed notable matters in his owne person. In so much that THEOCLIVS and FLAVIVS VOPISCVS report of him, that in the warres of *Sarmatia* he happened in one day to kill fortie of his enemies with his owne hands, and at severall times about nine hundred men, which made him so much esteemed among the Romanes, that in their dauncings which they vsed in those times, among certaine sonnets and catches sung by the dauncer, they vsed to pronounce this verse.

*A thousand and a thousand,  
one alone hath killed a thousand,  
A thousand yeeres and a thousand  
line he: alone which killed a thousand.*

He did other things, which although they seeme to be but meane and of small importance, yet they demonstrate the valour and fortitude of this man; whereby he was preferred to great offices and commaundes in the warres. He was many times Captaine and Tribune, and about fortie times was Lieutenant to other Captaines and Tribunes. In which offices he did so seuerely punish souldiers for their offences, and did so strictly obserue the discipline of the warres, that he was therefore much feared of them: and did likewise many notable things in batailles and skirmishes; and principally in the warres which his predecessor CLAVDIVS had with the Gorthes, he wonne more honor then any other Captaine did; he being generall of the horse. Which his doings were the occasion that CLAVDIVS being dead, he was by the generall consent of the whole armie chosen and made Emperour. And after that QVINTILIVS was dead, who in *Rome* was obeyed, the Senate and people of *Rome* approued his election, and held him for Emperour. And he hauing accepted the Empire, without any longer stay, marched with his victorious armie against the Sueuians and Sarmates northerly nations, which had inuaded the bounds of the Empire. With which he came to a bataille, and obtained a most honorable victorie; but therein befell him one mischance, wherof many inconueniences ensued, which was: That being busied in this war, the Marcomanni and other most fierce nations of *Germanie* came downe into *Italie*, and made great spoile and slaughter in that part, which is now called *Lombardie*, and in the marches of *Milan*, whereof they were in so great feare in *Rome*, that they thought they should haue been wholly lost, and there were many rumours, and many spake ill of AVRELIANVS. But so soone as he heard the newes he was greatly grieved, and came with all speed to the rescue of *Italy*. And this was so dangerous a warre that neere vnto *Placentia* there wanted but a little, that the Emperour had not been wholly ouerthrowne: for ioyning bataille with all their whole powers of either side, they fought a whole day from sunne to sunne; and

AVRELIANVS

*Aurelianus  
called Aure-  
lianus with  
the sword.*

AVRELIANVS lost in that iourney the greatest part of all his troupes; so cruell was that bataille. But he afterwards reinforcing his armie (in three notable batailles hauing the victorie) ended the warre, destroying the whole armie of the Marcomanni: and from thence went to *Rome*, very angrie with those which had murmured and spoken ill of him; among which were some that had practized against him: and whereas he was very cruell (notwithstanding that he was receiued with great feasting and solemnities) he vsed so cruell punishment for light offences, and of so small importance, that any gentle or mercifull prince would haue dissembled, and made no reckoning thereof. But he would not doe so, but to the contrarie put many horribly to death; for which cause he began to be extremely feared, and therefore generally hated. He encreased and enlarged the walles of *Rome*, and fortified the same, repairing that which was decayed, which was not lawfull for any Emperour to doe, but to such as had enlarged and encreased the provinces and limits of the Roman Empire: for by that title AVGVSTVS CESAR, TRAIANE, and also NERO enlarged the walles.

Hauing established all matters in *Rome* (his chiefe delight consisting in armes) he could stay but few daies therein, but speedily departed thence towards the East, against the great ZENOBIA; accounting it a shame that a woman should hold the East Empire in disgrace of *Rome*, and the Emperours thereof. And passing through *Slauonia*, and thence through *Thracia*; he had certaine conflicts against certaine barbarous nations, which fought to resist him and to haue stopped him in his iourney; but keeping his way, hee came to the citie *Byzantium* which is now called *Constantinople*, and so passed with all his armie into *Asia* the lesse, which now is subiect to the Turke, first pacifying the prouince of *Bithynia* which then rebelled, all the whole nations yeelding themselves into his hands, without any bataille or making any resistance. And from thence he marched into *Cappadocia*, where for that the citie of *Tiana*, which in that countrie was an auncient Colony of the Greekes; being the countrie also wherein the famous APOLLONIVS TIANEVUS was borne, made resistance and would not receiue him, he sware that he would punish the inhabitants in such sort, that he would not leaue a dogge aliue amongst them, which his determination he afterwards altered and reuoked. For by the illusion of the diuell (God permitting it for some yknowne cause) there appeared vnto him in a dreame; or it seemed vnto him that he saw a vision, which told him that it was APOLLONIVS TIANEVUS; which warned him to forbare to destroy his countrie *Tiana*, and gaue him also further aduise. Which, as they write, was the occasion that he not onely pardoned the Tianeans, but also that from thence forth he was not so cruell, as theretofore he had been. So as in *Tiana* he did put but HERACLAMON to death which betrayed the citie into his hands, which he said he did, for that he which had been a traitor to his countrie, could neuer be faithfull to him. But his wealth which was very great, he commaunded to be giuen to his heires, to the end that no man should thinke that he had condemned him to be executed for the desire of his goods. And to the souldiers complaining, for that he had not giuen them the spoile of the citie, wherein he had sworne that he would not leaue any liuing, no not a dogge; he answered, I promised that there should neuer a dogge remaine aliue in *Tiana*; and I giue you leaue to kill them all. When the Emperour had gotten this noble citie, he from thence marched to *Antioch* which bordereth vpon the mount *Taurus*; where granting a generall pardon, with one onely bataille of small resistance, neere to a wood called *Daphne*, he sealed on all that prouince.

*Cruellie vsed  
in Rome by Au-  
relianus, and  
the occasion  
thereof.*

*Aurelianus en-  
larged the walls  
of Rome.*

*Aurelianus de-  
parted from  
Rome into the  
East against  
Queene Zeno-  
bia.*

*A just reward  
for treason.*

provinde. And leauing all those countries in peace, hee passed thence into *Syria* against ZENOBI, who with another woman called ZAVALA (in a manner as manly as her selfe) attended his comming with a very great armie of singular good souldiers and excellent Captaines, trained vp with great experience in the warres with her husband ODENATVS; and afterwards in other warres against the Persians: and the two armies comming neere the one to the other, a most cruell warre began betwene them. For ZENOBI not as a woman, but rather as though she had been HANNIBAL, provided and performed whatsoever was fit against the Romanes. Finally, after some encounters they came to a battaile, neere to the citie of *Emesa*, which bordereth vpon the deserts of *Palmerina* a province in *Syria*; which was so bloudie and doubtfull, that AVRELIVS was well neere ouerthrowne: for his Caualerie being tired with fighting began to retire, refusing the battaile, and were readie to haue turned their backs and to flie: but being detained, by their Captaines, and by the footemen constrained to stand firme, he obtained the victorie; and ZENOBI escaped by flight.

A cruell bat-  
taile betwene  
Zenobia and  
Aurelianus.

Zenobia over-  
throwne and  
put to flight by  
Aurelianus.

When AVRELIVS had obtained so noble a victorie, he went into the citie of *Emesa*, and from thence to the citie of *Palmyra*, which is the head of that province, and ZENOBIAS principall seate. In which way his people passed many daungers and difficulties, wrought by their enemies where they were to passe: and the citie with such courage made resistance, that his souldiers were greatly distressed, and the Emperour himselfe in person incurred many great daungers. Which plainly appeareth by a letter written by him to a familiar friend of his. Whereupon AVRELIVS desiring to make an end of this warre, thinking to induce ZENOBI to yeeld her selfe into his power, sent her a letter wherein hee did assure her of her life, & that he would giue her all her treasure, her iewels, and her money; and that she should liue free & at libertie in any place or citie where the Senate should appoint. ZENOBI hauing receiued this letter, in lieu of granting or requiring peace, became therewith more haucie & proud then before: answering him with another very proud letter; which NICOMACHVS a writer of those times, translated out of the Syrian into the Greeke tongue; and FLAVIVS VOPISCVS hath left it to vs in Latin, which I will set downe, to the end that the haucie presumptuous minde of this woman may be made knowne to the world, which saith thus: ZENOBI Queene of the East, to AVRELIVS AVGVSTVS, greeting. No other Captaine vntill this day but thou, hath required by letter that which thou demaundest of me in thine: for those things (AVRELIVS) which are to be tried by warre; by armes and by force, are to be demaunded and determined. Thou requirest that I yeeld and giue my selfe into thy power, as if thou haddest neuer read that CLEOPATRA Queene of *Egypt* (from whom I am descended) would rather kill her selfe then liue in the power of OCTAVIANVS, in any dignitie or libertie graunted by him whatsoever. I let thee know that I shall not want the reliefe of the Persians, which I expect. The Saracens will also come to my aide; and the Armenians fauour me. Thou doest wel know that the theues of *Syria* were sufficient to ouerthrow and disorder thy armie. If then the forces and succours which I expect shall come vnto me, thou wilt abate the pride and presumption wherewith thou doest now commaund me to yeeld my selfe, as though I were absolutely overcome. And so she ended her letter, glorying more in her valour then in her eloquence. This letter being receiued by AVRELIVS, he made no account thereof: but drew neere with his armie, and commanded his Captaines on all sides to besiege the citie more narrowly, and with such order

A letter writ-  
ten by Zenobia  
to Aurelianus.

order and policie to assault the same, and to defend his campe, that hee failed not in any thing of the dutie of an excellent Captaine. For vpon the way comming to ZENOBI, he ouerthrew the succours which came from *Persia* and did the like by certaine companies of Saracens. And the forces which came from *Armenia*, what through feare, and faire promises, hee drew them to his seruice and made them his friends: in such sort that ZENOBI seeing her selfe overcome, in the best manner that she could, departed from the citie, with Dromedaries, carrying such treasure with her, as the shortnes of the time would permit: and trauielling towards *Persia*, she was overtaken vpon the way by certaine horsemen which the Emperour sent after her: And so AVRELIVS tooke her, and the citie of *Palmyra*, and afterwards all the whole estate of the East. And although that many counsellled him, yet he would not put ZENOBI to death, purposing to haue her aliue in his triumph. But he put the Philosopher LONGINVS to death, for that it was said, that he had penned the letter which ZENOBI wrote vnto him. TREBELLIVS POLLIO writeth, that when this valorous woman was brought into the presence of AVRELIVS, he said vnto her; Tell me, ZENOBI, how durst thou presume to contemne Emperours, and to defend thy selfe against their power? Whereto she answered, excusing her selfe, and honouring him, saying: Onely thee, AVRELIVS, I acknowledge to bee an Emperour, for that thou knowest how to overcome. But as for GALIENVS, AVREOLVS, and the rest, I neuer held them for Emperours nor Princes. In this manner (as I said) ended the power of ZENOBI.

Zenobia taken  
prisoner by Au-  
relianus.

The answer  
of Zenobia  
made to Aure-  
lianus.

The Emperour AVRELIVS hauing ended this warre, leauing order and forces in the East, returned into *Europe* by the same way that he went; and coming into high *Duchland*, he subdued a certaine people called Carpi, which warred therein, and ouerthrew them in a battaile. Vpon this occasion he was in *Rome* called CARPICVS: whereat hee was both angrie and sorrie, that for that onely victorie they should giue him a surname. And therefore caused himselfe to be called GOTHICVS, SARMATICVS, ARMENICVS, PARTHICVS, ADIABENICVS, GERMANICVS, and SYRICVS, after the names of the countries and nations which he had subdued.

Aurelianus his  
surnames.

As matters stood vpon these termes, and hee being to march against TETRIVS the tyrant of *France*; newes was brought him that the Palmerins which had bin vnder ZENOBI, were reuolted, & did rebel, & had slaine SANDARIO whom he had left there for Captaine and gouernour of the citie, with sixe hundred archers with him; and that they had made ARCHELAVS, who was of kinne to ZENOBIA, their Prince. When AVRELIVS vnderstood thereof, with his accustomed courage and expedition (which was naturall vnto him) hee returned by great iourneies into *Asia*; and being come into *Syria*, he made no stay vntill that he came to the citie of *Palmyra*; which when he had taken, he inflicted most cruell punishment, by putting all sorts of people to death, men, women, old folkes and young children, without leauing any liuing creature therein. And afterwards he destroyed and left the whole citie desolate, and almost all the other cities, which consented and conspired therewith in the rebellion. Without any long abode in *Asia* (in great haste) he returned into *Europe*, where he happily pacified all matters; so as there remained no part, but al was in obedience. Neuerthelesse, for as much as the people were accustomed to the libertie and euill customes permitted vnder the gouernment of GALIENVS, a certaine Captaine called FIRMVS, who was in *Egypt*, arose and made all that kingdome to rebell; and as some write made him-  
selfe

The Palmerins  
rebelled.

The Egyptians  
rebelled.

selfe Emperour. And as others write, crying libertie, hee promised to maintaine the libertie and priuiledges of that countrie. Which when this warlike Emperour vnderstood (who for expedition in the warres was a second I V L I V S C E S A R) he would put no man else but himselfe in trust, and returned the third time into *A-sia*, and thence came into *Egypt*; and at his first entrie with little difficultie, he recovered all that kingdome, and left it in peace and quiet. At that time (as A V R E L I V S V I C T O R and E V T R O P I V S report) there was a Captaine in *Dalmatia* whose name was S E P T I M I V S, who also rebelled, and proclaimed himselfe Emperour. But A V R E L I A N V S needed not to come against him: for the same legions and souldiers which chose him, conspired against him and killed him. So as there rested nothing for A V R E L I A N V S to do, but to defeat T E T R I C V S, which held a great part of *France* and of *Spaine*, with the title of Emperour, as is before said. Whereof A V R E L I A N V S made great account, and came from *Egypt* with intent to goe against him: this warre being in all mens opinion very doubtfull: neuertheless A V R E L I A N V S tooke so good order therein, that it was soone ended. The occasion whereof was, that T E T R I C V S being a tyrant, and no lawfull Emperour, the legions and men of warre vnder his commaund became therefore so dissolute and presumptuous, that hee was no longer able to endure their insolencie and pride, but chose rather to liue a subiect to the Emperour A V R E L I A N V S, then to be an Emperour ouer such subiects, with conditions so reprochfull and vituperable. Whereupon he secretly wrote to A V R E L I A N V S, and brought it so to passe, that he voluntarily yeelded himselfe; and so all became in peace and quiet, subiect vnto A V R E L I A N V S. And as at other times the legions had betrayed their Captaines and Emperours; so at this time, the Emperour to ridde himselfe out of trouble deliuered vp his legions to another. Which is a great example and prooffe of the miseries, suspitions, and troubles, which those men suffer and endure, which vniustly and tyrannously hold lands and dominions; daily expecting and fearing death, and to bee cast out and dispossessed of their gouernments. Whereof ancient histories are full, and in our time we haue seene with our eyes, that although they escape for a time; yet there is no day wherein they are not griued with the insolencies and dissolutions of those, by whose aide they maintaine their tyrannies, and most commonly they are by them brought into greatest daunger. And so to keepe themselves on foote, they vse great crueltie against their subiects, and shew themselves partiall, remisse, and humble to their fauourits and friends. And aboue all, the secret martyrdomes and remorse of conscience doth chiefly torment them: whereof D I O N Y S I V S, M A R I V S, S Y L L A, and other famous tyrants which haue been in the world, are good witnesses: which vpon their subiects inflicted and committed most horrible and terrible cruelties, and with their friends and companions endured incredible insolencies and intolerable audacious presumptions. Which T E T R I C V S knowing very well, notwithstanding that he was not vnprovided nor destitute of power, courage or valour; yet he voluntarily yeelded himselfe to V A L E R I A N V S, holding it for a harder matter to commaund with trouble, then to serue in quiet. Which may also serue for a rule and admonition to flie and eschew a vanitie, much vsed by those which in townes and common-wealths maintaine factions and discords, and will commaund and tyrannize ouer that which is none of their owne; who thereby vainly and foolishly make themselves seruile and slaues to very base fellowes, flattering them and giuing what they will haue; because they will not endure the companie of those which are their equals, then which there can be no greater

madnes.

Tetricus sub-  
mitted himself  
to Aurelianus.

madnes. It proued no euill course that T E T R I C V S tooke: for he liued many yeeres afterwards in great honour and rest, and ended his dayes as we will declare: whereas otherwise if he had persisted in his tyrannie, he had made such an end as all such others had, which was either to haue been slaine by his enemies, or by his owne people; and that time which he should haue liued, would haue beene but full of continuall feare and vnrest.

A V R E L I A N V S hauing fullie subdued and pacified all the prouinces of the Empire, and hauing reduced the same to the auncient power and reputation, by taming and subduing the tyrants, and by expelling the strangers and barbarous nations with force, felicitie, and admirable expedition, he determined to come to *Rome* to receiue the triumph for his victories, which was giuen him with the greatest solemnitie and preparation that could be deuised, which in respect of my accustomed breuikie cannot particularly be recited. It may suffice to say in summe, that it was one of the most stately triumphs that euer was made in *Rome*, wherein were led an infinite number of prisoners and captiues of diuers and sundrie nations, great varietie of wild beasts, as Tigres, Lions, Ounces, Elephants, Dromedaries, Beares, and such like. There was also an incredible abundance of armes taken from those which were ouercome, and most rich and sumptuous chariots, one, which had bin of O D E N A T V S, Z E N O B I A S husband; another which she herselfe had made; and another which the King of the Persians voluntarilie sent to A V R E L I A N V S for a present. There went also in that triumph the great Z E N O B I A, most richly attired in cloth of great price set with pearle and stone, in manner of a prisoner led with chaines of gold. There were in the number of them, of whom A V R E L I A N V S triumphed, T E T R I C V S and his sonne, whom the father had intituled Emperour. A V R E L I A N V S entred in another chariot, which had been the Kings of the Gothes, drawne by foure stagges: and after him came all the victorious legions both of foote and horse, most rich and gallantlie armed, bearing boughes of lawrell or of palme in their hands: there were also many other things of great pomp. And he in this manner went to the Capitoll to do his sacrifices according to the custome; and thence to his Palace, and the next day were made in *Rome* all kinds of sports and feasts, such as were wont to be made, with addition of many things aboue ordinarie, and more then other Emperours had done. He likewise gaue many gifts to the people, as the custome was at such like times. T E T R I C V S he made gouernour of *Lucania*, *Calabria*, *Puglia*, and *Campania*, with other prouinces of *Italy*, and did him great honor together with his sonne. To Z E N O B I A he gaue lands and possessions, the rents whereof sufficed to maintaine her honorable, and so she liued and died, being highlie honored and commended of all men, still preserving her auncient reputation, and the honour of her person. A V R E L I A N V S being victorious, and in this prosperitie (as his chiefe delight was in the warres, and to beare armes) determined to leue a choise and selected armie, and therewith to go into the East, to make warre against the Persians, in reuenge of the iniurie done to the Empire by the imprisonment of the Emperour V A L E R I A N V S, and within short space he departed thitherwards. And as he was valorous, wise and a most excellent Captaine, he had therein without doubt performed great matters, had not death, through the secret iudgement of God, by the way cut off and made frustrate his high attempts and purposes: which (as O R O S I V S and E V S E B I V S testifie) God permitted to happen for a punishment of his wickednes. For hauing reigned fixe yeeres, fauouring, or at leastwise tolerating the Christians to liue free and at libertie, he suffered

A most stately  
triumph prepared for Aurelianus.

Bb

not

The ninth per-  
secution of the  
primitive  
Church.

Menestheus  
procured the  
death of Au-  
relianus.

The death of  
Aurelianus.

Ani. Dom. 278.

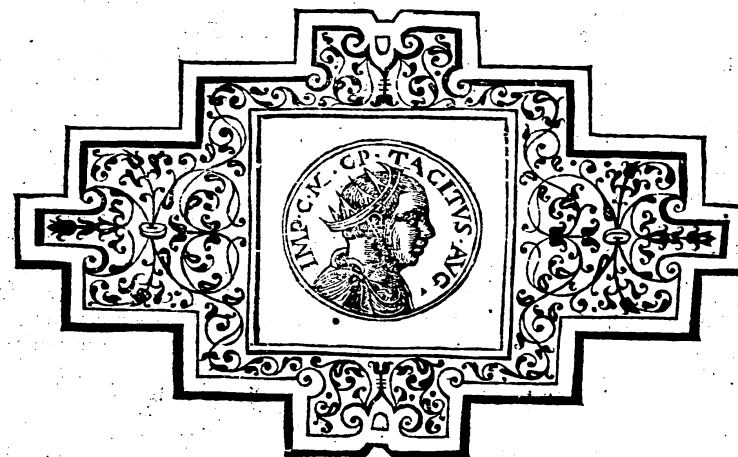
not the Catholike Church to be molested or persecuted, wherefore notwithstanding that he was an infidell, our Lord God (who leaueth no desert vnrewarded) gaue him so many victories and so good successe in all his actions: But in the end deluded by the Deuill and the counsell of wicked men, he determined to persecute the Christians, and sent abroad his letters and edicts to that effect, which was the ninth persecution of the Church. But while as he was about to haue signed the same, there sodainely fell a thunderbolt from heauen so neere vnto him, that all men thought that he had been slaine: yet notwithstanding this signe and warning giuen him from God to desist from his ill determination, he permitted the rest which was his death, and that his owne seruants in which he reposed most trust, should kill him, which was thus: That as he was euerruall, and had put many to death for light occasions, his principall secretarie who managed his most secret affaires (whose name was MENESTHEVS) being in feare of his life, for that AVRELIANVS had threatned him for a matter of small importance, resolved to practise the death of his Lord: which to effect, he presentlie wrote a forged fained memoriall, wherein it seemed that AVRELIANVS had set downe the names of certaine persons which he would cause to be slaine, among which he wrote his owne name, and shewed this memoriall to all those, or to the greatest part of them which were contained therein, many of which were odious to the Emperour, which made the matter the more likely to be true. And as the secretarie was of great credit by reason of the place which he held, and they knowing the Emperours crueltie, presumed as much, and throughlie beleueed it, they thereupon speedily agreed to make an end of the Emperour, for feare that he otherwise would haue done the like by them: and hauing resolved vpon the manner, they killed him as he one day with a small guard went from *Heraclea in Thracia* (for many cities are so called) towards *Byzantium*, now *Constantinople*. He died (according to EVSEBIUS his computation) in the yeere of our Lord 278. and in the sixt yeere of his raigne, a small time truly considering his great and noble acts. He left neither sonne nor nephew, but one onely daughter. The Senate was very sory for his death, but the people much more: for they liued in greater securitie, and without danger of his crueltie. And for his noble acts they canonized him, and numbred him among their holie Emperours. When the treason of MENESTHEVS was discouered, they draue a stake through him, & did cast out his bodie to the dogs, & to be deuoured by wild beasts.

It is not written that the rest were punished, for that peradventure they were principall men, and so great, that no man durst to procure them to be punished.

THE



THE LIFE OF TACITVS,  
ONELY OF THAT NAME,  
AND EIGHT AND THIRTITH EM-  
PEROVR OF ROME.



**T**He warlike and inuincible Empe:our AVRELIANVS being dead, as we haue aboue said, who with such valour brought all the provinces of the Empire to such peace and tranquillitie, and in so short a time, that it seemeth that the feare and reuerence which they bare towards him in his life-time held the same authoritie euen after his death. For no man attempted to make himselfe Emperour, in any of the provinces wherein legions lay in garrison, as at other times they were wont to doe, neither durst the armie which was with him chuse an Emperour, hee had in such manner tamed the prouinces and the pride of the people. And the Captaines which then were with him were also better aduised, and tooke warning by the death and confusion of those, which in the time of GALIENVS had vsurped the name of Emperors. Wherefore, for that they deemed none worthie of the Empire, they desiring to auoyde the like inconueniences as befell in times past, and to the end that a good Emperour might be chosen, who with his authoritie might preserue and maintaine the present estate, the men

Bb 2

of

*The armie sent  
to the Senate to  
choise an Empe-  
rour.*

*Tacitus chosen  
Emperour.*

*The death of  
Tacitus.*

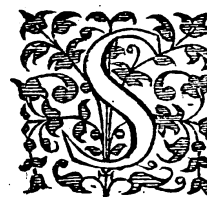
*The originall of  
the heresie of  
the Manichees.*

of warre of AVRELIANVS his armie sent word to the Senate, that it (as reason was) should chuse and name an Emperour; and that they would obey him and confirme his election. The Senate knowing that the armie was not wont to be contented with a prince of their chusing, made answere, that they should name and make choise of one, and that the Senate would approue their doings. In this straining of courtesies, sixe monethes passed (which may serue for a wonder to him that hath read the former Histories) in which the world was without an Emperour, and the Empire was gouerned by the Senate and such officers, as AVRELIANVS had left. At the end of which time ouercome by the entreaties and Ambassades from the armies, the Senate made choise of TACITVS a noble man, who had been Consul, and was a good man and of great age, who earnestly refused the same; so as there were many complements betwene them about the matter. But in the end he accepted thereof, to the great ioy of the Senate and Romane people, and also of the Pretorian Cohorts which ordinarily lay neere to Rome. And so he performed the solemnities, distributions, and gifts which the new Emperours were accustomed to make. TACITVS was very old when he came to the Empire: but of great experience in magistracies and offices of charge, and had euer liued a vertuous life. He was very temperate in all things, gentle and kinde, and a louer of iustice and equities. When as TACITVS had taken vpon him the gouernment of the Empire (as a good prince free from ambition) he did all things by the aduise and counsell of the Senate, and held such a course in all his actions, that the whole Empire was in peace and tranquillitie, and iustice was euery where administred, with quietnes; and to that end he made excellent lawes and ordinances, abolishing certaine abuses and euill customes in Rome. But for any notable matters which readers commonly desire in Histories, as warres, battailes, great aduentures and accidents, there were none in his time; aswell for that he found all in peace and in good order, as for that he reigned but a little while; which was but sixe monethes, and those not fully expired. What death he died, the authors doe not certainly set downe. Some say that his owne souldiers slew him, vpon the way traouailing towards Asia, whither he was going with an armie to make warre against the Persians. But SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR and others write, that he died of a burning feuer in the citie of Tharsus, which seemeth most likely to be true: for he was a vertuous man and much beloued. Among his other vertues, he was very temperate in his diet, and in all other things; so as he would not allow his wife the Emperesse to weare any precious stones or iewels of any great price. And he much honored the memorie of the good Emperours. His countrie or linage I finde not written. He left no sonne either naturall or adoptiue. In those times sprung the famous Heretikes of the Manichees, whose originall and maister was a wicked man called MANES; who with his followers were so wicked and such Infidels, that they presumed to say, that there were two Gods, the one good, the other euill: adding thereto, that the one was the originall of all goodnes; and the other of all euill. And this horrible and diuclish heresie lasted in some wicked men about two hundred yeeres, against which Saint AVGVSTINE and other holy doctors opposed themselves. The life of this TACITVS is written by FLAVI-  
VS VOPISCVS, whom I haue followed, and  
the other authors aboue named.

THE



# THE LIFE OF FLORIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND NINE AND THIRTIETH EMPEROVR OF ROME.



SO soone as TACITVS was dead, a brother of his whose name was FLORIANVS, trusting in the neerenes of bloud to the last Emperour, without any authoritie or election, tooke vpon him the name of Emperour. Which he did through the fauour of part of the armie, and of certaine principall men which were with him. But his estate continued but a smal time: for so soone as the armies in the East vnderstoode of the death of his brother TACITVS, they made choise of PROBUS, of whom we will speake hereafter, who was a man of such authoritie and so well beloued, that FLORIANVS vpon the newes thereof held himselfe for forlorne. And knowing that all the martiall men would abandon him (as many of them already had done) he made certaine of his vaines to be opened, imitating QVINTILIUS, who (as we haue said) did the like, and so he died (as the other did) bleeding, about two monethes after that he had taken vpon him the name and title of Emperour. Wherefore he could doe no such notable matter as might be worthie writing. He was a man very like vnto his brother TACITVS, aswell in condition and goodnes of life, as in the shortnes of the time that he held the Empire. He died in the yeere of our Lord 279.

*The death of  
Florianus.*

*Ann. Dom. 279.*

Bb 3

THE

# THE LIFE OF PROBUS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FORTITH EMPE- ROR OF ROME.



## THE ARGVMENT.

**A**lthough that Probus were of no very noble blood, yet neuertheless he was so honest a man and so vertuous, that in consideration of his vertuous deeds he worthily deserved to be chosen Emperour. After that he was confirmed in that dignitie, he shewed himselfe to be so affected to the people, and so kind and loving to the Senate, that by common consent and publike decree he was called Pater patriæ: and to him moreover were graunted all the titles and dignities that might enoble and make him famous. In his time arose infinite warres and troubles, so as he spent all his life time in managing of armes; wherein being victorious he entred Rome in triumph, hauing tamed and subdued the Frenchmen and the Germanes, and subdued some which would haue made themselves Emperours; among which was one Saturninus a valorous and politike man. And seeing that all the Empire was in peace and under obedience, he vsed to say, that within a while there would be no neede of martiall men: which when they understood, they began to murmur and to conspire against him, principally because that hee would not permit them to liue in their accustomed libertie. And going with great preparation towards the warres against the Parthians, he was slaine by them vpon the way. His death was greatly lamented in Rome, and generally through the whole empire, missing such a father as in euery respect did worthily deserue to be called Probus.

**P**ROBUS succeeded FLORIANVS, or rather TACITVS, in the Romane Empire, who was chosen Emperour by the legions, and the armie in the East, presently so soone as they understood of the death of TACITVS, to the end that they would not stay for one to be chosen at the pleasure of the Senate. But this PROBUS was so valiant a man, and so excellent a Captaine, and so held and reputed for such by all men, that the Senate and people of Rome presently confirmed his election. There happened in the time of this excellent Prince, such and so

so many warres and battailes, as well against tyrants as against strangers; and hee obtained so many and so singular victories in them, that hee might very well be compared to AVRELIANVS, of whom a little before we haue written: And for such, as we may make him equall with him; so may wee likewise compare him with HANNIBAL, with CÆSAR, or with any other great and famous Captaine of ancient time: Whose acts seeme greater then the acts of these Princes, by reason that they were so fortunate, as to haue them registred by those most eloquent and excellent writers which celebrated the same. Which ornament failed in those which wrote the liues of the Emperours of these times, and a hundred yeeres before, and in long time after there were not found any so eloquent; or rather, neuer since. And although they write the truth of the historie, yet oftentimes it is written so abrupt, and so briefly, that it maketh their acts and doings to seeme lesse then they were. But the discrete reader, considering the acts of some of those Emperours which we haue alreadie written, and which we are to write hereafter, I shall certainly know that the acts and prowesse of some of these Princes, were no way inferiour to theirs which were so famous, but in some sort might rather seeme greater; if they well consider what nations and people they were, against which they fought. Which as they were no lesse valiant or fierce, then those of ancient times; so were they more expert and of greater skill in the warres, and in ought else that was requisite. But to returne to our good Emperour PROBUS, he was borne in Hungary in a citie called Sirmio, of noble parentage and blood, principally of his mothers side. His fathers name was MAXIMVS, a man very famous, and one which followed the wars, & had had the leading of martiall men; and being Tribune, died in Egypt. His wife liuing after him, with this sonne and one daughter, which was his sister. This young PROBUS prooued to bee so vertuous and so valiant a young man, that the Emperour VALERIANVS which died prisoner in Persia, made him a Tribune, being so young that hee then had no signe of any beard. He performed in the time of the same VALERIANVS, and of his sonne GALIENVS, and of AVRELIANVS, and of CLAVDIVS (wherein happened such warres, so many battailes and conflicts) such notable seruices, both as a souldier and a Tribune; and afterwards when he was a Captaine, that he was euery where held and reputed for a most valiant man, and now maketh men to admire him, which reade his doings. In giuing assaults to cities, he was many times the first man vpon the scaling ladders, and the first that entred the enemies campe or fortresses. He was victorious in many single combats man to man, and in battailes freed many Romane citizens from death: wherefore according to his deserts, there were giuen to him many ciuicall crownes, collars, bracelets, launces and banners, with other ensignes, deuices and martiall priuiledges. And afterwards being a Captaine of legions, and Generall and gouernour of prouinces; there was almost no nation but was subdued by him, in the infinite warres which were in those times. In Africa hee subdued a people called Marmarides, and in battailes and skirmishes ouerthrew some mightie tyrants and rebels. In Egypt being a captaine, he fought against the Palmyrines, which would haue vsurped that countrie and kingdome; but he brought them to quietnes with great part of the East, in the seruice of AVRELIANVS. In the time of CLAVDIVS, hee ouercame the Gothes in many battailes; and in the time of AVRELIANVS, the Sarmates and Germanies; and often was victorious in many other parts. And with these victories and noble acts, with the goodnes and equitie of life and behauiour, hee made the discipline and knowledge of armes equall: So as he was in all, a good and a va-

Probus proclaimed  
Emperour.

lorous Souldier, Captaine, and Emperour. Many letters (recited by FLAVIVS VOPISCVS) written by GALIENVS, CLAVDIVS, AVRELIANVS, TACITVS, and other Emperours and Princes of that time, beare record of that which is said of him; in which they extoll the vertues, valour, and excellencie of this man: wherefore he was infinitely beloued and honored of all men. Which plainly appeereth by the manner of his election: for the armie which was in the East desiring to make haste in choosin an Emperour, being aduertised of the death of TACITVS, the Captaines and Coronels drew their souldiers into the field, and without any former request, practize or agreement, they began to shew vnto them, that it was requisite to make choise of an Emperour, a man which should be valiant, honest, religious, good, pitifull, wise, and replenished with all vertuous qualities: which speech they vsed in sundrie squadrons & parts of the armie. The souldiers, without that one did heare or vnderstand what the other said, euery where cried, Let PROBVS be Emperour AVGVSTVS, God keepe and preferue thee PROBVS, and with such other words and applauses, shewing the great loue and affection which they bare vnto him. When PROBVS had accepted of the Empire, he presentlie wrote a brieue letter to the Senate, but yet with great honor and respect, approuing what was done the last yeere in the election of his predecessor TACITVS, and excusing himselfe for hauing accepted of the Empire, without the knowledge and confirmation of the Senate, he laid all the fault vpon FLORIANVS, who for that he had taken vpon him the name of Emperour, the armie was therefore constrained to make choise of him. His letters being read, there was made great shew of ioy, and they applauded his election with many blessings, and gaue him the name of AVGVSTVS, Father of the countrey, and they also made him highest Bishop, and gaue him tribunall power & authoritie.

When PROBVS had receiued this decree from the Senate, he was very glad, and taking good order for all things, and leauing sufficient garrison in the East, he came into Europe, where he was receiued by the armies, which sware to be faithfull vnto him. The first thing that he did after his comming, was, to leuie the greatest armie that he could, wherewith he went into France, which euere after the death of AVRELIANVS was subiect to the Germanes, which made themselves lords and maisters of all the most principall cities of all that land. After that he came into the countrey of his enemies (whose number was infinite) there began a most cruell and bloudie warre: for the souldiers of either side were very valiant and expert. There passed (as saith VOPISCVS) many bloudie battailes betweene them, whereof one continued two dayes, one after another: so that each day the darkenes of the night parted the fight, the victorie seeming to incline sometimes to the Romanes, and sometimes to the Germanes, which is found written in the auncient Chronicles of Germany, as witnesseth HENRICVS MVTIVS a modern writer: but in the end through the good prouision, and direction of PROBVS, after that he had obtained many victories against the Germanes, wherein died foure hundred thousand men of them, and a great number of the Romane army, he reduced out of their possession sixtie principall cities, and draue them out of all that which they had vsurped: and passing further forwards he also tooke other cities, and his armie made great spoile & hauocke. And after that they were overcome, they yeelded obedience, and became vassals to the Empire, which without my particular relation will plainly appeare by a letter written by PROBVS to the Senate, which saith thus: I giue thanks (fathers conscript) to the immortall Gods, seeing that they haue approued your iudgement of me, shewing it to be reasonable

A cruell bat-  
taille fought  
betweene Pro-  
bus and the  
Germanes.

A Letter writ-  
ten by Probus  
to the Senate.

reasonable and true. For know, that I haue conquered and subdued all Germany, and that wife Kings of sundrie nations and prouinces haue prostrated and humbled themselves at my feet, or to say more rightlie, at yours, and now are subiects, and fight in our armie against other barbarous nations more northerly. You shall (fathers conscript) make your accustomed prayers vnto the Gods, seeing that we haue slaine foure hundred thousand of your enemies, and sixteene thousand men very well armed haue yeelded themselves vnto vs; and we haue recovered threescore cities which they possessed, and all the prouinces of France. All the crownes which the French cities gaue vnto me for presents, I lend vnto you, to the end that by your hands they may be consecrated, and offred to the most good and most mightie IVPITER, and to the rest of the immortall Gods. The pray that we haue taken, is greater then all the harmes that they haue done vnto vs. The fields in France are ploughed and tilled with Oxen taken from the barbarous, &c. And so in his letter he proceedeth, signifying vnto them his victories, for which in Rome was made great ioy, feasting, and supplications to their gods, according to their rites and customes. After this conquest, he came with his forces into the prouinces of Slauonia, inuaded by the Sarmates, which are the inhabitants of Musconia, Russia, Polonia, and others, as is aforesaid, and had the same in possession, which warre was no lesse dangerous then the last, for the great multitude and fiercenes of those nations with which he fought certaine battailes: wherein he shewed himselfe a most prudent, hardie and valiant Captaine; and hauing wholie subdued them, he constrained them to flye out of the bounds and confines of the Empire, the greatest part of them being either slaine or taken. And from thence with great expedition he marched with his armie into Thracia, which with the rest is now called Gracia, wherein is the great citie Constantinople, and marching farther towards the North, with a resolution to make warre against the Gothes in their owne countrey, and wholie to subuert that nation for reuenge of the harmes and troubles which they in time past had done in the Empire. He was of such reputation, and all nations stood in such feare of him, that wheresoeuer he came he found no resistance: for they sent to yeeld their obedience, and to be bounden to be confederates and friends to the Empire: whereupon leauing Europe in peace, he went into Asia, with a determination to haue warred against the Persians and NARSEVS, who then was King of Persia and Parthia, and passing so through Asia the lesse, he inuaded the prouince of Isauria, which is a part thereof, bordering vpon Cilicia, which (as in the life of GALIENVS we said) is mountainous, cragged, and hard to be assaulted, ill to be conquered, and easie to defend, wherein were many theuecs and tyrants which sought to make themselves Lords of that countrey, all which the valiant Emperour subdued, not without great toile and danger: for the inhabitants being fortified by the naturall situation of that countrey, defended themselves couragiously, so as there passed dangerous battailes and conflicts betweene them, but PROBVS in short space pacified all. And they say, that entering the countrey he desired to see the naturall and artificiall fortifications thereof, which he much meruailed at, and said, that that land was hard to be woon, and easie to be defended. He deuided the fields which he there tooke from the tyrants among his old souldiers, and such as had borne themselves valiantlie in that seruice. After that he had pacified all that region, he marched into Soria, and into the Easterly parts, but first he went against a certaine people which they called Blemij, which came out of Ethiopia, and had taken part of Arabia, and of Palestina, of Iudea, and the cities of Ptolemais,

Probus drawne  
the Sarmates  
out of Slauo-  
nia.

and

Narseus King  
of Persia yeel-  
ded to Probvs.

and *Ioppa* which is now called *Iapha*, which was then a famous citie. And hauing ended this iourney, he trauelled towards *Persia* against *NARSEVS* King of the Persians and Parthians, who was the most mightie King of the world, and whose predecessors and successors euer troubled the Romane Empire, and the Emperours thereof. But *PROBVS* (of whom we now treat) was so much feared and esteemed, that *NARSEVS* durst not contend with him; but by all meanes procured peace, restored whar he had vsurped, gaue him other great gifts, and made such composition and conditions, as *PROBVS* required. So as hauing no enimie against whom he might wage warre, he returned againe into *Europe*, leauing the whole state of the East in peace and vnder good gouernment. Comming into *Thracia*, which cuntry was dispeopled, through the warres and spoile which the Gothes, Sarmates and other barbarous nations had made therein; and for that many nations which were wont to be enemies, had now submitted themselves to doe him seruice, and desired him to giue them some land to inhabit wherein they might be his subiects; he gaue vnto them the prouince of *Thracia* and the marches thereof; diuiding fields by lottes amongst them, where they should inhabit and till the earth. These were of many Tribes and nations, as Vandals, Gothes, Guntanes, and other people, whose number was infinit. But this counsell proued afterwards very daungerous; and much harme (as we will hereafter declare) ensued thereof.

In this time was a generall peace through the whole Empire, and there was no King or nation out of it, that durst to stirre. But as mens harts are commonly (euen from their infancie) more inclined to euill then good, through the corruption of our nature, wanting forraine enemies, there arose some domesticall; and those which were wont to make head against forraine enemies, made themselves enemies.

There was in the East parts a Captaine whose name was *SATVRNINVS*, who was both very valorous, expert in the wars, discrete and of great iudgement, and in the time of *AVRELIVS* had been Captaine generall of those frontiers, and was by birth a French-man. This man comming to *Alexandria* in *Egypt* about some busines and matters of importance which wee know not; without his knowledge or imagination, the Egyptians as they were euer vnquiet, rebellious and desirous of nouelties, by a common & generall consent, hailed him Emperor; and called vpon his name with so great resolution, that he durst not refuse it, neither to forbear to say that he consented thereto. But imagining that through his absence that tumult would haue bin pacified, he departed from *Egypt* & came into *Palestina*. But they neuer giuing ouer what they had begun, and as those troupes whereof he had the commaund, did not onely consent thereto, but were very glad thereof. He himselfe standing in feare of *PROBVS*, clad himselfe in purple, which was the imperiall colour, but we will say crimson, which was the colour of the imperiall robe, accounting it the safest way. But it is written, that when his Captaines and souldiers came to sweare obedience, and to doe him such honour as was accustomed in such actions; *SATVRNINVS* receiued and entertained them weeping, saying vnto them, let it not my brothers and companions in armes be imputed vnto me for pride and presumption, what I now shall say vnto you; for this day doth the common-wealth lose in me a necessarie member; for I was the chiefeest man in restoring *France*. I being a free Captaine recouered *Africa* from the Moores. I pacified *Spaine*, and did other things to the honour of the Empire; but what auaieth it to haue done all this: for with this daies worke all

Saturninus  
made Emperor  
against his will.

The miserable  
condition of  
tyrants.

all is lost. And as his Captaines and Coronels encouraged and entreated him to be merrie, this wise man which well knew what it was to raigne with tyrannie, answered them, saying; My friends, you know not what it is to raigne, but I will make you vnderstand it in my selfe: for from henceforth there will daily hang ouer my head threatening me and putting me in feare of my life, swordes, glaues, shields, and on euery side I see my selfe assaulted with halberts, launces, and other kindes of weapons; and I begin to stand in feare of those which haue the garde of me; and to take heede of those which keepe me companie. I shall not eate one bit that shall tast well, neither without suspition. I can trauaile no way in safetie. I shall not vndertake any warre to my owne liking, neither shall I beare armes for exercise, but forced thereto: and although I did assure my selfe to the contrarie, yet truly it is impossible for any Emperour to please and content all his subiects. For if he be an old prince; they will say that he is insufficient and an vnprofitable dotard: if he be young, they will say, he is rash and furious, and hath not wit enough to be a soueraigne Lord. And so there neuer want imperfections to charge him withall. Beleeue me my friends, in that you make me Emperour, you binde me to die. But one thing doth something recomfort me; which is, that I shall not die alone. But seeing that you will haue it so, I pray to the Gods that the time come not, wherein you will be as sorrie for what you haue done, as I am at this present. These speeches are recited by *FLAVIVS VOPISCVS*, who writeth that he vnderstoode them by the report of his grandfather, who was present when they were spoken. *SATVRNINVS*, although as a wise man he knew and foresaw into how great daunger he thrust himselfe, seeing he could not returne; was nothing dismayed, but rather with great courage provided all things necessarie for the preferring of the estate which he had taken vpon him. And notwithstanding that he was made a tyrant against his will, yet he desired rather to overcome, then to leaue to be. But as the Emperour *PROBVS*, was no lesse wise or valiant then himselfe; so he so soone as he was aduertised of what passed, with the greatest forces that he was able to leuie, returned into *Asia*, providing and ordering all things after a new manner with great care; being very ialous of this warre, in respect of the qualitie of the Captaine and souldiers. Both armies being come into one cuntry, they made of either side cruell warre, and the batailles were very fierce and bloodie; yet the Emperour *PROBVS* sought to haue come to some composition with *SATVRNINVS*; promising to pardon him, & to entreate him very well. And it is supposed that *SATVRNINVS* would willingly haue accepted thereof, but his souldiers would neuer yeeld thereto, holding themselves thereby to be in no securitie, seeing they had constrained him to take vpon him the name of Emperour. But in the end *SATVRNINVS* being apparantly overcome, he was besieged in a Castle, and there was slaine by the souldiers against the Emperors wil, who would rather haue forgien him. After this victorie, which was held for so doubtfull; *PROBVS* returned into *Europe*, and the souldiers and legions remained so tame and quiet, and in such obedience, that it grew to be a common by word; that the Mice did not dare to gnaw for feare of *PROBVS*. But as he was busie herein (as it was not thought that he should haue had so good successe) in *France* and *Germanie* were two Captaines, the one called *BONVS* who was the principall; and the other *PROCVLVS*: which raising mightie armies in *France* and in *Britannie* (where *PROBVS* was ill beloued, for the victories which he there had had) and hauing also some Spaniards, besides the ordinarie legions of their governments, they both tooke vpon them the name of Emperours, and the

Warres be-  
tweene Satvr-  
ninus and  
Probvs.

Bonovs and  
Proculus called  
Emperours.

Bonosus in des-  
spaire hung  
himselfe.

Proculus was  
slaine by his  
owne souldiers.

Strange qua-  
lities.

Probus warred  
against the  
Barbarians.

Probus came  
into Rome in  
triumph.

A comparison  
betweene Pro-  
bus and Iulius  
Cesar.

the purple robe. But for that it would be a long storie, particularly to recount all that passed; it shall suffice to know; that PROBVS neuer rested; so as according to the small time of his raigne, which was but sixe yeeres, it may seeme a wonderful thing to consider the warres and voyages which he made. But in the end he found out these tyrants, and inuaded them both; of which the warre against BONOSVS (as they write) was very dangerous and lasted long: and finally PROBVS had the victorie, and BONOSVS falling into despaire hung himselfe. And PROCVLVS being likewise ouercome, fled into the land, where the Germanes (thereby to winne PROBVS his good will) deliuered him: and so he had an entire and complete victorie ouer all. This PROCVLVS was borne in a place among the Alpes neere to *Genena*, and BONOSVS was a Britaine, bred vp in *Spaine*; of whom they write, that he would drinke so much wine, that ten great drinkers could not drinke so much: and that therewith he had two wonderful properties, the one was, that how much so euer he dranke, he was neuer therewith drunken; the other was, that when it pleased him, he could pisse as fast as he did drinke, without containing any iot within his body: wherefore the Emperour AVRELIANVS was wont to say of him, that BONOSVS was not borne to liue, but to drinke.

After that PROBVS had defeated these two mightie Captaines and tyrants, it was to haue been supposed reasonable, that armes should haue giuen him leaue to haue reposed himselfe in *Rome*; for now his yeeres and trauailes required no lesse: but it happened otherwise, for the nations and people which he left (as wee haue said) to inhabit *Thracia*, notwithstanding that the Bastarnari remained in peace and quiet: yet the Vandales and other nations seeing the Emperour pestered in the warres (trusting in their strength and multitude) determined to make no longer abode there, but to inuade all the prouinces of the Empire, robbing and stealing all that they could lay their hands vpon: And their number was so great, that no citie or cuntry could make head against them, but that they spoiled and burned all wheresoeuer they came. Which when the Emperour had well considered, imagining that whatsoeuer he had theretofore done for the good and libertie of the Empire, was to no effect or purpose, if he suffered this plague to go forwards: he resolved therefore to put himselfe in hazard, and to goe in person into all those places which these people inuaded. And for that they by reason of their multitude could not march together, he fought with them in sundrie places, wherein many men were slaine of either side; and the Emperour himselfe was sometime wounded, and in daunger of death. But in the end he ouercame them all, and took such order that he compelled those which by flight escaped from the batailles, to flee out of the confines and frontiers of the Empire. And he very ioyful and victorious, finding now no resistance in the world, came to *Rome*, whereinto he entred triumphing, in a triumph truly well deserued; for in *Rome* was a law that the triumph should not be graunted but for great victories obtained: which being so, I see not that either CESAR or POMPEY could or did better deserue it, then PROBVS. For if we consider the number of batailles and victories (although they be not at large described, which he fought and wanne before that he was Emperour, and those also after that he was so: I know not when we should make an end of reciting them. There was neuer a prouince in the Empire when it was furthest extended, which was not conquered a new, or pacified and brought into subiection by him. CESAR was much extolled for expedition, taking his enemies at vnawares and vnprovided for him; PROBVS was no slower or made lesse haste then

then he; and although that his enemies were provided for him, yet he ouerthrew them and put them to flight. It is said that CESAR slew in batailles in the warres about a million of men; and PROBVS in the first warres which hee made after that he was Emperour, slew foure hundred thousand: and *France* wherein CESAR warred tenne yeeres before he could subdue it, PROBVS conquered in one yeere. As for the other warres and batailles which he fought when he was but a Captaine, I hold the number of those which were slaine therein for as innumerable, as the warres were dangerous and desperate. But if we come to the ciuill warres which CESAR made against the Romanes; I hold those which PROBVS waged against three tyrants with old legions, to be no way inferiour. So as I know not wherefore we should not as much extoll the acts and doings of some of those Emperours, as of POMPEY, or of CESAR. But not to swarue from the common opinion, against which wee may not contend, giuing to CESAR and such excellent men the first place and degree; yet it is great reason that we should also make honourable mention of those which were vertuous and valorous; and that wee should preferue the memorials of them for an example of fortitude. Which wanted no other thing (as I said in the beginning) but writers, which might eloquently and with a good stile, haue particularly written their acts, which the others had: for if of PROBVS and of some others, of which wee haue already treated, and are againe to treat hereafter, there had bin any which elegantly and eloquently had written the histories, relating all their acts and valiant deedes in particular; their bold attempts, their counsels, their orations, their aduertisements, their wonderful policies, stratagems, and other matters of importance, which doubles happened without number, in such and so great enterprises and batailles; wee should not onely be content to giue vnto these men the second place, but peradventure we should contend for the first; especially considering that they were no lesse excellent in vertue and bountie, then in armes and valour.

But leauing this disputation apart, for in the end the world will pronounce sentence in the behalfe of CESAR, and of those famous men of ancient time: Our PROBVS entred *Rome* triumphing of the Germanes, of the Blemii, and of many other nations and tyrants. His triumph was most solemne, and his men of warre entred with him: among which were Germanes, Spaniards, and other nations which had serued him in the warres, as well as the Romanes. There were also some excellent and great Captaines, of which the most noble were, LEONIDES, DIOCLESIANVS, CARVS, CONSTANTINVS, ANABALLIANVS, MAXIMINIANVS, PISONIANVS, HERCVLEVS, CECROPIVS, and such others, whereof some were afterwards Emperours. This triumph being ended, the next day (according to the ancient custome) began the feasts, games, and disports; wherein were huntings of fierce and sauage beasts, more and more strange, then euer before that time were seen in *Rome*: for which purpose he caused in a place called *Circulus Maximus*, a great groue of wood and a Mountaine to be made, full of very great trees, set in such sort that they seemed naturally to haue growne there. The situation of the place was so capable and so large, that therein were hunted a thousand Ostriches, a thousand Stags, a thousand mountaine Goates, a thousand wilde Boares, a thousand fallow Deere, and other kinds of beasts: and the people were permitted to kill and take thereof at their pleasure. Afterwards there were killed with launces three hundred Beares; and in a manner as many Lions, of those of *Libya*, and of *Syria*; which was a spectacle representing more maiestie and greatnes then delight or pleasure. The next day thither came three hundred

Probus his tri-  
umph in Rome.

Cc

Sword.

Sword-players, which were men (as we haue already said) which killed one another to make the people sport; and those which surruied, gained reward and libertie. These feasts being ended, the Emperour made certaine lawes, and tooke care for the good government of the Empire; and all men liued in such peace and quietnes, that PROBVS vsed to say, that hee would speedily take such a course, that there should be no more neede of any men of warre. Wherefore, as also for that he would neuer suffer his souldiers to be idle, but busied them in labours and necessarie edifices, they began to hate him and to wish his death; as men which had been accustomed to robbe and steale, and to liue licentiously. And hauing taken order for all matters concerning a peaceable government, he determined to goe into the East, to the end to subdue and wholly to subuert the kingdome of the Persians and Parthians: for there now remained no other power that he needed to care for, to confirme that peace which he published to establish through the Empire. And vndertaking this enterprize, with greater preparation, then euer was made in any other (for now nothing letted him) it seeming to his souldiers that it was not good to haue a Prince so valorous, in whose time they were compelled to liue in such subiection and were punished, and could not follow their old course and former libertie, they resolved to kill him; and in secret many of them conspired against him: and so as hee passed through *Slauonia*, they murdered him by treason; when hee had reigned (after EUTROPIVS) fixe yeeres and foure moneths; which (as I said of AVRELIANVS) was a very short space, for the accomplishing of such and so great acts and enterprizes, as his were. And some authors write that he reigned not so long. His death was much lamented and bewailed in *Rome*, both by the Senate and Romane people. The armie stood not vpon the punishing of the offenders; for no man durst to attempt the same: but they erected to this inuincible Emperour a most honourable Sepulchre, wherein was engrauen this Epitaph.

*Probus slaine  
by his owne  
souldiers.*

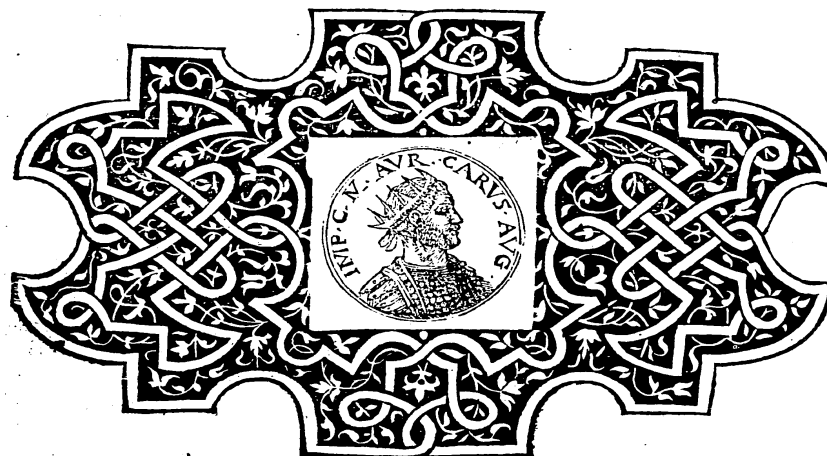
*Here lieth the Emperour PROBVS, iustly for his goodnes called PROBVS; of all the barbarous nations and tyrants a Conquerour.*

*Anno Dom.  
285.*

This passed (as EVSEBIVS testifieth) in the yeere of our Lord 285. He left neither sonne nor kinsman that durst make challenge to the Empire: and so there remained not any man that fought to eternize the memorie of so great and excellent a man.

THE

THE LIFE OF CARVS,  
ONELY OF THAT NAME,  
AND ONE AND FORTITH EM-  
PEROVR OF ROME. AND OF  
CARINVS and NUMERIANVS his sons,  
which were also called AVGVSTI.



Now were the men of warre againe in possession of authoritie to chuse Emperors. For as it appeareth by the proceffe of this historie, they euer hated that Emperour which was chosen by the Senate. And although that in diuers parts of the Empire there were armies and ordinarie legions; yet that armie wherein the Emperour was at the time of his death, euer pretended to haue greatest right; and hee that was chosen thereby, seemed to haue the most iust title, and was held for right Emperour. And for as much as PROBVS was dead and buried, as we haue said, the souldiers began to consult about the election of a new Emperour, and they all desired to make choise of such a man as might seeme to deserue the same; so as neither the Senate nor other armies should haue any iust cause to grieue at his election. And in the opinion of the greatest part, CARVS (whom PROBVS had made Pretorian Prefect) was thought very sufficient, as well for that he was a man of great worth, as for that hee was of great experience in government, by reason of the charge and offices which hee had held: and finally they chose him Emperour, and sware obedience vnto him, to the great good liking of the whole armie.

*The men of  
warre euer ha-  
ted those Empe-  
rors, which  
were chosen  
by the Senate.*

*Carus chosen  
Emperour.*

Cc 2

When

When his election was published in *Rome*, the Senate was nothing pleased therewith, not in respect of himselfe, for of his good conditions and vertues they were very well assured; but for that he had two sonnes, the eldest of which expected to be his successor, whose name was CARINVS, and was a wicked and most vitious man: but they durst not denie their obedience, and so approued his election, through the desire they had to preserve the peace and quietnes wherein PROBVS had then left them. Whence, or of what countrey this Emperour CARVS was, I find not written in any authors, FABIVS CECILIANVS which wrote the historie of his time (as VOPISCVS reporteth) saith, that he was borne in *Slauonia*, but by descent he was an *Africane*. ONESIMVS saith, that he was borne in *Rome*, and that his father was a *Slauon*; neuertheless, he was held for a *Romane*, which he sheweth in some letters which are by the same VOPISCVS recited. But AVRELIVS VICTOR, EVSEBIVS, and PAVLVS OROSIUS make him a Frenchman, borne in *Narbone*. It little importeth whence he was, but so soone as he was chosen Emperour, he made his two sonnes CÆSARS, CARINVS and NVMERIANVS, with name and authoritie of AVGVSTI, and receiued them as his companions in the Empire. NVMERIANVS was valorous, wise, learned, a great Musician, and a Poet; but CARINVS was wicked, dishonest, insolent, and giuen to all kind of vice.

Carus his victorie against the Sarmates.

Carus overthrew the Persians.

Carus slaine with a thunderbolt.

Ann. Dom. 287.

Hauing ended these things, he presentlie began to make most diligent search for those which had murdered PROBVS, which he feuerely punished: which, together with the loue which PROBVS in his life time did shew him, tooke away the suspicion which some conceiued that he had been consenting to his death. Hauing done iustice, and written his ordinarie letters to the Senate, he marched with his armie to make warre against the *Sarmates*, which so soone as they vnderstood that PROBVS was dead, came with great furie into *Pannonia*, & came with such pride, that they threatned all *Italy*, and the rest of the Empire, where after some conflicts he came with them to a battaile, wherein he had the victorie, slue of them sixteene thousand, tooke twentie thousand prisoners, and put the rest to flight. After this victorie, he vnderstood that in the East the *Persians* made some sturre: wherefore, and to the end to accomplish what PROBVS had pretended, he determined to passe presentlie thither, leauing to his eldest sonne CARINVS the gouernement of *France* and of *Spaine*, and NVMERIANVS he tooke with himselfe, and went with such power and with so great an armie, that he presentlie tooke all the countrey of *Mesopotamia*, without meeting any man to make any defence or head against him. And passing further, he besieged the citie of *Thesphonte*, where the *Persians* sallied forth to receiue him with a sufficient army, betweene which (as EVTROPIVS writeth) was a most cruell battaile; wherein CARVS ouerthrew them, and following his victorie, he tooke by force of armes the famous cities of *Selucia* and *Thesphonte*. And as he was of a high mind, and of great experience in the warres (if death had not surprized him) it was then beleued, that he would haue wholie destroyed the power of the *Persians*: for at that time they were at ciuill warres and contentions among themselves. But coming with his armie to the shores side of the riuer *Tigris*, through his trauell and heate, he fell extremely sick, wherewith being much oppressed, there happened one day a great tempest of thunder and lightning, and there fell a thunderbolt into the Emperours tent, wherewith some of those which were with him were slaine, and among them the Emperour himselfe, hauing reigned but two yeeres only, which he spent in continuall trauaile and warres, in the yeere of our

Lord

Lord 287. in the beginning thereof. And notwithstanding that CARVS was a great and mightie Prince, yet the thunderbolt had no respect of him, and I see that those good Princes had as ill fortune as the most base & vntowardlie people of the world. I haue read the Chronicles of Kings, and of other great Princes of many kingdomes and prouinces; but I neuer heard nor read, that the like death euer happened vnto any as to the *Romane Emperours*, at least so commonlie: for it is certaine that no kind of death, how vile or strange soeuer, but hath bin inflicted vpon some *Romane Emperour*. For amongst them, some haue bin slaine by treason, and euery foote by the sword: some by thunderbolts from heauen, as CARVS, as I said but now: some were burnt with fire, as we will tell you of VALENS: others were hanged, as before we told you of BONOSVS, who was called Emperour in the time of PROBVS, and before him the old GORDIANVS in *Africa*: others tormented and traile along the ground, as we told you of HELIOGABALVS and VITELLIVS: others were poisoned, as some before named: others captiues and throwne into prison, as most base and vile slaues, as VALERIANVS died: others opened their vaines and bled to death, as did QVINTILIVS and FLORIANVS: others were drowned, as was DECIVS; and to others happened other kinds of death. So as hauing not written the liues of aboute fortie or 41. Emperours, it seemeth that death hath made experience in them, that there be as many conditions of death, as of dead men: among which may be numbred the deaths of CARINVS and NVMERIANVS, sonnes to the Emperour CARVS, which were called AVGVSTI, from whose life we will presentlie begin; and the proceffe of the historie will shew others no lesse strange and fearefull.

Sundry kinds of death happened to the *Romane Emperours*.

Of CARVS his two sonnes, which he made CÆSARS with power and authoritie of AVGVSTI, the yonger whose name was NVMERIANVS, was with his father when he died, who as well for the goodnes and deserts of his father, as for his owne, was much beloued of all the armie and *Romane* people: wherefore by common consent, so soone as his father was dead, he was chosen Emperour, and for such was generallie obeyed. He was married to the daughter of a rich and mightie man, whose name was ARRIVS APER. This new Emperour greatly lamenting the death of his father, and imagining that in that warre at that time there was no more to be done, raised his camp, and began to retire, and for that he was diseased in his eies, and could not indure the light; he made himselfe to be caried in a close Litter, so as he could not be seene. And as the desire to raigne and rule is the most strong & violent of all other passions; so his father in law ARRIVS APER forgetting the dutie which he ought to his soueraigne Lord, and the loue to his daughter and sonne in lawe, resolved to kill him, and by meanes of his great wealth and friends to procure the Empire for himselfe: which he might easily bring to passe, for that he was allowed to come to him so often as he would, so as by his hand (or some other mans by his direction) NVMERIANVS was slaine in his Litter; and to the end it should not be reuealed, they left him therein, and publishing that he could not indure to see any man, they caried him therein dead two or three daies, praifing in the meane time what they had projected: but as the dead bodie began to smell ill, the treason was discovered sooner then ARRIVS would, and there was so great a confusion and sorrow in the whole armie, that euery man tooke armes and said, that they would choose an Emperour which should punish so great a treason. But first of all ARRIVS APER was brought prisoner before the imperiall iudgement seate: for it was presentlie knowne that he had committed this murder. And the armie being in this con-

Numerianus chosen Emperour.

Numerianus slaine by his father in lawe.

C c 3

fusion

Dioclesianus  
chosen Empe-  
rour.

fusion and tumult, by the common consent of all men **DIOCLESIANVS** was named and hailed Emperour, who was the most principal man in the armie, and one of the most excellent Captaines in the time of **PROBVS**, and was (as it were) the Emperours steward, and had the rule and government of his household. He was borne in *Dalmatia* of obscure parentage, in so much that some say that his father was a Notarie: and others say, that he was the sonne of a bondman. But he was a man of a great stomacke, very wife, a great defender and louer of the commonwealth, of a quicke wit and vnderstanding, to make prouision for any occasion that might be offered, according to the time and season: and was of great experience in affaires and charges of importance. He was also a man of high conceits, which he put in execution; but with great wisdom and discretion.

Arrius Aper  
slaine by Dio-  
clesianus.

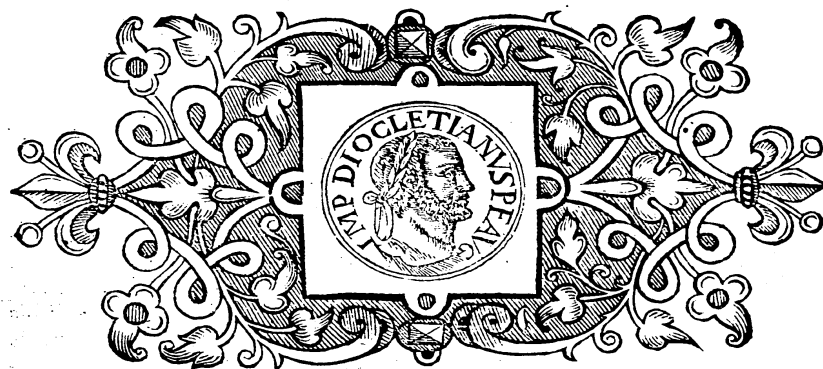
**DIOCLESIANVS** seeing himselfe called by all men Emperour, with great courage accepted the Empire, and clothing himselfe with the imperiall robe, he set him in the tribunall seate; and being saluted and hailed **AVGVSTVS**, the first thing that he did, was to make inquirie, how **NUMERIANVS** came to his death, notwithstanding that he already knew the same. And the treason and league being discouered vnto him, he made the wicked **ARRIVS APER** to be brought before him; and he with his owne sword killed him; so much was he displeased therewith: And afterwards he made those which were his complices and partakers to be slaine. And so in this manner was reuenged the death of the good Emperour **NUMERIANVS**. **CARINVS** the other brother, who was left **CÆSAR** and was gouernour of *France* and *Spaine*, was very vnlike vnto him; for as this was noble, vertuous and giuen to all vertuous actions and exercises; and we know that besides all his other excellencies, he was the best poet of his time, and a very excellent Orator: so was **CARINVS** dishonest, horribly luxurious, an adulterer, and finally giuen to all kinde of vice and dishonestie: wherefore he was generally abhorred of all men; in so much that his owne father hated him, and being aduertised of his behaviour, said, that he held him not for his sonne, purposing to haue deprivied him of the Empire.

He then remaining in *France*, hauing put from him all the good and vertuous men, which his father left with him, conuersing altogether with such as himselfe, vnderstode of the death of his father and of his brother, and also of **DIOCLESIANVS** his election. And as (although wicked and vicious) he was valiant and of great courage, without amending any of his euill conditions; but rather with his libertie encreasing the same: so he leuied the greatest forces that he was able, and with great diligence made prouision to make head against **DIOCLESIANVS**, hoping to remaine sole Emperour. Whereof when **DIOCLESIANVS** was aduertised, he with great expedition came out of the East into *France* against him: And as of either side there was both great power and courage; so they had sundrie skirmishes and batailles, which were very fierce and cruell; but in the end each of them setting vp his rest, they came to a battaile, which was the last and most cruell; wherein **CARINVS** was iustly ouerthrowne and slaine. And in this manner remained **DIOCLESIANVS** at that time sole Lord and Emperour, which was in the yeere of our Lord 288.

Carinus over-  
throwne and  
slaine.

THE

THE LIFE OF **DIOCLESIANVS**, ONLY OF THAT NAME,  
AND OF **MAXIMINIANVS**, THE  
TWO AND FORTITH RO-  
MANE EMPEROVR.



## THE ARGVMENT.



**D**ioclesianus for his vertue deserved the dignitie of the Romane Empire, to whom the waight of the government seeming beaue and burthen-some, he tooke for his assistant and companion therein **Maximinianus**; who carried and behaued himselfe with such lone, faith and so much reuerence towards him, and he towards **Maximinianus**, that they seemed to bee rather two most louing brothers then Emperours. He made **Constans** and **Galerius Armentarius** **Cæsars**, to which he gave the charge of waging sundrie warres, which he could not himselfe follow in person: and hauing obtained many victories, and triumphed together with his **Cæsars** and with his **Augustus**; in the end he deposed himselfe from the Empire, being growne now old; and he perswaded **Maximinianus** to doe the like; wherewith he was well content, and neuer after could be induced againe to accept of that dignitie and government; notwithstanding that he was by many men much entreated thereto. He was very cruell against the Christians and destroyed many of their Churches, because they should not haue conuenient meanes and places to assemble together. In the end being very old, it is said that he killed himselfe with poison, for feare to be put to some shamefull death. An end unworthie truly of his glorious life.



He originall of **DIOCLESIANVS**; and the manner of his election we haue aboue exprest; together with his wit and valour: It resteth now to declare the successe of his life, and his acts, in such manner, as **PAVLVS OROSIVS**, **EVTROPIVS**, and other auncient authors haue left the same in writing. Before which I will tell you one thing of

Cc 4

DIOCLE-

DIOCLESIANVS, which I doe not vse to doe in the liues of other Emperours, for that I hold it a vaine thing; although recorded by those authors which I follow in this chronicle, which was: the augurie or forewarning that each of them had, that he should be Emperour, before that he was so. Which I will set downe for that it seemeth pleasing; and to the end a little while to withdraw the readers minde from too much thinking of serious matters, of greater importance. FLAVIUS VOPISCUS writeth in the life of NUMERIANVS, sonne of the Emperor CARVS, that DIOCLESIANVS being a poore souldier, and in his youth seruing in the warres of *France*, was lodged in a womans house which was a Magician or southsaier; or as we say, a cunning-woman: one of those which by the Frenchmen were called Druides, for so did they call all such: which woman was his hostesse and did dresse his meate, and making his reckoning with her for his diet (which he did euery day) as he was very sparing of his purse, this woman said vnto him; Thou art very miserly with me DIOCLESIAN, and truly art too very a niggard. DIOCLESIAN in iest answered her; Pardon me in that I am so sparing in my expences, for I am but a poore souldier: but I promise thee that when I am an Emperour, I will be very liberall vnto thee. Quoth this woman vnto him, Doe not iest with me: for thou shalt bee Emperour when thou hast slaine a Boare. DIOCLESIAN tooke this for a iest, and as hee was of a very haucie stomacke, he neuer forgot these speeches: and although that he alwaies followed the wars, yet he gaue himselfe much to hunting, and to kill wilde boares; moued thereto by her words. Afterwards in proceesse of time AVRELIANVS, PROBUS, TACITVS, and CARVS came to be Emperours, and he had already killed and daily did kill boares; and sometime vied to iest at the propheticie of this Druid, saying: I doe daily kill wilde boares, but others eate the flesh. And at the last, when with his owne hands he had slaine the father in law to NUMERIANVS, whose name was APER, which signifieth a boare; it is written that hee then said, Now is my propheticie expired and accomplished: for I haue killed the boare which did prognosticate to me the Empire: and so he held the Druides propheticie for fulfilled. It is said, that he came down from his throne of purpose to kill ARRIVS APER with his owne hand, although that it befecemed not his greatnes to doe so vile a deede, yet he did it, to the end to confirme the propheticie. It is so written by these authors, and although I think not the contrarie, but that it happened so; yet I hold it but for a iest, for this Southsaier did not know what she said, and this which happened was but by chaunce; and so much the more, for that DIOCLESIAN was not made Emperour when he had killed one boare, but after that he had killed many boares, and in the end hee was made Emperour when he had slaine a man whose name was APER, which in English signifieth a boare. And for that all the prophecies which I finde written of these Emperours are after this manner, I leaue to write them: for that they bring no fruite with them, but rather hurt and daunger, inticing and alluring Christians to haue regard to Southsayings; a thing truly very pernicious, which the Infidels obserued through the instigation of the diuell. So soone as DIOCLESIAN saw himselfe free from the warres of NUMERIANVS, beginning to take the gouernment of the Empire into his hands, an infinite number of people which were labourers and peazants, arose in *France*, in manner of a communitie; the captaines whereof were two very sufficient men, whose names were AMANDVS and HELIENVS: wherefore accounting that warre vnworthie of himselfe, he sent thither MAXIMINIANVS, whom hee had already made CÆSAR, for that he was a man of much worth and very valiant in armes,

armes, who (although with great daunger) put to flight and slew a great number of them, so as all places there were in peace and quietnes. But other warres and tyrants rising, holding himselfe alone insufficient for so great a charge, hee now made MAXIMINIANVS (whom before he had made CÆSAR) AVGVSTVS, Emperour and his companion and equall with himselfe in the Empire; as some other Emperours by others had done the like. And truly it was a wonderfull matter to see, that they agreed so well together: for MAXIMINIANVS was not onely a good and loiall companion in the Empire, but there was neuer any sonne more obedient vnto his father, then he was to DIOCLESIAN; and so in loue and concord they gouerned the Empire a great space, and obtained many noble victories against their enemies. When DIOCLESIAN had made this choise, he tooke his way towards the East, for that there was a certaine captaine in *Egypt* whose name was ACHILLEVS, which had seised on that kingdome, and was called Emperour, and was mightie and of very great power. And MAXIMINIANVS went into *Africa*, where all the legions and old souldiers were drawne together in a mutinie, and so other nations with their Captaines very orderly rose with the countries, and enioyed the rents and tributes; and these for their continuance were called QVINGENTIANI, or QVINQVAGENARII. These two enterprises were held to be most important, wherein they had good successe, as wee will presently declare. But before that those warres began, there happened other of no lesse importance: for a principall captaine called CRAVSIVS, or (as others say) CARAVSIVS, rebelled in *Britannie*, possessed himselfe of that Iland, and was called Emperour. And NARSEVS King of *Persia* and *Armenia*, taking the benefit of the time, began to warre against the Empire, and invaded *Mesopotamia*. And one IVLIANVS in *Italy* rebelled, and would haue made himselfe Emperour: But seeing how small meanes he had to maintaine the same, hee stabbed himselfe to death with his poiniard, and fell into a fire, as AVRELIVS VICTOR reporteth. For which occasions the two Emperours agreed that each of them should name one other to be CÆSAR and his successor, which should be such a man, as should be of qualitie able to helpe to preserve and defend the Empire; which they did: and DIOCLESIAN chose one GALERIVS MAXIMINVS, who by his surname was called ARMENTARIVS. This man was of so base a linage, that they report him to be the sonne of a Cowheard, and borne in *Dacia*; but was a most valiant man, very wise, and an excellent Captaine; yet very seuer, and of a churlish condition. MAXIMINIANVS named another called CONSTANTIVS, and by his surname CLORVS; a man both very vertuous, wise, a valiant Captain, & a Romane gentleman, borne of high and noble linage. His fathers name was EVTROPIVS, and his mothers CLAVDIA, neece of the Emperour CLAVDIVS, who had the great victorie against the Gothes: and to the end to be the better assured of them, they made them to put away the wiues which they had, and to marrie others. CONSTANTIVS did put away HELEN, by whom hee had already one sonne called CONSTANTINE, which afterwards was an excellent Emperour, and he married with THEODOSIA the daughter in law of MAXIMINIANVS. When they had made this prouision, divided the Empire amongst them, and leuied their armies: the Emperour MAXIMINIANVS went into *Africa*, and DIOCLESIAN into *Egypt* against ACHILLEVS; GALERIVS ARMENTARIVS went into the East against the Persians; CONSTANTIVS CLORVS CÆSAR remained in *France* to make head against CARAVSIVS, who called himselfe Emperour in *Britannie*; and against the incursions of the Northerly nations. Which warres, although

*Dioclesian chose Maximianus for his companion in the Empire.*

*Achilleus called Emperour in Egypt.*

*Crausius rebelled in Britannie.*

*Julianus rebelling in Italy slew himselfe.*

*Constantius Clorus made Cæsar by Maximianus.*

that

that some of them happened at one instant and together; I will recite in such manner as to me shall seeme most expedient. And to begin with the Emperours, I say, that DIOCLESIAN being arriued in *Egypt*, ACHILLEVS attended his coming with a huge and mightie armie; and ioyning battaile (norwithstanding that ACHILLEVS fought very valiantly) DIOCLESIAN had the victorie; and ACHILLEVS sauing himselfe by flight, recovered the citie of *Alexandria*, where seeking to repaire his forces, he was besieged by DIOCLESIAN; and in the time of eight moneths (for so long the siege lasted) there happened many battailes, skirmishes and encounters, on the one side and the other; but in the end the citie was taken by force of armes, and ACHILLEVS was by DIOCLESIANS commandement cast to be deuoured by lions, and other fierce wilde beasts; and so he vsed in all that kingdome most cruell and extreme punishment, putting to death many thousands of men, but principally of those which had been leaders and motors of this rebellion, or had consented thereto. MAXIMINIANVS the other Emperour which went into *Africa* against the Quingentiani, in the beginning warred very doubtfully, and with great difficultie: but the greatest part of that people fighting with his power, hee constrained the rest to entreate for peace, and afterwards went into diuers parts, destroying the tyrants and theeues which were in those countries: wherefore he was called MAXIMINIANVS HERCVLEVS, for that HERCVLES traiailed many parts of the world, doing the like. And DIOCLESIAN by a new surname was called IOVIVS, of IVPITER; who they said did ouercome and kill the Giants: and so he and his companions (in his name) ouercame and slew the tyrants. The other warres made by the CÆSARS prooued not so well in the beginning: for CONSTANTIVS CLORVS, who remained to make head against CARAVSIVS; as CARAVSIVS was valiant & wily, and in possession of al *Britannie*, so could he no way preuaile against him, but was rather forced by the Germanes which came downe against him, to conclude a peace with CARAVSIVS; and so CARAVSIVS remained peaceable Lord of *Britannie* the space of 7. yeeres. Yet afterwards his companion & familiar friend called ALECTVS slew him, and tooke the gouernment of the land to himself, which he held 3. yeeres. But he at last was ouerthrowne and slaine by ASCLEPIDOTVS, or ASCLOPIVS DOTVS, a Pretorian prefect: and so *Britannie* was againe recovered, after that it had bin tyrannized, & held by rebels the space of 10. yeeres. When CONSTANTIVS made peace with CARAVSIVS he warred a long time, & had a sore & dangerous war with the Germanes and barbarous nations; with which among other battailes, he fought one which was very memorable, wherein in one day he was ouerthrowne and lost: & likewise the same day he was a conqueror & a victorious Lord. Which happened in this manner: He comming to a battaile with them in the morning, neere to a citie of the Ligones or Cigones in *Gallia Belgica*, part whereof is now called *Flanders*; his troupes fought so il, that they were constrained to turne their backs & to retire to the citie: and CONSTANTIVS CLORVS was forced to do the like. But when he came to the gates of the citie hee found them fast lockt, and was in such a streight, that if they had not let downe a rope, wherewith he was drawn ouer the wall into the citie, he had then bin slaine by the enimie. When he was within the citie, he called the fouldiers together, and made such a speech vnto them, that they were greatly asnamed at their receiued dishonor: so that in the euening within fise houres after the first fight (the enimie mistrusting no such matter) he commaunded all the gates to bee opened, and sallied out suddenly at vnawares, and set vpon his enenuies with such courage, that after a long fight

*Alexandria taken by Dioclesian, and Achilles was cast to the lions*

*Maximinianus called Herculeus.*

*Constantius made peace with Carausius in Britanny*

*Constantius in great daunger was ouerthrowne and ouercame both in one day.*

they were ouerthrowne and torne in peeces, to the number of few lesse then threescore thousand men. In like manner happened many great accidents to CONSTANTIVS in those parts. And while as DIOCLESIAN and MAXIMINIAN Emperours, and CONSTANTIVS CÆSAR followed these warres, GALERIVS waged a warre no lesse dangerous against NARSEVS King of *Persia*: against whom (as we haue said) he went. For besides that it lasted a long time, there were many men slaine of either side therein, without any aduantage or signe of victorie to either partie, vntill at the last they came with their whole power to a set battaile neere to the citie of *Carras*, whereinto GALERIVS CÆSAR entred with lesser forces then he ought to haue done or was requisite: and fighting with greater courage, then discretion, he was ouerthrowne, and losing almost his whole armie, he escaped by flight. Whereat the Emperour DIOCLESIAN was so much grieved, that GALERIVS comming into his presence in *Mesopotamia*, meeting him vpon the way alighted from his horse, and came to the litter wherein the Emperour was, to doe him honour: but DIOCLESIAN suffered him to goe a great while ouer the fields on foote, without staying or willing him to take his horse; but reprehending him, for that he had with so little discretion suffered himselfe to be ouerthrowne in a raunged battaile. In the end he gaue him leaue to depart, inioyning him to leuie a new armie, and to endeouour to recouer his lost honour, and to defend his prouince. Which GALERIVS parting from him ashamed, with all diligence put in execution; DIOCLESIAN remaining with his troupes in *Mesopotamia* in the meane time, to the end that the Persians should not inuade it. And so GALERIVS with all speede went into *Europe* to leuie souldiers; and bringing with him the legions of *Slaunonia*, *Dacia*, and *Misia*, hee returned into *Asia*, and went into the greater *Armenia*, whither NARSEVS the King of the Persians, by whom hee had been ouerthrowne, was already come, with whom hee began the warre againe anew, in very good order and with good aduice, and with no lesse courage and force. And the two armies came so neere the one to the other, that by a mutuall consent of their Captaines they ioyned battaile: the one part presuming on the victorie past, and to preserue the honour which they had gotten; and the other part to recouer their losses: And so the fouldiers for the same occasion fought with incredible courage and stomacke, which made the battaile very cruell and bloudie: But the Romane armie consisting of more choise men, and better trained, obtained the victorie; although not without great difficultie and daunger. The King escaped by flight, and GALERIVS following the execution entred his campe; where hee found great riches, and tooke his wiues, his children, his sisters, and many noble and principall men of the kingdome of *Persia*. And marching forwards with his forces, hee inuaded his countrie and did great harme therein, without finding any man that durst to make resistance against him. And from thence hee went into *Mesopotamia* to see DIOCLESIAN, where hee was receiued as in a triumph: and DIOCLESIAN himselfe went to meete him, and entertained and embraced him cheerefully, doing him great honour.

All matters in the East being pacified, and the Persians and Parthians being ouerthrowne, and hauing therein spent many yeeres, they returned into *Europe*, where MAXIMINIANVS called HERCVLEVS, Emperour and his companion, and CONSTANTIVS CÆSAR were, who were busied in the warres before recited, all being (in truth) gouerned and directed by the wisdome of DIOCLESIAN, whose valour, policie, and courage was such, that there was not any that

*Galerius reproved by Dioclesian.*

*A second battaile betwene Galerius and the Persians.*

*Galerius his victorie against the Persians.*

durst to disobey him, no not his equall MAXIMINIANVS; so as they all seemed to be his sonnes and his Captaines, rather then Emperours and his companions.

These men held the Empire in peace in all the three parts, to wit, East, West, and South, but the Northerlie parts could neuer be throughlie subdued, aswell for their fiercenes, courage, and valour, as for that when they were ouerthrowne and put to flight, they retired and withdrew themselves into most cold, barreine, and inaccessible places, which they could well indure being borne vnder that climate: so as the Romane Captaines held it impossible to passe any further with their armies, contenting themselves to haue chased them out of the bounds of the Empire, but they would afterwards returne againe more fierce then at the first, and euer were troublesome and feared. Now the Scythians, the Gothes, the Sarmates, the Alanes, the Carpi, the Catti, the Quades, and other nations in great number assembling themselves, with a desire to rob and steale, and to inhabit some more fertile soile, began to make warre and great spoile in the lands of the Empire; against which the Emperours and their two CÆSARS marched with their armies, and dispersing themselves into sundrie parts they followed the warres, although not without losse, and great difficultie, the one helping and assisting the other. In the end they all obtained victorie, and the barbarous nations were repulsed, and many thousands of them were taken prisoners, and afterwards being set at libertie, certaine prouinces, which by the warres were dispeopled, were giuen them to inhabit. DIOCLESIAN hauing obtained this victorie and many other, and hauing established peace in the Empire by the industrie of himselfe, of MAXIMINIANVS his companion in the Empire, and of GALERIVS and CONSTANTIVS which were CÆSARS, now willing to inioy the accustomed reward of victories, he came to Rome, where he entred in triumph together with the Emperour MAXIMINIANVS, and the two CÆSARS aforesaid, where was made vnto them one of the most stately triumphs that euer was scene in Rome, wherein was an infinite masse of treasure of the spoile of the East, of Egypt, and of other nations by them subdued, and therein were chariots full of armes, and of vessels of gold and siluer; and therein also were led prisoners the wife and children of the Kings of Persia, with many other Kings and Captaines of sundrie armies of the Alanes, of the Catti and others, which was in the eighteenth yeere of the raigne of DIOCLESIAN: for so long was the time that he had been busied in the warres, and in prouiding and giuing order for such things as were done therein. This DIOCLESIAN was so wise, so politick and so valorous in the gouernement of the Empire, that no Emperour either before or after him, held the Empire in the like subiection: for MAXIMINIANVS obeyed him as his father, and GALERIVS and CONSTANTIVS as their Lord, and so he was honoured and reuerenced more like a King, then an Emperour; and he would that his subiects should adore him, and do him reuerence kneeling vpon the ground, after the manner of the Kings of Persia. And as the custome of the Emperours in former time was, when they were intreated by any principall men to giue them their hands to kisse, they raising them vp gaue them peace with their lips on the cheeke, and meane men vsed to kisse their knees: but DIOCLESIAN commaunded by a publike edict, that without any difference all men should kisse his foote prostrate vpon the earth; and for the greater reuerence, he made his shooes to be set with pearle and stone of great worth: And in the top of this his high prosperitie, by the instigation of the Diuell, he resolved to persecute the Christians, and this was the tenth generall persecution of the primitive Church after NERO, and the

Barbarous nations rose against the Empire.

Dioctesians triumph.

The tenth persecution.

the most cruell of all, and lasted longer then any other; for it continued ten whole yeeres. The Christians had liued in rest and libertie many yeeres after the persecution of AVRELIANVS, and the number of them and of their Churches was now so great, that in all the cities of the Empire and out of it there was a great concourse of people, and their Churches were much frequented: with which rest and tranquillitie (as EVSEBIVS, who was a christian author of those times reporteth) the ceremonies and discipline of the Church began to be corrupt, and feruent deuotion began to wax cold, enuie and contention growing betweene the Bishops. And there was such discord among them, that (as he iudgeth) God did iustly permit the punishment and persecution which then happened, which in truth was so horrible and so cruell, that no toong is able to expresse the same: wherefore well saith the same EVSEBIVS, as he which was present and saw the same, that he cannot throughly expresse with words that which he saw with his eies. And herewith he and PAVLVS OROSIVS do write such things, which were of such qualitie, that there can be no heart so hard, but will haue compassion, and be grieved to heare the same, and what they haue written: so as it is wonderfull to consider of the patience and constancie of the persecuted, and of the fiercenes and crueltie of those which persecuted them.

In generall, DIOCLESIAN endeouored to destroy all the Churches and Temples of the Christians, to the end that they should not assemble to pray and to vse the diuine seruice therein, and burnt all the bookes that he could get of the helie scriptures, and would not permit that any man of what condition focuer, if he were a Christian should hold any office or magistracie: and if he were already established in any, he should be depriued and held for infamous, if he escaped with his life. The souldiers and men of warre being Christians which would not renounce their faith, were cassied, and depriued of all militarie honor, and some of their liues. The Bishops and Prelates were robbed and spoiled of that which they had, and many of them slaine and martyred; and a slaue which was a Christian could by no meanes obtaine his freedome. This was common in all the prouinces of the Empire, but particularlie in some of them was done most indidicible great crueltie, as in Phrygia, in Egypt, in Syria, & in other parts. Some were fleyed aliue, others were torne with iron combes, and so their skins being rent, they were returned to the prisons, where they were lodged vpon tile stones, and the sheards of broken pots, to the end that their rest should be more cruell and terrible then their martyrdome. Honest and delicate women, but strong and constant in faith, were hanged vp by the feete as naked as they were borne, to the end that their life should continue for a space with shame and double torment. Others had their eares, noses, lips, hands, fingers, and feet cut off, hauing only their eies left, for a greater torment, and martyrdome vnto them: For others, they with great force bowed downe great armes and boughes of trees, and fastned the one leg to one bough, and the other leg to another bough, and then letting loose the said boughes with the force thereof the bodies were rent in sunder. Betweene the nailes of the fingers and toes, which are very sensible and tender parts, they thrust thornes and splinters of canes. Vpon other men being naked they cast melted lead and tinne, wherewith they indured most cruell torments. Finallie, there were vsed against the Christians such torments and cruelties, as the like had neuer beene scene nor imagined: and the number of the murdered (during the time of this persecution) was infinite.

As DIOCLESIAN was in the height of this felicitie obeyed and feared of all

Dd the

Horrible cruelty sed by Dioclesian against the Christians.

Dioclesian re-  
nounced the  
Empire.

Constantius  
Clorus and Ga-  
lerius Armen-  
tarius made  
Emperours by  
Dioclesian.

the world he resolved to doe a notable matter, the like whereof was neuer scene in any other Emperour before his time: which was, to renounce the Empire and to liue priuate, considering (as some write) like a wise man, the mutabilitie of all things in this life, which neuer continue in one estate; but when they are growne to their height, naturally they decline and diminish. Taking example by the great POMPEY, MARCVS ANTONIVS, HANNIBAL, and other great Capitaines and princes, who hauing attained to the highest of all felicitie and prosperitie, were afterwards throwne downe and brought low. Accounting himselfe also insufficient for so great a charge, by reason of his decrepit old age; and fearing therefore to fall into contempt, he would first contemne the dominion and rule, with so many cares and troubles; and so leade a quiet life in meane estate without care, feare, or suspition. And was not contented alone to leaue the Empire himselfe, but he perswaded, and (as we may say) in a manner compelled, the Emperour MAXIMINIANVS to doe the like. Which betweene them was concluded and agreed vpon by letters and Ambassadors, in such sort, that both of them vpon one day, hauing ruled the Empire the space of twentie yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord three hundred and seauen, MAXIMINIANVS being in *Milan*, and DIOCESIAN in *Nicomedia*, they renounced the Empire; and putting off their imperiall robes and ensignes, they came downe from the thrones where they sate, and made themselues equall with other particular and priuate men. First nominating and chusing for Emperours and AVGVSTI, CONSTANTIVS CLORVS, and GALERIVS ARMENTARIVS; which before were CÆSARS. Which DIOCESIAN did so willingly and so vnfaignedly, that he afterwards vsed to say; that he then began to liue, and saw the beautie of the sunne. And it seemeth so to be true, for after that these two had left the Empire, as we haue said; he would neuer intermeddle with any matter of gouernment what so euer it were. But all his care was to plant and set a garden, and an orchard which he had in *Solonia* a citie in *Dalmatia*, where he was borne, and whither he retired himselfe. And afterwards in proceffe of time being required by his companion MAXIMINIANVS and his sonne in law GALERIVS, who then was Emperour, vpon some vrgent occasions which happened, againe to receiue the Empire, alleading that it was necessarie and expedient for the common good; he would not accept thereof, but answered: that if they had scene and enioyed such quietnes and rest as he had; and the hearbes and trees which he possessed in his countrie; they would not haue sent to haue made any such request vnto him: for he had already trauailed and done enough for the common-wealth; and that now God had giuen him time to trauaile and to liue to himselfe; and that he could not say and account that he had euer liued, but since that he liued in quiet and in rest in his owne countrie. And they replying, that he ought to haue respect vnto the great acts which he had done, and not to lose the reputation of the victories which he might haue in his owne time: He answered, that hauing chosen and placed his felicitie in the gifts of the minde; it was no vile or base thing, neither ought it so to be adiudged to contemne temporall riches and rule, and to professe an honest poore life; agreeing with the discipline and examples of the sage and auncient Philosophers: And so finally he would not alter his determination. It cannot be said but that this wise Lord, did well knowe and vnderstand how little the dominion and commaund in this life is to be esteemed; seeing that with it, it bringeth so much trouble, anguish, and vexation. And I doe partly beleue that for some good deed which he had done, it pleased God

The death of  
Dioclesian.

God (who leaueth no merit vnrewarded) to giue him that rest and vnderstanding in this world, seeing that in the other life, as a cruell infidell, he was to pay for the cruelties which he had committed against the primitiue Church: and in the end gaue him such a death as he had deserued. Some say, that he poisoned himselfe for feare of LICINIUS and of CONSTANTINE, which afterwarde were Emperours; who in their letters had threatened him for that he would not come to their nuptials. Others say, that he died mad, after that he had liued (as saith AVRELIVS VICTOR) seuentie and eight yeeres. What death his companion MAXIMINIANVS died, I will tell you in the liues of his successors. Of two wiues which DIOCESIAN had, I finde not that there remained any other sonne or daughter, but VALERIA which he married to GALERIVS ARMENTARIVS, when he made him CÆSAR. Of MAXIMINIANVS remained one sonne, whose name was MAXENCIVS, who afterwards tooke the name of Emperour, whom he had by a woman of *Soria*, called EVTROPIA and one daughter named FAVSTA, which he married to CONSTANTINE sonne of CONSTANTIUS CÆSAR, which afterwards was Emperour.

## THE LIFE OF CONSTANTIVS CLORVS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND OF GARERIVS ARMENTARIVS, THE THREE AND fortieth Emperour of Rome.



Presently after that DIOCESIAN and MAXIMINIAN had resigned the Empire, CONSTANTIVS and GALERIVS without any contradiction were obeyed and accepted for Emperors, accordingly as the others had ordained; they being, as we may said, sonnes in law to the two last Emperours; for GALERIVS was married to DIOCESIAN'S daughter, and CONSTANTIVS to THEODORA the daughter in law of MAXIMINIANVS. This CONSTANTIVS was a very noble, vertuous, courteous and valiant gentleman, both of condition and in blood. And GALERIVS although that he were but of a base stocke and li-

Constantius  
Clorus, and Ga-  
lerius Armen-  
tarius made  
Emperours.

nage, yet was he neuertheless valiant, and a singular good Captaine; but therewith, cruell, terrible, churlish, incontinent, but well proportioned, and (as AVRELIVS VICTOR saith) of a comly and goodly constitution of body. And notwithstanding that in conditions, there was great difference betwene them; yet DIOCLESIAN through his great wisdome made them to liue in peace and concord; so as they no way disagreed. But hee being dead (they as wisemen) for feare to fall out, agreed by lot to diuide the prouinces of the Empire betwene them, which they did: and to CONSTANTIVS befell *Italie, Sicilia,* and *Africa*, with all the prouinces thereof, together with *France, Spaine, Germanie* and *Britannie*: and to GALERIVS, was allotted *Slauonia, Macedonia, Thracia, Theſſalia*, all the prouinces of *Græcia*, of *Asia*, of *Egypt*, of *Soria*, and all the East, and the Ilands therein. This diuision being made, it seemed a great charge and a burthen to the milde condition of CONSTANTIVS CLORVS, to haue the gouernment of so many prouinces as fell to his share: for hee rather desired to gouerne well, then to gouerne much; and therefore renounced to Galerius the prouinces of *Africa*, and of *Italie*, contenting himselfe with *France, Spaine*, and the Iles of *Britannie*. Truly hee had reason, seeing that either of these Kings at this day is held for one of the most mightie Potentates of the world: so as that part which CONSTANTIVS held, for the small time that hee liued; hee gouerned very wisely and vprightly, to the great profit and contentment of the subiects; and was so highly esteemed and beloued, that in his time there was not any warre or rebellion in any of those prouinces. He did much honour and fauour the Christians; and would not consent that any violence or displeasure should bee done vnto any of them. Hee died in *England* of a disease, after that hee had been (as witnesseth EVSEBIVS) sixteene yeeres CÆSAR; and two yeeres Emperour. And in his place his sonne CONSTANTINE (whom hee had by his first wife called HELENA, from whom hee was diuorced to marrie with the Emperour MAXIMINIANVS daughter in law) was chosen Emperour. And the said CONSTANTINE was also married to FAVSTA the daughter of the same MAXIMINIANVS. And this was the end of CONSTANTIVS. But his companion GALERIVS hauing accepted that which hee desired not; which was *Italie* and *Africa*; and considering also that one man alone could hardly well rule and gouerne so great an estate, to the ende therefore that hee might bee assisted in the warres, and in all other accidents that might befall him, hee made two CÆSARS, which were almost equall in dignitie to himselfe: the one was called SEVERVS, whom hee set in the gouernment of *Italie* and *Africa*; and to the other, whose name was MAXIMINVS, being (as saith AVRELIVS VICTOR) his sisters sonne, he gaue the gouernment of the East, holding to himselfe the prouinces of *Slauonia*, and of *Græcia*, with supreme power, as soueraigne Emperour aboue the CÆSARS; so as by fower heads the world was gouerned. Which were CONSTANTINVS, and GALERIVS, Emperours; and SEVERVS and MAXIMINVS, CÆSARS.

After that the Emperours DIOCLESIAN and MAXIMINIAN had renounced the Empire, the Pretorian souldiers which (as hath been often said) remained neere to *Rome*, discontented with the gouernement of SEVERVS which ruled it, (he being farre absent from thence, going into *Slauonia* to see the Emperour GALERIVS) assembling themselves in a great tumult, chose MAXENCIVS for Emperour, who (as is said) was MAXIMINIANVS his sonne which renounced the Empire,

pire, whom he had by a base woman of *Soria*, called EVTROPIA, which bred a great confusion in the Empire, which then was in peace, and there ensued so great troubles thereof, as can hardlie be described. When the Emperour GALERIVS vnderstood hereof, he commaunded SEVERVS CÆSAR with all speede to take his way towards *Rome*, where the new tyrant MAXENCIVS was, and he did so; and being encamped neere to the citie, the greatest part of his armie (for nouelities are euer most pleasing) went ouer to MAXENCIVS, which his father MAXIMINIANVS being then in *Lucania*, after that he had renouced the Empire, vnderstanding, through desire to rule, came in great haste to *Rome*, vnder pretext to counsell and assist his sonne in the gouernement, and sent to DIOCLESIAN, desiring him to do the like, who (as we haue said) would not accept of his counsell, but liued in quiet.

MAXIMINIANVS hauing receiued his answer, and perceiuing himselfe to be greatly accounted of, resolved with himselfe to repossesse the Empire, and to dispossesse his sonne thereof, furnishing that he being in possession of *Rome*, and that his sonne in law CONSTANTINE reigning in *Britannie, Spaine*, and *France*, all would yeeld obedience to him. But his imaginations had so ill successe, that he not only mist of his purpose, but was so hardlie dealt withall by the Pretorian Cohorts (his sonne permitting the same) that he was faine to flye out of *Italy* into *France*, where his sonne in law the good CONSTANTINE had the gouernment, who very honorable receiued him as his father in law, and as a man which had bin Emperour. But he which had set his thoughts only vpon the Empire, and sought by all meanes how he might attaine thereto, like a wicked and disloyall father in lawe purposed to haue slaine his sonne in lawe CONSTANTINE: but it pleased God to discouer his treason, to the end that he should receiue punishment for the crueltie which he had vsed against the Christians: for flying from CONSTANTINES court he was ouertaken at *Marseilles*, where he sought to haue embarked himselfe, and there was slaine, and so MAXIMINIANVS made an vnluckie end, his sonne MAXENCIVS remaining Emperour and tyrant in *Rome*, as is aforesaid. When GALERIVS ARMENTARIVS, who was the right Emperour, vnderstood of the ill successe and death of SEVERVS CÆSAR, whom he had sent against MAXENCIVS, he resolved in person to go against him with the greatest power that he was able to make; and to the end to leaue a good guard in the prouinces of *Slauonia*, he made an excellent Captaine called LICINIVS, CÆSAR, who was a man of meane condition and base parentage, being but the sonne of a poore laborer of *Dacia*, but was very wise and an excellent Captaine in the wars. This being done, and hauing taken such other order as was requisite, he departed with his armie towards *Italy*, directing his iourney for *Rome*: but by the way he was aduertised that his owne souldiers did treat among themselves of abandoning him, and of going ouer to MAXENCIVS, and that certaine companies of souldiers in *Italy* which vntill then had held for him, had done the like: Whereupon fearing to be ouerthrowne, he returned to the place where he left LICINIVS, repenting also that he had made him CÆSAR, for that he saw that he was of greater power and authoritie then he would he should haue bin. GALERIVS being so returned, there grew in his flanke an impostume, so vile & pestilent, that no medicines or remedies whatsoever were of force to cure it, and it became so corrupt, that there fell a number of wormes from it, which did put him to such intolerable paine, that he was readie in despaire to haue killed himselfe. And seeing himselfe to dye in this manner, he made some of his Phisicians which had

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him

The Empire di-  
uided betwene  
Constantius  
and Galerius.

The Emperour  
Constantius Clo-  
rus died in  
England.

Constantine  
chosen Empe-  
rour in his fa-  
thers place.

Seuerus and  
Maximinus  
made Cæsars  
by Galerius.

The Pretorian  
souldiers dis-  
content with  
the gouerna-  
ment of Seue-  
rus, made  
Maxentius  
their Empe-  
rour.

Maximianus  
which had re-  
nounced the  
Empire came  
to Rome vnder  
colour to giue  
counsell to his  
sonne in the  
gouernement  
of the Empire.

Maximianus  
practised the  
death of his  
sonne in lawe  
Constantine.

The Emperour  
Maximianus  
slaine in Mar-  
seilles.

him in cure, to be slaine, because they could not cure him. And now at the last without any true repentance, he began to thinke that this happened vnto him for persecuting of the Christians, and therefore in great hast consulting with CONSTANTINE, who raigned in *Britannie, France, and Spaine*, he commaunded all lawes and edicts whatsoeuer made against them to cease, and to be abolished: and to that effect sent his letters and decrees into all the prouinces of *Gracia*, and of the East, where MAXIMINVS (who was CÆsar for him) gouerned, which EVSEBIVS an author of great truth and an eie-witnesse, setteth downe verbatim. And besides this, he made many Christians to be brought into his presence, which he desired and intreated to pray to God for his bodilie health: for he remembered not the health of his soule, but would haue continued an Infidell still: wherefore either they would not make so vniust a supplication to God for him, or else it pleased not God to heare their prayers; for within few daies after he died of that his incurable infirmitie; yet some authors say that he killed himselfe. This his death happened in the yeere of our Lord three hundred and twelue, he hauing raigned fixe yeeres, the first two in companie with CONSTANTIVS, and the rest with the CÆSARS. And he being dead, all matters remained in this estate: MAXENCIUS who tyrannouslie was called Emperour held *Rome*, and all *Italy*. CONSTANTINVS who indeede was Emperour, held *France, Spaine, Britannie*, and part of *Germany*. LICINIUS whom GALERIVS had made CÆsar, remained in possession of *Slawonia*, and of the prouinces of *Gracia*, and presentlie made himselfe to be called Emperour; and MAXIMINVS remained with all the East, with the dignitie and name of CÆsar: amongall which only CONSTANTINE seemed to haue iust title, for that he was the sonne of CONSTANTIVS, and had married the daughter of MAXIMINIANS, both which had beene Emperours.

Galerius his  
incurable dis-  
ease and in-  
firmitie.

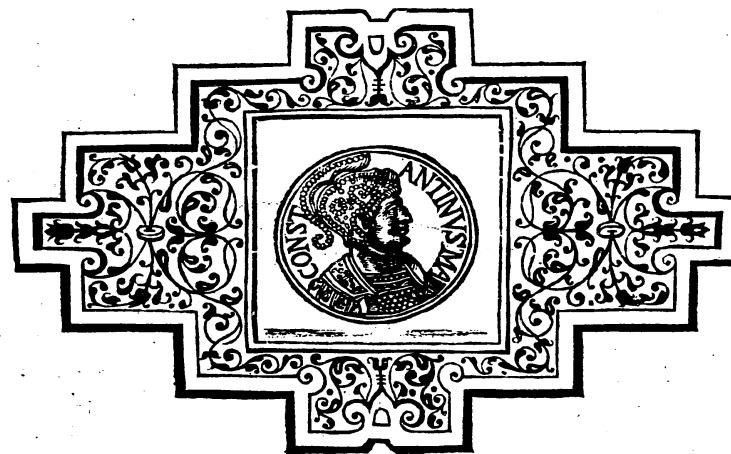
Ann.Dom. 312.

The death of  
Galerius Ar-  
mentarius.

THE



# THE LIFE OF CONSTAN- TINE THE GREAT, FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND FOURE AND fortieth Romane Emperour. And of MAXENCIUS, and of MARCVS LICINIUS, which in his time were called Emperours.



## THE ARGVMENT.

**T**HE Empire was diuided among sundry Princes, and each of them gouerned his part with equall authoritie: but Maxentius rainging in Rome as a tyrant, playing many vile parts, behaued himselfe in such sort that Constantine bare armes against him, notwithstanding that he was allied vnto him, and ioyned battaile with him, lesse confident in the force of his armie, then in the vision which he had seene; that vnder the signe of the Crosse he should overcome, which he euer after bore for his deuice. He likewise overcame Marcus Licinius, who also gouerned a part of the Empire. Hee greatly fauoured the Christians, and while hee liued, the persecution of the Christians ceased, and the Prelates and Primates of the Church were had in great veneration, and were made rich. He did put a sonne of his owne to death, whose name was Crispus, by the instigation of his wife Fausta, whom he afterwards also slew, being grieuously reprehended by his mother Helena for the death of his sonne. He would haue rooted out the heresie of Arius:

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rius:

*rins: but death intercepted him, which tooke him out of this life when he was very old, and he died as a Christian, as he had Christianlike lived, leaving the Church in great honour and rich, where- so he had of his liberalitie given many great and rich gifts.*



**N**Am of opinion and doe certainly beleue, that it cannot be otherwise, but that the reader shall see himselfe in a great confusion, and will not without great trouble comprehend the tenour of this historie; by reason of the multitude of the Emperours and CÆSARS, which concur at one instant: so as if it be a hard matter to remember their names onely, how much more then will it be to vnderstand the doings of euery of them particularly? It is true, that the Romane Empire was then so great, that no one man alone was sufficiently able to gouerne the same; neither was it possible that many should rule it: for in raigne and commaund (as I haue elsewhere said) equalitie and companie cannot be endured. And from hence arose so much discord, murder, and other straunge accidents, which then could not thoroughly be vnderstood, neither can now be cleerely described; so as they may be distinctly vnderstood in such sort as they passed. Wherefore it shall be requisite that the curious reader remember well what is past, to the end that he may the better comprehend that which followeth.

The tyrant MAXENCIVS being as Emperour in Rome, CONSTANTINE in France, LICINIUS in Slauonia and Gracia, who was also called Emperour, and MAXIMINVS CÆSAR in the East. The life and behauiour of MAXENCIVS in Rome was such, that hee was therefore extremely hated of all men: for hee was a cruell homicide and a murderer of Noblemen, libidinous, an adulterer, dishonest, couetous, and aboute all a persecutor and destroyer of the Church of God. Finally, in all his actions hee was a tyrant, a great forcerer, and a friend to Southsaiers, Enchaunters, Charmers, and such like. For which the vertuous and most noble CONSTANTINE (being in France) was very forrie: and being called by the Senators of Rome and other Noblemen, he resolved to leue an armie against MAXENCIVS, notwithstanding that hee was brother to his wife FAVSTA, as I haue said. But the better to preferue his owne Empire, he made MARCVS LICINIUS, who commaunded Slauonia, and the other prouinces aforesaid, his friend, giuing to him his sister CONSTANCIA to wife, in the citie of Milan where they two met for that purpose, and made great feasting. Whither was inuited (but would not come) the old Emperour DIOCLESIAN, who yet liued in his voluntarie pouertie. Wherewith CONSTANTINE and LICINIUS being discontent, wrote vnto him sharpe and threatening letters, alleaging that hee fauoured MAXENCIVS; wherefore (as some write) he tooke poison wherewith hee killed himselfe; and others say that he died mad. After that the feasts were ended in Milan, the good CONSTANTINE comming with his armie into Italy against MAXENCIVS, who notwithstanding that he was a wicked man; yet was he both valiant and hardie: and raising also the greatest and best forces that hee was able, went to meete him, trusting in the enchauntments and charmes which he had made, and in the masters which hee had with him, which for that purpose killed innocent children, making with their blood a thousand charmes and other vanities, wherewith he held the vnlearned and vnbeleeuing people so astonished and amazed, that the greatest part of his friends gaue a credit thereto; and his enemies stood

stoode in feare and in doubt to giue him battaile. Wherefore, and also because that in truth, he had a great armie and very expert, principally the Pretorian souldiers which first made choise of him; the warre grew to be very doubtfull, and there were some encounters and battailes betweene them, wherein for the most part CONSTANTINE had the victorie. But MAXENCIVS reinforcing his armie, and vsing his diuellish arts, came finally to Rome, where he procured all possible fauour, and making greater preparation to offend his enemy, and by the counsell of a Magitian woman, or rather a witch; he resolved to sallie forth and to giue CONSTANTINE battaile, who with his forces was come neere to Rome. And vnderstanding what MAXENCIVS ment to put in execution, and considering the great euill that might ensue; and standing in feare and doubt of the issue of the battaile, as well for the great number of the enemies, as for MAXENCIVS his enchauntments wherewith he amazed the world; he was in great care and perplexitie: And as he gaue great credit to the Christians, and was their protector and defender (notwithstanding that yet he was not baptized) but he had a firme and stedfast hope in IESVS CHRIST: EVSEBIUS, CASSIODORVS, and others write, that there appeared vnto him one of the greatest miracles that euer was scene in the world, which was: That he saw in the heauens a great crosse, of the colour of fire, like vnto that whereupon our Sauour suffered his passion; and therewith he heard a voice which said, *In hoc signo vinces*, by vertue of this signe thou shalt overcome. By means of which signe and miracle, God raised so great and assured confidence in his heart, that he presently assured himselfe to preuaile: and therefore caused the signe of the crosse to be made in his imperiall standard; & euer after vsed to beare it wrought in some iewell or otherwise in his right hand, and in his forehead; and finally, from thenceforth his deuise was continually the crosse, and made it to be set in all his ensignes.

CONSTANTINE then putting his hope and trust in the voice which he heard from heauen; and MAXENCIVS his beliefe and confidence in his deuils and enchauntments, ioyned battaile neere to a bridge ouer the riuer *Tiber*, called *Pons Miluius*, which was somewhat more then a mile from Rome; whither MAXENCIVS very courageously came in the auantgard of all his armie; and the fight being begun, and hee ouercharged by CONSTANTINE'S vauntgard, before which was carried the crosse, fled, and entring vpon the bridge which he had commaunded to be made vpon Barkes and Boates neere to the other, both he and his horse fell into the riuer, where he was drowned: which bridge he himselfe had caused to be made, to the end therewith to haue entrapped and deceiued his enemy. Wherefore to him may be well applied the saying of the Psalmist. *Lacum aperuit, & effodit eum, & incidit in foueam quam ipse fecit.*

CONSTANTINE hauing obtained this victorie in the seuenth yeere of his raigne, accounting from the death of his father, without any losse or slaughter of his people; the Senators and people of Rome, with their wiues and children came forth to receiue him, as him, who had freed them from captiuitie; and they intitled him father of the countrie, and restorer of peace, and libertie. And in this manner was he accompanied into Rome, with incredible ioy and feasting; euerie one chaunting his praises; yelding ouer all, fundrie congratulations, with mirth and gladnes. But hee attributed nothing to his owne power or policie, but all to God onely. And in the right hand of all the Statues and Images, which in Rome by decree of the Senate were erected to his honour for his victorie against MAXENCIVS, hee caused to be wrought and engrauen the signe of the crosse, with the

*Warres betweene Constantine and Maxencius.*

*A miracle appeared to Constantine when he prepared to fight with Maxencius.*

*A fight betweene Constantine and Maxencius.*

*Maxencius flying was drowned in the river Tiber.*

*Constantine accompanied into Rome by the Senate and whole Romane people with great ioy and gladnes.*

*The greatest of the Romane Empire.*

*In what sort the Romane Empire was diuided.*

*Maxencius a great enchanter.*

*The death of the Emperour Dioclesian.*

Decrees made  
by Constantine  
in favour of  
the Christians.

words which hee heard from heauen, *Hoc signo vinces*. And then hee forbad and commaunded by publike edict that no man should be condemned to the death of the crosse: which vntill his time was vsed and held for an ignominious death. And setting all matters in order and peace in *Rome*, establishing holy and iust lawes and statutes; and to shew himselfe gratefull for the benefits which he had receiued: he did much good to the Christians, bestowing many fauours and gifts vpon them, building them Churches and houses of prayer, endowing them with rents and necessarie meanes for the maintenance of the Priests and Ministers thereof, with ornaments and necessities for the diuine seruice. And he and his brother in law *LICINIVS* the other Emperour, by common consent sent their generall edicts and decrees through all the prouinces and cities subiect to the Empire, commanding that the Christians should be eased from all grieuances, made free, and receiued into honours and offices of dignitie and authoritie; in which decrees were contained the great praises of our Lord, reciting the victories which *CONSTANTINE* had obtained vnder his banner with the signe of the crosse. Which decrees being sent into the East, where *MAXIMINVS CÆSAR* bare the sway, were obeyed by him, as the Emperours commaundement, but much against his will: for he was wicked and a most cruell enemy to the Catholike Church: and so although he contained himselfe for a season, yet afterward he returned to his diuellish condition.

*CONSTANTINE* liuing in this felicitie, being Lord of al the prouinces of *Africa*, I meane of that part thereof which was subiect to the Empire, of *France*, *Spaine*, *Germanie*, and also *Italy*, with the Ilands of *Britannie* and *Sicilie*; in all which countries he maintained peace and iustice: for the wisdome and policie of this prince was exceeding great, and no lesse was his courage and valour, in such fort that as he was most valiant and venturous in armes, so was hee very wise and politicke in peace: and made and ordained new lawes, against the new slaunders and inuentions of the wicked. And he also tooke great care and paine to reduce all Arts and Sciences to their ancient perfection, greatly honouring such masters as were excellent therein, which then were greatly decayed and diminished, and he augmented their dignitie. And hee also exercised himselfe in most honourable exercises, reading, writing, and inditing; and in hearing the ambassades and complaints which were brought to him from sundrie prouinces; and to all men was affable, gentle, courteous and liberall; conseruing in all things the goodnes and sinceritie of his heart.

Constantine instructed in the  
Christian faith  
by Pope Silvester.

Maximinus calling himself  
Emperour, reuoked the pri-  
uiledges given  
to the Chris-  
tians.

And being in *Rome*, as some reckon in the yeere of our Lord 314. and as other say 316. some say more, some lesse; for which computation I take no great care, seeing it little importeth the truth of the historie: he was there taught and instructed by Pope *SILVESTER* in all matters concerning the Christian faith, which he (as some writers affirme) receiued with great seruencie; and with his son *CRISPVS*, whom he in the beginning of his raigne had made *CÆSAR*, was baptized in *Rome*, hauing first made for that purpose a most sumptuous font, which (as *PLATINA* affirmeth) is at this day there to be seene: yet some others affirme, that hee was baptized but a little before his death. But whensoever, it hath greatest appa-  
 rance that it was solemnized in *Rome*. But wee will leaue this controuersie vntill another time. He liuing thus in quiet in *Rome*, *MAXIMINVS CÆSAR*, who ruled in the East, seeing himselfe rich and mightie, held it for a disgrace to be inferiour to *LICINIVS* or to *CONSTANTINE*; and therefore taking vpon him the name of *AVGVSTVS* and Emperour, and reuoking the priuiledges giuen to the Christians,

istians, he began to declare himselfe an enemy, especially to *LICINIVS*, who ruled neere vnto him: and knowing that *LICINIVS* provided for him, trusting in the multitude of his men of warre, he addressed himselfe towards *LICINIVS*: but before they fought any generall battaile, they made most cruell warre both by sea and land in many parts: and after many conflicts, at the last they came to fight, power against power, wherein *MAXIMINVS* was ouerthrowne, and the battaile was so cruell, that the greatest part of his people were slaine therein, and those which escaped yeelded themselves to *LICINIVS*; and *MAXIMINVS* himselfe escaping by flight, chaunged his habit, to the end that hee would not be discouered, vntill he might come to some place of safetie. And (as *EVSEBIVS* writeth) he imagining himselfe to be deluded by his Magicians, and the false Priests of his diuellish gods, did put many of them to death, & began to intrate the Christians very well; and sent abroad his decrees, wherein he commaunded that they should be suffered to liue at libertie, and to build Temples and to do what they listed. Which this wicked man did, more for that he hoped that God would therefore giue him victorie, & so he might be reuenged of his enemies, then for any beleefe he had in him: for what hee did was not willingly done, but with a fained heart, and through desire to be reuenged: for this wicked man thought that Christ should assist him with his mercie, who vpon the crosse prayed to his father to forgive them which had nailed him thereon. And hauing once againe leued the greatest and best forces that he could, with an intent to returne to fight with *LICINIVS*, it pleased God to frustrate his purposes by his death, afflicting him first with the most cruel and grieuous disease that euer was heard of; wherein through the intolerable paine which he felt in his guts and intrailles, he did bite his owne hands, and did cast himselfe desperately from his bed to the ground: and this torment continuing many daies, so as hee could neither eate, drinke nor sleepe, at length his eyes started out of his head; and so he died enraged and in despaire. And through his death the Christians enioyed perfect peace and quietnes through all the prouinces of the Empire: and *CONSTANTINE* and *LICINIVS* remained absolute Lords and Emperours, and so continued in great peace and tranquillitie for a season: And *LICINIVS* presently went into the East, where he slew *VALENS*, which was a Captaine whom the armie there had made Emperour after the death of *MAXIMINVS*; and that tyrant being slaine, and hee in possession of the countie, hee punished the Sorcerers, the Inchaunters, and the ministers of *MAXIMINVS* his cruelties; and also caused his sonnes to be slaine which hee had made *CÆSARS*. So writeth *EVSEBIVS*, who as an eye witnesse reciteth, how great libertie and prosperitie the christians obtained through the death of *MAXIMINVS*; and how they builded Churches and beautified the same, and in how great account and reuerence *CONSTANTINE* held the Bishops and Prelates. And likewise the gifts, the rewards, and reuenues which hee bestowed vpon them.

A battaile be-  
tweene Maxi-  
minus and Li-  
cinus.

The death of  
Maximinus.

Valens slaine  
by Licinius.

The Empire being gouerned in this manner; in those times one *ALEXANDER* a Captaine in *Africa* rebelled and vsurped the name and title of Emperour; against whom *CONSTANTINE* sent from *Rome* an armie: which comming to a battel, *ALEXANDER* was overcome and slaine therein. So as all matters remain-  
 ed vnder the commaundement of *CONSTANTINE* and *LICINIVS* onely. And although their dignitie and Empire was equall, yet was the authoritie and valour of *CONSTANTINE* farre greater, and he much more esteemed and better beloved of all men then *LICINIVS*, and for the most part remained alwaies in *Rome*,  
 doing

Alexander re-  
belled, and tak-  
ing the name  
of Emperour,  
was over-  
throwne and  
slaine by Con-  
stantines forces

doing iustice to all men indifferentlie; particularlie honoring and enriching the Church of God, hearing and reading the holic scriptures, and in this manner remained in rest for a space. But the Deuill, who neuer ceaseth to induce men to do euill, and to sow discord and enmitie amongst them, made LICINIUS to alter his mind, who in his hart fauoured not the Christians, and drew him to persecute them. The first thing that he did, was to cast out of his house and seruice, and so, out of all offices and places of charge, any one whatsoever that was a Christian; and afterwards he committed such cruelties against them as had seldome been seene: which he did (as some write) thereby to pick occasion of discord and war with CONSTANTINE, whom he greatlie enuied for his great authoritie and goodnes. He also sought many meanes to make him away either by poison or treason, wherein failing of his will, he resolved publickly and openly to fall out with him: whereto CONSTANTINE suffered himselfe to be induced, more as a true Christian, for the defence of the Christian faith, then for his owne particular honor or interest: for LICINIUS now destroyed the temples and churches which he himselfe had before commaunded to be builded, and without either feare or shame, commaunded all those Christians to be slaine which would not commit idolatrie, and adore his idols: whereupon many as weake and inconstant renounced their faith, and others ioyfullie receiued the crowne of Martyrdome.

Each of these two Emperours mustering vp his souldiers and men of warre, they hauing raigned twelue yeeres in peace together, there began euery where very cruell warres betweene them: and as CONSTANTINE euer bare the crosse in his ensigne and standard, it pleased God that most commonlie his people preuailed. And both these Emperours comming into *Hungarie* with their forces, to the end to draw neere the one to the other, the good CONSTANTINE hauing a fit oportunitie thereto (for LICINIUS was encamped neere to the side of a lake) in the night gaue him a camizado: and notwithstanding that LICINIUS fought very well and made great resistance, yet in the end his forces were ouerthrowne, and his camp was entred, and he escaping by flight, came to the citie of *Bizantium*, which ere long after was called *Constantinople*. Where to relieue himselfe and to recouer greater authoritie, he made one of his Captaines whose name was MARTIANVS, CÆSAR, who was maister of his offices, or high steward of his house; and raising the greatest power that he was able both of foote and horse, he prepared himselfe for a second battaile: But in the meane season CONSTANTINE seised on the prouinces of *Dacia*, *Misia*, *Macedonia*, and other which were vnder LICINIUS his gouernement. LICINIUS hauing gathered his armie to a head, againe renewed the warre, which (as EVTROPIVS and AVRELIVS VICTOR write in his life) was very variable and cruell, vntill that by the intercession of CONSTANTIA sister to CONSTANTINE, and wife to LICINIUS, there was a truce and peace taken betweene them: but through the enuie and malice of LICINIUS it held not long, and they both againe returned to their weapons, warring with greater malice and power both by sea and land then before. And both the Emperours comming againe to a battaile, in the prouince of *Bithynia*, in *Asia* the lesse, whither LICINIUS had withdrawne himselfe (hauing lost all that he held in *Europe*) it was extremely bloudie and cruell, but in the end CONSTANTINE had the victorie, and LICINIUS escaped by flight: And yet afterwards through the intreatie of his sister CONSTANTIA, and wife to LICINIUS, CONSTANTINE graunted him his life, he yeelding himselfe into his power; but he confined him within the citie of *Nicomedia* in the same prouince, where

where afterwards for feare that he should againe rebell, as MAXIMIANVS had done, as some say; or after some, for that LICINIUS began to practice with some to take armes againe, he was put to death by CONSTANTINES commaundement, and with him MARTIANVS whom he had made CÆSAR, in the fiftenth yeere of his raigne, and the three score of his age, and in the yeere of our Sauour Christ three hundred and seuen and twentieth. This Emperour LICINIUS was of a most wicked and cruell nature, dishonest, incontinent, a churle, couetous, most ignorant, as he, who had no learning, and did abhor and detest it, affirming that learning was a publike pestilence; whereas to the contrarie, without learning, or learned counsell, there neuer was any King that either did or could rightlie gouerne and minister iustice: neuertheless he was very valiant, and followed the warres all his whole life time.

All the whole Empire remaining vnder the commaund of the good and christian Emperour CONSTANTINE alone, the world enioyed a most happie time: for so great was his goodnes and wisdom, that generallie euery where he ministered iustice mixed with clemencie; so as there was vniuersall peace and quietnes. And by all his subiects he was beloued, and highlie extolled, and by the barbarous and strange nations greatlie feared: and aboue all, the christian faith was held in great reuerence, and embraced euery where. It is wonderfull what EVSEBIUS doth write in the end of his Ecclesiasticall historie: And SOCRATES in his Tripartite historie, of the fauours, graces, priuileges, benefites, and gifts, which CONSTANTINE bestowed vpon the Bishops and the Churches, and generallie vpon all christian people, annulling and abolishing all the lawes which his predecessors had made against their libertie: and he commaunded by publike edict, that there should no more temples be builded to the honor of the false gods and idols which the Romanes adored. But he commaunded through all the prouinces of the Empire, that the Bishops commaundements should be obeyed, and that to those which had not whereof to liue, there should be assigned goods and rents to maintaine them during their liues. And he not only tooke care for the Christians which liued in the countries subiect to the Empire, but vnderstanding that to those Christians which liued in other prouinces subiect to the King of *Persia*, was vsed force and oppression, he sent his Ambassadors to that King, requiring him to commaund that fault to be amended; inducing and perswading him to honor and belecue in Iesus Christ: so as by his meanes Christ was adored, and the Gospell was freely preached through the whole world, and vnder this Emperour the Christians indured not any oppression, or suffered persecution, and so there were many holie and learned doctors. And CONSTANTINE liuing in this great power and prosperitie was worthilie surnamed the great, and so vntill this day in all histories he is called CONSTANTINE the great. Besides this, other honorable names and titles were given to him by the Senate of *Rome*, as the restorer of mankind, the enlarger of the Romane Empire, the founder and preseruer of perpetuall peace and safetie, and so he was generallie honored and beloued of all men, so much as possible a man could be. Some Authors write, among which EVTROPIUS is one, that CONSTANTINE through his great power and prosperitie diminished his vertues, waxing proud and cruell; and accuse him also for being too excessiue desirous of glorie and honor: whereof AVRELIVS VICTOR also maketh mention, and prooueth the same by the death of his sonne CRISPVS, whom he had made CÆSAR, and of his wife FAVSTA, who as we haue said, was MAXENCIVS his sister, and of many other noble and

Ec

principall

Licinius put to death by Constantines commaundement.  
Anno Domini. 327.

Benefites bestowed by Constantine vpon the Church and church-men.

Titles of honor given to Constantine.

Licinius persecuted the Christians.

Licinius made those to be slaine which would not commit idolatrie.

Licinius overthrowne and put to flight by Constantine.

Licinius the second time overthrowne.

pall men. But it cannot certainly be said how it happened throughly to be able to condemne or excuse this Emperour: for as a man, he might fall into such finnes; & yet afterwards acknowledging his errour, might aske mercie at Gods hands for his offences. It is true that some say, that he put his sonne CRISPVS to death, because that his wife FAVSTA, and mother in law to his said sonne, had complained to him that he would haue rauished her; whereas to the contrarie she had dishonestly sought it of him, procuring his loue and dishonest companie; whereto, he as a loyall and honest childe would not consent. The truth whereof being afterwards knowne; CONSTANTINE made her to be slaine, which he did with great reason; although hee were deceiued in the death of his sonne. Others say that she as a mother in law, practized the death of CRISPVS, because he should not bee preferred before the other sonnes which she had by CONSTANTINE. But I am of opinion that these executions were not but for offences and causes sufficient to moue him thereto, although they were not published and made knowne to all the world. And so PAVLVS OROSIVS reciting the deaths of his wife, of his sonne, and of his Nephew, saith that the causes were secret and vnknowne, which moued him to doe it. And truly a man can presume no otherwise, considering how wise and how good a Christian this prince was. And so SOZOMENVS doth excuse him, as relateth CASSIODORVS in his Tripartite Historie. And EVSEBIVS and RUFFINVS in their writings, and the same CASSIODORVS, onely declare his vertues, and blame him in nothing. Saint GREGORIE calleth him Emperour, of holy memorie. Saint AMBROSE speaking of the death of THEODORVS saith, that CONSTANTINE was worthe of great praise, who with the Empire left the Christian faith for inheritance to his successors: So as what such men commend, I dare not reprehend or condemne. Holding it then for certaine, that he was a good man, returning to his Historie, I say, that after that he reigned alone, there failed not warres: for the Sarmates inuaded the Empire, and he in person with a mightie armie marched against them, and ouerthrowing them in a battaile, he forced them to obey, and to be quiet. The like he afterwards did by the Gothes, and other barbarous nations. Which when he had performed, and hauing made his three sonnes CONSTANTINVS, CONSTANTIVS, and CONSTANS, CESARS, and also his Nephew DALMATIVS: for some reasonable considerations, holding it more conuenient for matters of the East and to be neere at hand, which was his greatest care; he determined to transport his imperiall throne and seate from Rome into Bithynia in Asia, or into some other part of that countrie: and hauing considered thereof, and thought vpon fundrie fit places; he resolved in the end to reedifie the citie of Byzantium, which is in Thracia, and meaning to call it new Rome, he beautified it with edifices, priuiledges, and other riches more then any other citie of the world. And as Saint IEROM saith in his additions to EVSEBIVS, he enriched and adorned that citie with the spoiles and empouering of all the rest. For all the worthie and notable things which were in Rome, as statues, pillars, colosses, and all other things which were singular and excellent, of gold stone or mettall, he made to be taken from Rome and to be carried to that citie: Whereto notwithstanding that he gaue the name of new Rome, yet was it then, and now to this day is called Constantinople, after his name: and so it became one of the greatest and most noble cities of the world: and he went thither and there established his imperiall throne and state, leauing his sonnes in Spaine, France, and Italie, which prouinces he had giuen them to gouerne.

The

The Empire being in this prosperitie, the heresie of the Arrians through the inspiration of the diuell arose in the citie of Alexandria in Egypt, which denied the eternitie of the sonne of God with the father, alledging that he was not of the same substance with him. This heresie did then, and a long time after, trouble the quiet estate of the Church. The head and inuentor of this heresie, was one ARRIVS a Priest in the said citie of Alexandria, who was a man which outwardly made great shew of holines, and liued morally, well. At that same time was Bishop in Alexandria one ALEXANDER, a man of great holines and learning: But as he was gentle and of a mild condition, so he endeouored in the beginning to haue cured ARRIVS of that hereticall infirmitie, with soft and gentle medications, praying and admonishing him to leaue his perfidy and misbeliefe, with holy speeches and exhortations; but he being proud and insolent, persisting in his heresie, induced many others to follow his errors: and this pestilence encreased and extended it selfe so farre, that many were infected therewith, and all the possible diligence that ALEXANDER could vse, did nothing auaille to suppress the same; notwithstanding that ARRIVS was by him excluded and excommunicate out of the Church. Whereupon ALEXANDER aduertised the Emperour thereof, and the euill grew to be so great that it required a great remedie; and so by order of the same Emperour, a generall councill was called in the citie of Nicæa, which is in the prouince of Bithynia in Asia, wherein assembled three hundred and eightene Bishops. And CONSTANTINE himselfe in person was present in the same councill: finally, ARRIVS and his wicked sect, was therein condemned by all the Bishops, excepting seuentene which held with him. Whereof eleuen afterwards (as saith RUFFINVS) fained recantation: and ARRIVS together with the other sixe were excommunicated and banished, to all which the Emperour consented and approued the same, submitting himselfe to the iudgement of the holy councill. And so the opinion of ARRIVS was held for a wicked heresie, but he persisted in his error, and had disciples and followers. And notwithstanding that the Emperour tooke great paines to redresse it, yet he could not by any meanes effect the same. This euill did a long time trouble the Church, and extended it selfe euen into Spaine and other prouinces; in so much that it seemed impossible to finde any redresse for so great an euill: but afterwards in proceesse of time, it pleased our Lord of his infinit goodnes and mercie, to cure the same.

Among many other things which CONSTANTINE did in this councill, one was very notable, as among so many Bishops, although many of them were holy and good men; so there wanted not enuie and contention among those which were not such: for some held erroneous opinions; and others which were in sute and at debate, accused one another to the Emperour, exhibiting their complaints and informations vnto him in writing, entreating him to punish the offenders. The Emperour received the accusations, and concealed the same, so as no man saw them; and afterwards calling those Bishops which thus complained before him, he made vnto them a brieft speech, saying. Fathers, Bishops and Prelates, it hath pleased God to ordaine you for Prelates and Priests, and haue giuen you power to iudge of me, and I may rightly and orderly be iudged by you, but you cannot be iudged by me: wherefore I referre your sutes and debates to the diuine iudgement, and to the iudgement of the Church and councill. And seeing that you are set before vs in the place of God, it is not fit that I iudge of you, but leaue you to the iudgement of God, of whom it is written, *Deus stetit in synagoga eorum,*

Et 2

in

The original of the Arrian heresie.

The Nicene Council.

Constantine did put his wife, his sonne, and his Nephew to death.

Warres against the Sarmates.

Constantine re-edified the citie of Byzantium, now called after his name Constantinople.

*in medio autem deus discernit*, God stode in the synagogue of the Gods, and God alone among them is iudge. Wherefore letting apart all this malice and contention, apply your selues vnto that which appertaineth to the Christian faith, and to the Church, and for Gods sake forget these rancors and particular private iniuries. These speeches are written by RVFFINVS and CASSIODORVS, and are also seene in the decrees, wherewith the good Emperour exhorted those Bishops to concord and friendship, without interposing himselfe betweene them as their iudge, and so was that most holy and Christian councill dissolued. About the same time or little after it, the holy woman HELENA mother to the same Emperour CONSTANTINE, went to *Ierusalem* (I meane to that which is new builded: for of the old *Ierusalem* there remaineth not one stone vpon another) to seeke the crosse whereon our Sauour CHRIST suffered his passion. And commaunding a Temple to be throwne downe, which by the Gentiles was builded in that same place to their Goddesse VENVS, there were found three crosses, but not in such manner as that it might bee well perceiued which was the crosse of CHRIST: for the superscription was taken away, or else the letters could not be read, & the one was like the other. And HELENA being in this confusion, & with her MACARIUS, which at that time was Bishop of *Ierusalem*, they caried the three crosses to the house of a great Ladie, which in that citie was then at the point of death, sicke of a great and incurable disease; where (as it is written) the right crosse was miraculously discovered. SOZOMENVS in his Tripartite historie writeth wonders, concerning the same. The feast of the finding of the crosse is celebrated by the Church with great solemnitie, vpon the third day of May. And HELENA hauing found what she so earnestly sought, caused in the same place where it was discovered, a most rich and sumptuous Temple to be built: and taking the crosse asunder, the one halfe thereof she left there inclosed in a siluer chest, and the other halfe she caried with her to *Constantinople*, where it was kept by CONSTANTINE with great reuerence. She caried vnto him also the nailes wherewith CHRIST was nailed to the crosse, the one of which hee alwaies wore in his helmet or caske; and of another he made a bit for his horse, against such time as hee should enter into any fight or battaile; and the other naile, it is said, that bearing it about him, and being in a great storme at sea, he threw it into the sea to assuage the tempest. How true or false I will not argue. This historie and the finding of the crosse, besides RVFFINVS and CASSIODORVS already alleaged, S. AMBROSE writeth at large in the oration by him made to the honour of the Emperour THEODOSIUS.

CONSTANTINE hauing now happily raigned about thirtie yeeres, in the latter whereof he wholly applied himselfe to destroy and to root Idolatrie out of the world; and to build Churches, which he dedicated to CHRIST and his Saints; and to extinguish and extirpate ARRIUS his heresie, which yet had some roote, was finally forced to leaue an armie to goe against the Persians and their King, which inuaded the Empire. And marching thitherwards, in the 66. yeere of his age, and the thirtieth of his raigne (although that herein is some small difference among the authors) he was taken with a grievous sicknes; and to the end hee might recouer health, he caused himselfe to be caried from *Constantinople*, with intent to goe to *Nicomedia*, which is a citie in *Bithynia*, to certaine Bathes of natural hot water: but before that he could come thither, his disease so increased that hee died, humbly recommending his soule to IESVS CHRIST, in whom hee constantly beleueed. And so holily died this holy and great Emperour; leauing behind him three sons,

CON-

CONSTANTINVS, CONSTANTIVS, and CONSTANS; which he constituted and ordained for his heires and successors in the Empire, together with his nephew DALMATIVS; and two daughters, the one named HELENA, which was afterwards married to IVLIANVS who was Emperour: and the other CONSTANTIA which married with GALLVS. Some suspected that CONSTANTINE WAS poisoned. He died in the yeere of our Lord 342. Anno Dom. 342.

Although that we shall somewhat exceed ordinarie in this discourse, yet I account it time well spent to treat of some doubts, which rise and grow in the life of CONSTANTINE. The first is, for that some say that this holy Emperour was not baptized, vntill a little before his death, and that he was then baptized by EVSEBIUS Bishop of *Nicomedia*; and that all the rest of his time he liued without baptisme, alleaging for a reason why hee did so, that he hoped to haue gone to haue been baptized in the riuer *Jordan*, wherein our Sauour CHRIST was baptized by S. JOHN. But I account the opinion of those to bee most certaine, which write that hee was baptized in *Rome* by the hand of Pope SILVESTER, after the death of MAXENCIVS. For it is hardly to be beleueed, that there could be such spirit and deuotion found (as CONSTANTINE shewed in his workes) in a man which was not baptized; and therefore it carrieth no colour of truth. The writers doe also prooue and affirme, that he was baptized with his sonne CRISPVS, and that hee caused the same his sonne to be slaine long before he died, as by vs hath been already declared: so as it appeareth that he could not be baptized with his sonne, being already dead. And whereas it is written in a little booke, that CONSTANTINE was infected with a leprosie, and that hee was cured with the blood of certaine little children which hee caused to be slaine for that purpose; PLATINA holdeth this for a fable and a forgerie: and none of the ancient writers neither moderne that are of any credit, write any such matter. Some also write, that CONSTANTINE was baptized in his latter daies, and that he seemed to be inclined to the Arrian heresie. But he was deceiued which wrote so: for that was his sonnes error and doing, who was also called CONSTANTINE, as he was, and that which was said and written of his sonne (being deceiued through the name) was imputed to the father, of whose true faith, life and death there ought no doubt to be made; neither in their histories treating of his life, doe make any doubt, OROSIUS, EVTROIPIVS, S. GREGORIE, RVFFINVS, nor CASSIODORVS: Of which S. GREGORIE calleth him, of holy memorie. S. AMBROSE in an oration which hee made at the death of THEODOSIUS, giueth him the name of holie, and highly extollet him because he left the Christian faith for an inheritance with the Empire. And the Greeke Church doth celebrate his feast as a Saint, vpon the twentieth day of Aprill. And so doe also defend his faith and holines both in life and death ANTONIVS SABELLICVS in his *Aeneades*; PLATINA in the life of Pope MARCVS; POMPONIVS LETVS in his abridgement of the Romane historie; and BAPTISTA IGNATIVS in his epitome of the Emperours; and S. ANTONINVS in his *Historials*: and generally all the moderne authors, besides the ancient already named. And whereas it is written that hee recalled ARRIUS from exile; if he did so as some write, yet according to the same authors, he was induced thereto by a certaine Priest, and at the entreatie of his sister, but principally through a writing sent to him by ARRIUS, wherein he declared what opinion he held concerning the faith; seeming by his words to be conformable to the decree of the Councell; and the Emperour not comprehending

Ec 3

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The finding of  
the Crosse.Helena caused a  
Temple to be  
built in the  
same place  
where the  
Crosse was  
found.The death of  
Constantine  
the Great.

the deceit in those words, released him from banishment. Neuerthelesse he referred the examination of the cause to a new councill of Bishops, which was then assembled about the building of the Temple at *Ierusalem*; without approouing his opinion in any respect. And it happened that *ARRIVS* died in this demaund, accordingly as his finnes and heresie had deserued: for it pleased God that he died suddenly, and his intrailes came foorth at his lower parts. And many of these authors affirme, that this happened in the time of the Emperour *CONSTANTINE* the sonne, and not of the father. Their being both of one name causeth this confusion and doubt in the historie. So as it may be set downe and auouched for certaine, that the Emperour *CONSTANTINE* at what time soeuer he was baptized, the most certaine is, that he was baptized in *Rome* many yeeres before his death: and he died holding & beleeuing the holy Catholike faith. And as an holy & true Christian he neuer consented vnto, nor beleued any point of *ARRIVS* his heresie, as some charge him, being deceived by the name of his sonne, who was infected with the venome of that wicked heresie.

Now concerning the donation, which some say that *CONSTANTINE* made to Pope *SILVESTER* and to his successors, of the citie of *Rome* and of all *Italy*, when hee went to *Constantinople*; notwithstanding that all authors agree that hee gaue great gifts, and builded many Temples; yet of this so notable donation, I finde not that any author of that age doth testifie or auerre any such matter. *PAVLVS OROSIVS*, *EVTROPIVS*, *S. IEROME*, nor *THEODORETVS* which liued neere to that time, and wrote the rest, make no mention thereof. Wherefore it is to be doubted, whether there were any such donation.

It is true that there is a text in the decree, which reciteth this said donation of *Rome* and of *Italy* and other orientall prouinces: but that text is held for Apocrypha; neither is it found in *GRATIANS* ancient originals. But finally, this is a question which I cannot determine, and therefore I will not thrust my sickle into another mans haruest, neither wil I be iudge herin, seeing that I am but only an Historiographer. Yet to one thing I will not forbear to make answer, thereby in some sort to satisfie the malice of our times. And I say, that they haue no reason to blame the Emperour *CONSTANTINE*, as some haue done, alleaging him to haue bin the cause of much euill, in that he enriched the Bishops, Prelates & Priests, for that before his time they followed the true rule and forme of a Christian life; all liuing in the perfection of the Gospell, imitating the pouertie of *CHRIST* and of his disciples. To the first, let it be that this were true; the good & holy meaning of *CONSTANTINE* was much to be commended, and therein hee did well and acceptably before God. To the other, it is not certaine that before the time of *CONSTANTINE* the Clergie had no temporall goods: for it seemeth to the contrarie in the chapter *Videntes 12. questione 1.* wherein it is expressed that the ancient fathers seeing and considering, that it was not so profitable to sell the goods and to distribute the money in commune, as the Christians did in the beginning; as it was to keepe those heritages & possessions, to the end that by meanes of the fruits thereof the Ministers then being might be maintained, and their successors might doe the like after them. And comming to the ground of the matter, although that our Lord *IESVS CHRIST* and his holie Apostles and Disciples, regarded and commended pouertie, preferring it before riches, as chastitie before wedlocke, for the full perfection of the holie life which he had chosen; it doth not therefore follow that he would not that Bishops, Priests and Ministers should haue no temporall

porall goods of their owne: for if hee had meant so, it is to be beleued that hee would haue ordained it so, and so it should haue been obserued euen to this day. And if they shall say to me, that before the time of *CONSTANTINE*, they liued without rents or reuenues, and yet there were many holie Bishops, as *CLEMENT*, *LINVS*, *CLETVS*, *IGNATIVS*, *POLICARPVs*, *MARCELLVS*, and such others which liued in pouertie, contenting themselves with a little in holie exercises: whereto I answere, that in part all these holie men were not altogether without goods, but that they and their Churches had some possessions. And I also say, that it is certaine, that in the beginning about the first propagation of the Gospell, as the name of Christian was odious and hatefull to the Emperours and Princes of those times, principally the Bishops and Priests: so it behooued them of necessity to be contented with that which they had, and to maintaine themselves as they were able. And whereas it appeareth that commonly they then liued more deuout and holie and in greater humilitie, then after that the Emperour *CONSTANTINE* became christian, and after that the Church obtained libertie, and that the authoritie thereof was confirmed with riches: yet it is certaine, that after that time there were also many very holie men. And although that afterwards there was not generally so great sinceritie and holines of life, as before there was: yet neither the Emperour nor the riches were to be blamed therefore, but the euill nature and conditions of those which had the vse thereof, and did abuse the same. For it is not to be beleued that those ancient holie men in the beginning of the Primitiue Church, would by reason of riches haue left to haue been holie; neither am I assured that those which afterwards were proud and insolent, would haue been holie and deuout, notwithstanding that they had been poore. It is true, & I acknowledge the same, that voluntarie pouertie is a state of great perfection, and that great riches oftentimes minister occasion of pride and wickednesse, but hereof men themselves are the cause: for we are naturally all inclined to euill: but to put the same in execution, the rich haue greater power then the poore. Therefore neither riches nor pouertie are the occasion: for neither are all rich men wicked; neither are all poore men good: which would be so, if these riches onely were the occasion thereof. For neither riches nor pouertie in their owne nature are good or euill: but rather, as saith *S. PAUL*, *All things are cleane to the cleane*. Neither ought riches to be contemned, because that some wicked man doth abuse his wealth: for if that argument were of force, so were likewise to be condemned and despised the strength of the body, beautie of countenance, sharpnes of wit, and quicknes of vnderstanding; and a man should desire to be vgly, feeble, dull, ignorant and of little discretion: for those which be strong, faire, beautifull, quicke witted, and of great capacitie and vnderstanding, may doe more harme and vse greater deceit, then the deformed, decrepit & ignorant. And if a man shall iudge according to the occasion onely, pouertie bringeth with it retchlesnes and great distrust, and therewith men become enuious, greedily couetous, malefactors, coueting and stealing other mens goods: yet I will not denie, but that in riches is the greater daunger. But in both the fault is in vs, and not in the goods, which of themselves are neither good nor euill, but are according as is he who hath the vse of them. And so not to swaue any further from our historie, I conclude and say; Let vs leaue to blame *CONSTANTINE*, and blame those which haue abused and mispent the goods which were giuen by *CONSTANTINE*. And let those which are so zealous of the generall reformation of the

Church, reforme their owne consciences, and amend their owne liues and abuses, and let them with teares pray vnto God to amend the rest. For if euery man in particular would doe thus and amend one, all would presently be amended. But truly most men take care for the gouernment of Empires and dominions euen at home in their houses: but of their owne houses and consciences they take little care. And to the end that they thinke not, that all the mischiefe consisteth in the Church goods, let them know that after that the Churches were rich, and that the Prelates were of great power and authoritie, there were therein, a S. LEO, a Pope, a S. GREGORIE, S. AMBROSE, S. IEROME, S. AVGVSTINE, S. BERNARD, and an infinite number of other Bishops which possessed riches, and despoiling them were poore in spirit, which is acceptable before God.

## THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINVS, CONSTANTIVS, AND CONSTANS, BRETHREN, SONNES OF THE EMPEROVR CONSTANTINE the great, and fise and fortieth Emperours of Rome.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**H**e Emperour Constantine being dead, the gouernement of the Empire remained in the hands of his sonnes, to wit, Constantius, Constans, and Constantinus: but as customarily it happeneth in matters of State; so after that the Prouinces were diuided, they imagining them to be vnequallie shared, fell together by the eares among themselves, and two of them being dead, the gouernement of the Empire rested wholie in Constantinus, who had no lesse to do to defend himselfe against domesticall tyrants, which sought to vsurp his estate, then to offend Princes strangers, thereby to enlarge the Romane Empire. After many casualties of warre, he ouercame Magnentius, and the last battaile betweene them was so bloudie, and the execution so great, that in a manner it enfeebled the forces of the whole Empire, but finally Magnentius was driuen to such extremitie that he slue himselfe. He made his cosen-germane Gallus, Cesar, giuing him his sister Constantina to wife, who behaued himselfe so wickedlie in his gouernement, that Constantinus was forced to cause him to be slaine: in whose place he made his brother Iulianus, Cesar, who going into Germany against the high Dutch, had so good successe in all his enterprises in the warres, that the souldiers of France constrained him perforce to take the ensigne and name of Emperour. Which when Constantinus vnderstood (who then warred against the Persians)

*Persians) he ordred that warre in the best manner that he could, and came with a mightie great armie against Iulianus, but falling grievously sicke by the way, he died, and made Iulianus his successor, leaving the Empire to him, from whom he was going to bereaue the same.*



**N**OW needefull and how good the Empire or raigne of the Emperour CONSTANTINE was, and how great was his goodnes and valour, plainly appeareth, seeing that immediately with his death the vniuersall quiet and peace was disturbed, the fauour and reuerence to the Church was diminished, and the execution and administration of Iustice was likewise perueried and troubled. The good Emperour CONSTANTINE left behind him when he died three sonnes, and two daughters. His sonnes names were CONSTANTINVS, CONSTANTIVS, and CONSTANS; and his daughters were called HELENA, and CONSTANTIA. The sonnes presentlie after the death of their father were Emperours: for in his life time he had made them CESARS, together with his nephew DALMATIVS; and he also left them by his testament heires to the Empire. The daughters were afterwards married to Emperours; as in the proceffe of this historie we will declare, which in truth is very abrupt, aswell for the varietie and difference among the authors, as for the great discord and warres which grew betweene these three brethren, and through the tyrants and vsurping Emperours which arose in their time. Let the reader endeouour to reade attentiuely: for I will do my best to write the most plaine and cleerely that I shall be able.

These three brethren deuied the Romane Empire amongst them in this manner: To CONSTANTINVS who was the eldest brother, was allotted *Spaine, Britanny, France*, and that part of *Germany* which was subiect to the Romanes. To CONSTANS, who was the second brother, was allotted *Italy*, and all *Africa*, with the Ilands *Sicilia* and the rest betweene them, together with *Slauonia, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Achaia, Morca*, and all *Gracia*. The third brother, which was CONSTANTIVS, possessed the prouince of *Thracia*, wherein is the cite of *Constantinople*, with all the East prouinces of *Asia* the lesse, *Seria, Mesopotamia*, and *Egypt*. And in the dominion of this CONSTANTIVS by his consent and accord his cosen DALMATIVS gouerned as CESAR. SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR saith, that he reigned also in *Armenia*, and in the borders thereof, and that ANNIBALLINVS was therein established CESAR. And so in this manner began the Empire to be gouerned by three Emperours, and one CESAR, which was DALMATIVS: whereof ensued great discord and warre, for that either of them would take place before other, and be Lord of the whole: and of the other side the Romane Empire was so great, that no one man could well gouerne it alone, and so very few held the whole in quiet possession; and therefore it declined and diminished: as alwaies haue done, and euer will do, all kingdomes, principalities and dominions which are farre extended and enlarged: for neither mans life, force, nor humane wisdom are sufficientlie able to weild and gouerne so great a matter. In the beginning of their raigne, these brothers liued in peace, for ioy to see themselves so great Lords: and DALMATIVS who in the East assisted CONSTANTIVS, began to make shew of himselfe, to be a most excellent Prince, in his actions and vertues imitating CONSTANTINE the great: wherefore by the good he was much beloued, but feared of the wicked, & enuied by CONSTANTIVS himselfe, which was the cause of his death. CONSTANTIVS permitting it, or being acceffarie thereto, he was vpon a day in a mutinie slaine by the souldiers which

*Constantine his children.*

*Constantine his three sonnes diuided the Empire betweene them.*

*Dalmatius loued by the good, and feared by the wicked.*

Dalmatius  
slaine by the  
souldiers  
through the  
practise of  
Constantius.

Constantine  
warred a-  
gainst his bro-  
ther Constantius.

Constantine  
slaine in Italy.

Ann. Dom.  
343.

which he had leuied against the King of *Persia*, and so the Empire remained absolutely betwene the three brethren. After this it presentlie ensued, that CONSTANTINE who was the elder brother began to find himselfe griued, alleaging that he had the least part in the diuision of the prouinces: for he possessed but *France, Spaine, part of Germany, England, and Scotland*, his other brothers holding so many prouinces: and therefore he sent Ambassadors vnto them requiring a new diuision to be made; and as their parts seemed to them to be but little, they would not yeeld to his request. Whereupon he mustered vp his men of warre, and leuied an armie, determining to take that perforce which they would not allow him by their will, and with a great power inuaded the frontiers of his brother CONSTANS his Empire, to whom befell *Italy & Africa*. At that time CONSTANS was in *Dacia* (which is *Transilvania* and *Walachia*) making warre vpon the Gothes and Sarmates which had made incursions into the limits of the Roman Empire: and he vnderstanding what his brother did, sent a Captaine with men of warre into *Italy*, who with such power as he was able to raise, made head against CONSTANTINVS, neere to the citie of *Aquileia* in *Italy*. But CONSTANTINVS little regarding his brothers forces, vnaduisedlie resolved to fight, and being entrapped in an ambush laid by his enemies fighting vnknowne, his horse being killed vnder him, and he falling to the earth was slaine, hauing enioyed his Empire but three yeeres only, being of the age of 25. yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord 343. Which as some imagine happened vnto him for his sinnes: for they write of him, that he beleued and fauoured the heresie of ARRIVS. And CASSIODORVS, RUFFINVS, and THEODORETVS in their Ecclesiasticall histories write, that vpon the death of CONSTANTINE the Great, father of these young men, those which were infected with the heresie of ARRIVS, tooke stomach and courage audaciousslie to maintaine the same, contrarie to the decree of the holie councell, and by their illusions they perswaded CONSTANTINVS thereto, which ruled in the East parts, and many Arrian Bishops sought to suppress and dispossesse the Catholikes, whereto CONSTANS the other Emperour & brother made great resistance, who was of the Catholikes opinion. And particularly was persecuted the holie Bishop ATHANASIVS, who was the chiefe man in the Nicene Councell, and in that persecution were sent into exile both he, and others, which endured great iniurie and infamie. There were also many counells and assemblies held by the heretikes, and others by the Catholikes, wherein were many contentions. Finallie, the Catholikes were greatly troubled and molested, by reason that many revolted from the faith, and ioined with the heretikes, which I forbear to write, because it requireth much time to relate the same; and also, for that I rather write the liues of the Emperours, then any Ecclesiasticall historie, whereof I must of necessitie make often mention hereafter.

CONSTANTINE the elder brother being slaine by his brother CONSTANS his souldiers, CONSTANS tooke possession of all the lands which his deceased brother was seised of: and so he became Lord of all the West and of *Africa*, whereof already he was in possession. After this, presentlie ensued another dangerous warre, against a kind of people called Francques, a people of *Germany*, inhabiting neere the riuer *Rhine* (as AGATHIAS writeth) which Francques rebelled and seised vpon great part of *Gallia*, from which the Frenchmen vaunt themselves to be descended, and of *Galli* were called *Franci*, and *Gallia*, *France*: And to make their originall seeme to be of greater antiquitie, they alleadge that those Francques descended from those which escaped from *Troy*, and that they came

came to inhabit *Germany* with one of HECTORS sonnes, whose name was FRANCVS: but hereof we will speake more hereafter. These Francques came to blowes with CONSTANS, and after cruell warres and much slaughter betwene them, they were vanquished and made subiect to the Empire. And although that CONSTANS were much troubled with these warres, yet afterwards he liued some yeeres in peace and prosperitie, but very weake and impotent of bodie both in his feet and hands, by reason of the gout wherewith he was oftentimes much griued. His gouernement in the beginning was good and agreeable to all his subiects, but afterwards he became vitious and negligent in the execution of iustice, and by meanes of his infirmitie grew vnweildie, and ill disposed: and therefore ill beloued by the prouincials, and subiects of the Empire, so as certaine wicked men making benefit of this occasion, practised his death. The principall authors wherof were CRESPIVS and MARCELLINVS his owne Captaines, which agreed to make one MAGNENTIVS Emperour, a man of base condition and meane parentage, although that through his courage and valour in the warres he had woon great reputation: and they found the souldiers very willing and readie thereto, for they hated CONSTANS; and giuing the imperiall habit to MAGNENTIVS, they sent to kill CONSTANS, who mistrusted no such matter. In the manner of his death the authors do varie, but in conclusion he was slaine in a certaine place called *Helena*, neere to the Pirenean mountaines, which diuide *France* from *Spaine*, in the thirteenth yeere of his raigne, and the thirtieth of his age, in the yeere of our Lord three hundred, three and fiftie, according to S. IEROME his computation.

Whilst matters passed in the West after this manner, in the East with the third brother and Emperour CONSTANTINVS, who ruled all that part of the Empire, things prospered not so well, especiallie in the warres: for he had great and dangerous warres with the King of the Persians, and hauing fought with him nine seuerall times, he was at euery time ouerthrowne, with the losse of many of his people. In the end, they fought one most cruell battaile, and the victorie being apparant of the Emperours side, his people vied the matter so ill, that those which were held for conquered, became conquerours: and so CONSTANTINVS lost this battaile also, as he had done many others, in such sort that the King of *Persia* recovered certaine principall cities in *Mesopotamia*. Moreover, in the same parts of the East, there happened many earth-quakes wherewith certaine cities were destroyed, and were swallowed into the earth, which by the true christian authors was attributed to the iust iudgement of God, for that this Emperour did maintaine and defend the heresie of ARRIVS, and persecuted the true Christians. But returning to our new Emperour MAGNENTIVS, it happened in this manner: that hauing murdered CONSTANS, as we haue declared, the armie which was in *France* obeyed and received him gladly, and all *Spaine* presently did the like, together with *Italie* and *Africa* also: whither he determining to come, made his sonne whose name was DECENCIVS, CÆSAR, to leaue him in the gouernment of *France* and *Spaine* with their confines. But in *Hungarie, Austrich, Slanonia, Dalmatia*, and part of *Gracia*, the ordinarie legions which were in those places, chose an old and valorous captaine for Emperour, whose name was BRITANNIO or VETRANIO; who was a man highly beloued of the souldiers, for his great wisdom and valour in the warres; and for the victories which he had obtained in the defence of those prouinces against the barbarous nations. Of BRITANNIO you shall heare more hereafter.

From whence  
the French  
affirme to haue  
their originall.  
Constantius made  
the Francques  
subiect to the  
Empire.

Magnentius  
chosen Empe-  
rour.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Constantius.

Anno Domini.  
353.

Constantius  
ouerthrowne  
in nine seuerall  
battailes by  
the Persians.

Constantius  
ouerthrowne  
in the tenth  
battaile by the  
Persians, for  
that he knewe  
not howe to  
use the victo-  
rie.  
Great earth-  
quakes in the  
East in the  
time of Con-  
stantius.

Decencius  
made Cæsar by  
Magnentius.

About the same time, so soone as it was knowne in *Rome* that VALENS was dead; NEPOTIANVS presuming on the neerenes of blood to the deceased Emperour (for he was the Emperour CONSTANTINES sisters sonne) assembling together a companie of fencers, sworde players and such others, proclaimed himselfe Emperour. But as his beginning had no sound foundation; so had he an vnluckie end: for within nine and twentie daies after that he had with great difficultie enioyed the title of Emperour, he was slaine by MAGNENTIVS his captaines. And so MAGNENTIVS remained Emperour (although a tyrant) of *Italie, Africa, France, and Spaine*, in despite and disgrace of CONSTANTIVS in the East, who in truth by iust title, was sole emperour.

CONSTANTIVS being aduertised of the death of his brother CONSTANS and of the successe of MAGNENTIVS, was greatly perplexed, seeing himselfe oppressed with warre against the Persians; and on the other side, bound to reuenging the death of his brother, and to roote out so mightie an enemies as MAGNENTIVS, who grew great in a very short time; and BRITANNIO also, who was not slightly to be regarded. But after many consultations, it was concluded to establish all matters of the East in the best order that he might, and to passe into *Europe*, against MAGNENTIVS. Whereupon he determined to make his Cousen Germane GALLVS, CESAR, who was brother to IULIANVS, of whom we shall speake hereafter. Both which were sonnes to a brother of CONSTANTINE the great, named CONSTANTIVS, whom his father CONSTANTIVS had by a second wife: and to the end to be the better assured of this new CESAR, he married him to one of his owne sisters, whose name was CONSTANTIA. And leauing this GALLVS in the East, hauing first concluded a kinde of truce or peace with the King of *Persia*, he came into *Europe* against MAGNENTIVS, with the greatest power that he was able to leuie, and by the way purposed to haue fought with the old Captaine BRITANNIO, whom wee said to bee called Emperour in *Austrich, Hungarie and Slanonia*. But BRITANNIO would not make any resistance: for laying aside his imperiall robes he came so farre as *Thracia*, to meete him, and humbling himselfe before CONSTANTIVS, said vnto him, that he renouncing the Empire yelded himselfe into his hands; to the end that he should dispose of him at his pleasure. CONSTANTIVS very ioyfully accepted his humilitie, and lifting him vp from ground imbraced and honored him much in speeches, and calling him father, did set him at his owne table, and they two supt that night together. And being enformed of all matters by BRITANNIO concerning MAGNENTIVS, he kept on his iourney and sent BRITANNIO to a citie in *Bithynia* in *Asia*, and gaue him rents and reuenues sufficient for the maintainance of his estate: whither hee retired himselfe with many his friends and familiars, and liued there fixe yeeres after in great rest and tranquillitie.

CONSTANTIVS passing forwards, drew neere to *Italie* where MAGNENTIVS lay in waite for him: and the warre began betwene them, not onely with great power and numbers of men; but with great hatred and malice also: for besides that they both fought for the Empire, they had sent letters and messages the one to the other, which had much incensed them both. And so the warres began to be very cruell, and there ensued some battailes wherein fortune shewed herselfe variable; MAGNENTIVS hauing sometimes the victorie and sometimes CONSTANTIVS, as CASSIODORVS reporteth in his Tripartite Historie. But after many conflicts each of them setting vp the rest of his whole power, they

Nepotianus taking the title of Emperour, was slaine by Magnentius his Captaines.

Gallus made Cesar by Constantius.

Britannio yelded himselfe to Constantius.

Constantius accepted Britannio for his friend and called him father.

they fought a great battaile neere to the citie of *Mursia* in *Spaine*, which was one of the most cruell and bloudie that euer was seene, and the Romane Empire lost therein the best men of all the ordinarie legions. For it continued the greatest part of all the day and part of the night; and there were slaine of both parties, foure and fiftie thousand men, all valiant old souldiers: and CONSTANTIVS obtained the victorie, and MAGNENTIVS escaped by flight. It is very strange what some authors doe write concerning this battaile, which is, that MAGNENTIVS his troupes did consist of but thirtie and odde thousand men, and CONSTANTIVS his armie amounted to the number of threescore and tenne thousand; and of those which were ouercome there died foure and twentie thousand; and of those which ouercame, thirtie thousand. Whereby it appeareth with what resolution, force or obstinacie, MAGNENTIVS his men did fight, which slew as many of their enemies as they themselues were in number; and there remained but fixe thousand of them liuing. MAGNENTIVS being overthrowne fled into *Italie*, (as EVTROPIVS and AVRELIVS VICTOR doe write) where reinforcing himselfe the best that he could, hee determined to haue returned againe to trie his fortune, and once againe to fight with CONSTANTIVS, hauing first in vaine sought to come to some composition of peace, seeming to be contented if CONSTANTIVS would suffer him to possesse but *Thracia* onely. Finally, comming to another encounter, hee was againe overthrowne; and flying from the battaile, shut himselfe vp in the citie of *Lions* in *France*; where being aduertised that his souldiers practized to deliuer him aliue into the hands of CONSTANTIVS, he slew himselfe with his owne poiniard, leaning against a wall (as saith AVRELIVS VICTOR) and so ended his Empire which hee had tyrannically vsurped, together with his life; being of the age of fiftie yeeres. When his sonne DECENCIUS, whom hee had made CESAR and gouernour of *France*, vnderstoode of his death, being out of hope to make head against CONSTANTIVS and to defend his iurisdiction, he hung himselfe. CONSTANTIVS hauing happily ended so daungerous a warre, all the provinces which had held for MAGNENTIVS (without any resistance) submitted them to his will; and he very ioyfull came triumphing to the citie of *Milan*, where for a certaine space he made his abode.

While as these matters befell CONSTANTIVS in the West, his Cousen GALLVS whom he left for CESAR and gouernour generall of the prouinces in the East, administred no point of iustice, neither defended that estate with such valour as he ought to haue done. For it is written, that SAPOR King of *Persia* overthrow him in a battaile, and in the rest he vsed extreame crueltie: And writers principally affirme, that in the citie of *Antioch* he did put to death the greatest part of all the nobilitie therein. And of the Iewes of *Iudea*, and of *Palestina*, for that they had attempted to rebell, he most cruelly made many thousands of either sex, and of all ages to be slaine. And he commaunded the cities of *Tiberias, Diopolis, Casarea*, and others to be set on fire: Which Saint IEROM affirmeth, and writeth in his additions to EVSEBIUS. When CONSTANTIVS vnderstoode of these and other matters, which AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS reciteth at large, being an eie-witnesse, which author wrote the life of CONSTANTIVS, IULIANVS, and IOVIANVS Emperours of those times, very truly, and distinctly: but with the most rigged stile that euer I read in any Latin author; but such as it was, it was great pittie that so many books of his workes were lost: CONSTANTIVS being desirous to take order for the euils, which I told you of, and

A cruell battaile betwene Magnentius and Constantius.

Magnentius being overthrowne the second time slew himselfe.

Decencius hearing of the death of his father hung himselfe.

Constantius  
made his Cosen  
Gallus to be  
slaine.

Silvanus chosen  
Emperour by  
his souldiers.

A stratagem  
used by Vrsici-  
nus thereby to  
kill Silvanus.

Silvanus slaine  
in a Church of  
the Christians.

standing alreadie in some feare of GALLVS, sent some secretly to kill him: which was easily effected, hauing first sought some other remedies. And so for that time CONSTANTIVS remained sole Emperour without any CÆSAR or companion in all the Romane Empire: and from *Milan* provided and sent capitaines and gouernours to all parts. Whereas hee was of light beliefe, and delighted and tooke pleasure in schismes and factions (an ill thing in any man, but in princes most dangerous) and to commit cruelties and to inflict punishments, there were daily offered new occasions, by reason whereof he vsed great crueltie and put many to death, which MARCELLINVS describeth at large. And among other matters, there arose an excellent old captaine against him, whose name was SILVANVS; who at that time was generall against the Germanes; and was accused to haue practized some matters against the imperiall maiestie. Which accusation (all writers affirme) was through the enuie which they bare against him for his victories and good successe. And the credulous Emperour, as it seemeth, did also enuie him, and intended to cause him to be slaine: Whereof SILVANVS being aduertised, as he was very much beloued for his age and bountie, and for the great honour which he had wonne in sundrie warres and batailles, but principally in the warres of CONSTANTINE the great, against LICINIVS; and finding no meanes to assure his life, constrained more through feare, then moued by his owne voluntarie choise, he resolved to rebell and to take vpon him the name of Emperour. Which he did, shewing first to his souldiers his disgrace, and how he was odious to CONSTANTIVS; and how that for the seruice which he and they had done, he had commaunded him to be slaine. Which being vnderstoode, they all with one voice hailed him Emperour, swearing and promising to protect and defend him. These newes did greatly trouble CONSTANTIVS; who was yet in *Milan*, and at the very instant that he was aduertised hereof, without discovering it to any man making shew as though he knew nothing, he compounded with a certaine subtrill and valiant captaine, named VRSICINVS, who besides his familiars and necessarie seruants, tooke with him tenne companions, extraordinarie men and very valiant; with which he vnderooke to kill SILVANVS, vnder this pretext and policie. CONSTANTIVS wrote certaine letters vnto SILVANVS, wherein making no shew to haue vnderstoode ought of his rebellion, faining that hee would depart from *Milane* and haue him with him, with many honorable words willing him to repaire to him and to deliuer vp the charge which hee held to the captaine whom he had sent. VRSICINVS made great haste in his way, to the end, that through shortnes of the time, it might be the better belieued, that all his proceedings had been vnkowne to CONSTANTIVS. As he with his companions came neere to the armie, among which one was MARCELLINVS the writer of this Historie; SILVANVS thinking no other but that this man was sent to be his successor; and then being no time to debate of the matter, made no account thereof. And VRSICINVS seeming carelesse and simple; so cunningly handled the matter, conferring with certaine capitaines his friends, and others which were discontented with SILVANVS; and by meanes of some gifts which he gaue, and great promises which he made, they resolved to kill poore SILVANVS. Whereupon assembling together a good number of souldiers, they went one morning to his palace, where killing his guard, they entred perforce, and SILVANVS flying into a Church of the Christians, was therein found and slaine. And in this manner ended his Empire with his life, hauing vsurped the same but onely thirtie daies.

This

This being ended to the good liking of CONSTANTIVS, there followed other troubles and cares: for the barbarous northerly Nations of high *Almanie*, came downe to make warre in the Empire: and as matters were yet very much out of order, by reason of the death of SILVANVS, they did much hurt, by taking certaine cities, and by robbing and spoiling the countrie. Which when CONSTANTIVS saw, considering with himselfe that if hee went thither in person, the whole Empire was without any defence; and imagining also that a Generall was not to be trusted with that warre, he resolved to chuse his cosin germane IULIANVS, and to make him CÆSAR, who was brother to GALLVS, of whom we haue spoken heretofore, and had been CÆSAR in the East, and slaine by his commaundement; both which were the sonnes of CONSTANTIVS, brother to CONSTANTINE the Great before spoken of.

Julianus made  
Cesar by Con-  
stantius.

This IULIANVS was a young man of whom there was great hope: for he was of a fine constitution of bodie, of an excellent wit, inclined and giuen to studie, and therewith was very well learned. IULIANVS was made CÆSAR and adopted by CONSTANTIVS, with many ceremonies and great solemnitie in the citie of *Milan*, where CONSTANTIVS then made his abode: yet some say, that it was in *Athens*, in *Græcia*: and the better to confirme the friendship and parentage, he married him to his sister HELENA. Other matters also passing which for breuitie I omit, IULIANVS departed towards the armie which was in *Germanie*, where all things prospered so well with him, that he not onely recovered the losses receiued, but also made great spoile and slaughter of his enemies. CONSTANTIVS leauing the West in charge with IULIANVS, determined to passe into the East, where was no lesse daunger and neede of his presence: for the Persians being ancient and ordinarie enemies to the Romanes, as the offspring and successors of the Parthians, neuer ceased from inuading and making warre vpon the frontiers of the Romanes, robbing and spoiling the lands of the Empire. And in his way he purposed to goe to *Rome*, where he was receiued with great ioy and magnificence. But he could not stay there aboute thirtie daies: for besides other newes from the East, hee vnderstood that the Sarmates, a fierce and barbarous nation, which were the Russians, Muscouites, Polonians, and some others, had entred and passed through *Missa*, now called *Bulgaria* and *Serua*, and other nations also had entred *Hungary*: wherefore he presently departed and sent towards the warres of the Sarmates MARCELLVS PEBERVS, an excellent Captaine of great experience, and himselfe passed through *Slauonia* towards the East. And notwithstanding that he had a great armie, yet he was not free from feare: for as this Emperour euer preuailed in all his ciuill warres and against tyrants; so against the Persians he was euer unfortunate: wherefore he practised to come to some composition of peace with SAPOR the second of that name King of the Persians, who then reigned, and refused not to giue care to an Ambassadour which motioned the same. Whereof SAPOR growing beyond all measure proud, wrote a most hautie letter to CONSTANTIVS, which, with the answere thereto, MARCELLINVS setteth downe. Wherein he required if the Emperour would haue any peace with him, that he should first resigne into his hands the prouinces of *Mesopotamia*, and *Armenia*, which had been subiect to his ancestors (so great was the power and presumption of the Kings of the Persians, that they would not graunt peace and truce to a Romane Emperour, except hee would giue them two of the best prouinces of the world.) To this letter CONSTANTIVS sent him another for answer: which was a very notable letter and very discrete, which for breuitie I doe

Marcellus Pe-  
berus sent by  
Constantius a-  
gainst the Sar-  
mates.

Lib. 7.  
The tenour of a  
letter written  
by Sapor King  
of Persia to the  
Emperour Con-  
stantius: and  
an answere  
thereto.

The effect of  
Constantius his  
letter to Sapor.

not recite. Wherein he held the grauitie and maiestie of a Romane Emperour, and reprehending Sapor for his pride and ambition, hee not onely denied what the other required, but did also put him cleane out of all hope to haue any peace with him: and so afterwards there began a very cruell warre betweene them. At the same time that these matters passed in the East, IULIANVS who remained in France, CÆSAR, and General against the Germanes; after some other victories, subdued his enemies in a very great and bloudie battaile: and hauing obtained this so notable victorie, by a generall consent of all the whole armie he was called Emperour and AVGVSTVS; and they made him equall with CONSTANTIVS. These newes within few daies were brought to CONSTANTIVS in the East, and he was so sorrowfull and so much grieued thereat, that hee was once of the minde to haue abandoned the warres there, and to haue returned with all his legions against IULIANVS. But afterwards altring his determination, he resolved to send Ambassadors vnto him, and thinking with good words to winne him, he sent to entreate and to perswade him to content himselfe with the title and dignitie of CÆSAR, and to renounce the name of Emperour and AVGVSTVS. With this ambassade he sent a principall man whose name was LEONAS, who for that he came from CONSTANTIVS, was honourably receiued in the armie: and audience being giuen him, and hee hauing deliuered his ambassade, and the Emperours letters being read, the armie would not onely not yeeld thereto, but they all with one voice confirmed what they had done, calling IULIANVS Emperour and AVGVSTVS: only they obeyed him in putting FLORENTINVS out of the office of Pretorian Prefect, which was giuen to NEBRIDIVS. Touching the rest, IULIANVS answered CONSTANTIVS in humble manner, with the best words that he could deuise, promising to be to him both a loyall and an obedient companion; desiring him that he would not depose him from his dignitie, seeing that he had accepted thereof against his will, being thereto compelled by the armie. And herewith he returned to make warre with greater force and circumspection then before. And presaging and foreseeing that it was very requisite to tame and subdue those nations, imagining that he should haue warre (and could not eschue the same) with CONSTANTIVS; he aduised his Captaines and troupes to make haste, and to assaile their enemies before they were by them assailed: whereupon there ensued betweene him and the Germanes, some very notable battailes and encounters, which I cannot recount, without altring my ordinarie course of writing briefly.

After that CONSTANTIVS vnderstood that his Ambassadors could not obtaine what he required, he determined to make warre against IULIANVS, presuming vpon his great power and the good fortune which he had euer had against other tyrants. Wherefore hee sought meanes to confirme the peace and friendship, which then was in question betweene him and ARSAX King of Armenia, and other Kings of the East; to the end that they should not ioyne in league and confederacie with the King of Persia, his chiefe enemy; against whom hee left such forces as hee thought sufficient to defend the countrie, and to continue the warre. After this hee came into Europe, and trauieling from Antioch in Syria to the citie of Tharsus, by the way he felt himselfe somewhat ill of a light feuer: but yet that notwithstanding he held on his journey, thinking that his exercise would haue holpen him by diuerting the humour: and therefore he caused himselfe to be carried in a litter, making small iournies. But comming to the foote of the Mount Taurus, he felt himselfe much oppressed with his disease; the feuer increa-

sing

Julianus was  
by the armie  
made Empe-  
rour and Au-  
gustus.

Constantius  
sent an ambaf-  
sador to Iulian-  
nus.

Julianus his  
answere to Con-  
stantius.

sing vpon him in such sort, that hee seemed to be all on a fire. And so he knowing his euill to be mortall, and that his death approached, hee made his will; wherein he nominated IULIANVS (his enemy and a tyrant) for his heire and successor; so that him whom in his life time he would not admit for a companion, at his death he chose for his heire; hauing in this matter (as a good Emperour) great regard to the common peace and quiet of the Empire. This Emperour reigned foure and twentie yeeres; seuen with his brothers, and seuentene alone, although in contention with the tyrants aforenamed. And in his fathers time he was CÆSAR thirteene yeeres: wherefore some say that hee reigned in all, eight and thirte yeeres. He was when hee died (as saith EVTROPIVS) fiftie and fortie yeeres old; yet all authors agree not hereupon. This Emperour was reckoned among the indifferent Emperours: for notwithstanding that he was endowed with some singular vertues; so was hee not altogether free from vices. For as hee was courteous, gentle, and of a pleasant conuersation, liberall and affable to his seruants, and very temperate in eating and drinking, and would take great paines, and delighted and desired much to speake well (yet naturally he was neither very sharpe witted nor eloquent) and was an excellent Archer, and delighted greatly therein: so was hee otherwise very credulous, and delighted to heare men speake euill of others. Which occasion moued him to commit many cruelties: for hee was by nature mistrustfull, and euer feared treason; and therefore trusted few men: so was hee likewise much giuen to women. With these vices and vertues, he well preferred and defended the Romane Empire: and died according to S. IEROMES computation in the yeere of our Lord, three hundred, sixtie and foure.

Constantius his  
last will and  
testament.

The death of  
Constantius.

Anno Dom.  
364.

## THE LIFE OF IULIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, CAL- LED APOSTATA, AND SIXE AND FORTITH ROMANE EMPEROR.



After the death of CONSTANTIVS, which happened in such manner as is before declared, his cosine germane IULIANVS remained sole Emperor of the whole Romane Empire; who in the others life time enioyed

enjoyed the title of AVGVSTVS. This IVLIANVS was by birth such as we haue specified in the life of CONSTANTIVS; and in valour and sufficiencie for his person, was one of the best Emperors that euer was in the world: as presently we will make manifest. All which good graces, hee corrupted and defiled, by renouncing the Christian faith, whereof he had before made profession, and by turning to the idolatrie of the Gentiles: wherefore he was commonly called IVLIANVS APOSTATA: whereof some authors affirme, that one LIBANVS an Idolater and a famous Rhetorician was the occasion. Which besides the reasons which may be hereto annexed, is a notable example for all Princes, and men of all estates and conditions whatsoever, that they not onely with all diligence seeke out masters for their sonnes, which may be expert in those sciences wherein they purpose to instruct them; but that principally they be vertuous, honest, and sound men in religion: for learning without vertue is little worth. And it is most certaine and manifest, that such things as children learne in their youth, are so imprinted in their hearts and vnderstanding, that they neuer forget the same. And those exercises and qualities wherein they bee bred vp in their tender age, become proper and naturall, and are neuer relinquished by them in their whole life time; whereof the masters which haue charge of the children are the principal occasion. And although we might produce many good and faire examples, yet this present shall now suffice, returning to IVLIANVS, in whom his masters infidelitie tooke so deepe impression, that it well appeareth what harme he thereby receiued: for in the rest hee was so accomplished, and so singular, that in goodnes, bountie and courtesie they compare him with TITVS; in clemencie with ANTONINVS; in his fortunate enterprises in the wars against the Germanes, they make him equall to TRAIANVS; in temperance and modestie, to MARCVS AVRELIVS; and in knowledge and learning, to the ancient Philosophers. He was endued with a singular memorie, and was very studious, and therefore learned in many Arts and Sciences: and was eloquent and well spoken, no lesse by the gift of nature then by art. He was most temperate in his diet and rest: and most chaste and free from all carnall passion and dishonestie. He was so valiant and hardie in armes, although but of a small constitution of bodie, and delicately limmed; that hee was therefore noted and reprooued to be more hardie and aduenturous, then for a Generall or Emperor was fit or conuenient. Of glorie and renowne he was greedily couetous, which is a vice wherein great spirits and mindes doe oftentimes offend. With his friends he was very pleasant and bountifull, and loued to doe iustice indifferently to all men; which he strictly obserued in the time that hee was CÆSAR, and in the small time that he inioyed the Empire. He was likewise adorned with many other vertues, which EVTROPIVS as an eye witnesse, AURELIVS VICTOR, and AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS do record. But with all this, hee was an Infidell, which was great pitie, and his vnderstanding was blinded by the perswasion of his master LIBANVS, who was a Gentile and an Idolater.

These things which passed in the time that he was CÆSAR and Emperor, are very largely & particularly described by AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS, as by him which saw and vnderstood the same: for they happened in his time, and he also followed and serued him in the warres of Persia. But I will recite but the summe of that which happened when he was Emperor, and that briefly: for he reigned but only two yeeres; wherefore I hold it not fit in a raigne of so small continuance to spend much time. Presentlie so soone as he was aduertised of the death of CONSTANTIVS (which newes were brought to him in France, whence he

To whom Iulianus was compared.

Iulianus an Idolater by the perswasion of his schoolemaster.

he was then about to depart to meete him; and the other, as we haue already said, was comming towards him with the same determination) in great haste he marched so farre as to the citie of *Constantinople*, which euer since the death of the Emperour *Constantine* was the head of the Empire; where, by all means possible he sought to win the loue and good will of the people of all nations, which the better to bring to passe, he vsed this policie: first, he caused the Temples of the Gentiles to be set open, and suffered them therein to commit their superstitious idolatries, and to adore their Idols. And notwithstanding that he abhorred, and was an enemy to the Christians, yet at that time he persecuted them not with death and tortures; and in contentions betweene the Christians and the Arrians he was newter, shewing himselfe inclined to neither partie: wherefore he was not notoriouly hateful to any, and the barbarous nations standing in feare of his great name and renowne (for by reason of the Germane warres he was growne very famous) abstained from making warre and fro troubling the Empire; and so sent their Ambassadors to him to treat of peace and friendship; which he granted. In this manner he began to rule the Empire, with as great prosperitie and contentment of all men, as euer any man had done. But as in his heart he was an idolater; so he determined to finde some meanes to supplant the true christian religion, induced thereto by the Deuill, and his owne wickednes: And the better to effect the same, he practised a meanes neuer before vsed by any other, which was to shew himselfe pitifull and not cruell, well perceiuing that by meanes of torments inflicted vpon the Martyrs, the holie christian faith was greatly increased, and therefore he determined to take a contrary course (as RUFFINVS, S. IEROME, and CASSIODORVS do report, which was: to induce them by gifts, fauours, flatteries, and by bestowing vpon them offices and dignities, to the end that they should renounce the Christian faith, and do sacrifice to his false gods. And as the same authors do affirme, there were some, and they not a few which being couetous and ambitious, through desyre to grow rich and to be honoured, renied the christian faith. And this was one of the greatest persecutions that euer the Church endured, as well in respect of those which abandoned the same, as for that IVLIANVS perceiuing that by this meane he could not throughlie accomplish his desire, although as is said, he put none to death; neither vsed any violence to any. He therefore made lawes and generall decrees, that no Christian should be master of any arts or sciences, neither should any studie in any Schooles, but such as would adore his Idols, to the end that through the desyre of learning, they should become Idolaters, or else at the least should remaine idiots, and without learning, and so be insufficient and vnable to preach the christian faith. He likewise ordained that no Christian should haue any charge, or hold any office of iustice, neither should be a Captaine in the warres, neither enioy any other dignitie. Finally, he vsed all the inuentions and meanes that he could deuise to make warre against IESVS CHRIST, without shedding any christian blood, which I hold to be the inuention and subtiltie of the Deuill, to hinder and take the crowne from the Martyrs, which they obtained through the persecution of the sword, vsing this pitifull crueltie against the Christians (as a man of courage and valiant in armes) he determined to make warre against the Persians, which only had not shewed any humilitie, or acknowledged any superioritie. Wherefore he went into *Asia* with a great army, with which & the ordinarie legiōs hauing passed through *Asia* the lesse and other prouinces, he entred *Mesopotamia*, which (as is said) was the Lady, for whom the Romanes and Persians did ordinarily contend: and after

Iulianus made the temples of the idolaters to be opened.

A meane vsed by Iulianus to persecute the Church without bloodshed.

A new deuise found out by Iulianus to persecute the Church.

Decrees made by Iulianus against the Christians.

*Julian his enterprize against the Persians.*

some light encounters and skirmishes, he came to repose himselfe in the citie of *Cercasio* which was held by the Romanes, and was enobled by the Emperour *Dioclesian* with wals and bulwarks; and from thence he passed to *Zaita*, where he was aduertised that the King of *Persia* was neere at hand with his whole power, whereupon he marshalled his troups, with a great desire to come with him to battaile. But his enimie at that time durst not fight with him, but sent him many Ambassades, intreating pardon, and promising him great part of his countries: to whom this valorous Emperour would giue no audience, and so seeing that he refused the battaile, the more to prouoke him, he entred his country by sundrie waies, taking many cities in *Soria*, some by force of armes, and others yeelded themselves without any resistance: and he did much harme and made extreme spoile in all that country, vntill at last the Persians for very shame were constrained to fight with him, which battaile was very terrible and cruell. Before which, this blind *Iulianvs* (as *Orosius* and *S. Ierome* recite) of very malice and hatred which he bare to the Christians, which he called Galileans (as saith *Theodore* in his historie) made a vow to his gods, that if he obtained the victorie, he would do sacrifice to them in the bloud of those Christians which would not worship idols. And it pleased God in his secret iudgement to giue him victorie at that time, thereby to reward him in this life for the morall vertues wherewith he was endued, to the end that perpetuallie he should be punished in the other world, for his damnable infidelitie. And he seeing himselfe victorious, and finding no resistance, marched euen to the famous citie of *Tesiphonte*, and finding no forces that durst to stop his passage, he determined to returne to winter in *Mesopotamia*, but vpon the way his people indured great penurie and want with thirst and hunger, as well for that his armie was exceeding great, as also for that his enemies did suddenlie often assault and molest them. And notwithstanding that the Persians would neuer come to any equal fight, but gaue camizadoes, with light skirmishes, sodainly charging, and then running away, after the manner of the Arabians in these daies; yet therewith his armie was exceedingly much toiled and tired. And in this manner it pleased God (who with his death would stop the execution of so many innocents which he purposed to haue sacrificed) that a Persian fugitiue, who was the guide to his army, trecherouslie led him & his people into a place where many of his enemies lay in ambush; where being by them charged, he was constrained to fight, and in the fight pell mell being vknowne was stricken with a launce through the arme into the bodie: with which wound losing his senses, he fell vpon his horses mane, and so his people tooke him, & caried him into a tent, wherein with some medicines which they applied vnto him, he came again to himself, and recouering strength, he called for his horse and armes: for he would again returne to the battaile. But feeling his force to faile him, they write, that with extreme pride he vsed these words against our Sauour *CHRIST*, It sufficeth that thou *CHRIST* of *Galilee* hast ouercome, for so he vsed to call him. After this, seeing that all those which were about him began to weep, he reprehended them, saying, that they did ill to weep for that Prince which died in the grace and fauour of the gods; and so he discoursed of the immortalitie of the soule so long as he was able to speake, vntill that his bloud being wholie spent, he died, which in truth was great pitie that there should be such accursed blindness in a man, in whom there was so great valour, & so many good & vertuous qualities. He died in the 7. yeere after that he was made *Cesar*, and in the third yeere of his Empire, being 37. years old, in the yeere of our Lord (according to *S. Ierome*) 366.

*Julianus his vow to the gods.*

*Julianus deadly wounded.*

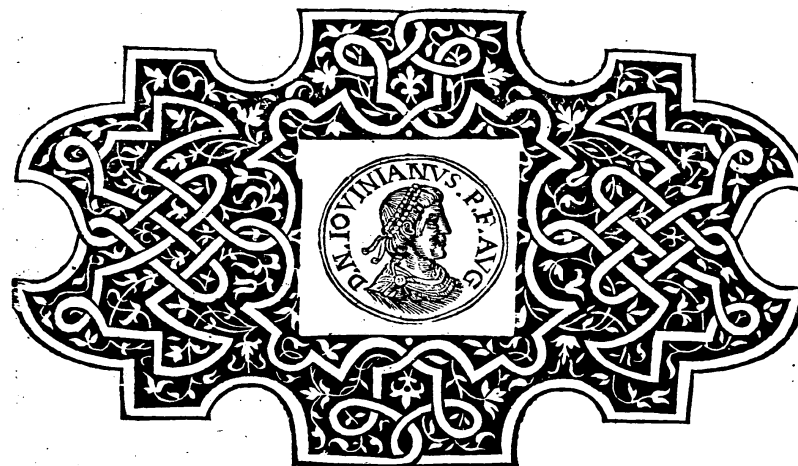
*The proud speeches uttered by Julianus a little before his death. Julianus died talking.*

*Anno Domini. 366.*

THE



THE LIFE OF IOVIANVS,  
ONELY OF THAT NAME,  
AND SEVEN AND FORTITH  
EMPEROR OF ROME.



Which was the death of *Iulianvs* bewailed and lamented in the campe by the whole armie: for he was highly beloved by all his men of warre. But the Church and all Christians rendred thanks to our Lord God, that in his mercie he had deliuered them from the yoke of so great a seruitude. There was so great a confusion in the campe, by reason of the death of this Emperour, that they were at the point to haue been ouerthrowne by the Persians: besides that, they were greatly distressed through want of victuals. And the enemies vnderstanding of the death of the Emperour, neuer left to molest them on euery side, with such continuall sudden assaults and alarmes, that they were not able to endure them: Wherefore the chiefe and principall men of the armie assembled themselves together to chuse an Emperour and Captaine, which might rule and gouerne them. And after much contention and diuersitie of opinion, they agreed to chuse one (as saith *Eutropius*) whose name was *Marcellinus*. But finally they concluded, to name a very famous man, called *Iovianvs*, who was the

sonne

Praise of Iouianus.

Iouianus his profession.

Iouianus chosen Emperour.

sonne of a Nobleman called VARRONIANVS, a Hungarian or an inhabitant in Hungary, who leauing the warres which he had long followed, and to auoide the tumults and troubles which he saw in the Empire, retired, and gaue himselfe to his rest and quiet in certaine possessions which he held in Hungary. But his sonne IOVIANVS came to the Emperour CONSTANTVS his Court, and followed the warres. Who for that hee was valiant and a goodly personage, was greatly esteemed by IVLIANVS, and whilst that he was CÆSAR and afterwards Emperour, this man was the principall captaine of the ordinarie troupes which went with the Emperour. This IOVIANVS was of an excellent wit and sound iudgement, giuen to letters and therewith well learned. He was tall of stature and well proportioned, and a faithfull and Catholike Christian; in so much that when IVLIANVS commaunded that no Christian should be a Captaine, neither should haue any charge or office in the warres; IOVIANVS pleasantly said, that hee made greater account of the faith whereof he made profession, then of any dignitie or honour that he enioyed; and so gaue vp his charge. And being afterwards chosen Emperour (RVFFINVS and THEODORETVS doe write) that seeing that IVLIANVS had made and induced the men of warre of his armie to commit idolatric, and to doe sacrifice to his gods; he in a publike oration which he made to them, said, that he (although he might) would not (being a Christian) be an Emperour of Infidels: And so hee resisted and absolutely refused the Empire. But all men were so well pleased with his election, that after they had approued the same, they cried out aloud, saying, That they were all Christians. And for his sake those which were not so, resolved to become Christians, vpon condition that he would accept the Empire. In this manner with incredible ioy and gladnes, they sware obedience vnto him, and gaue him the Imperiall ensignes. Whereupon he presently ordred and reinforced the armie, which could not bee done without great difficultie: for SAPOR vnderstanding of the death of IVLIANVS (who for his noble acts and great courage was generally feared of all men) made small account of this new Emperour: but gathering together the greatest forces that hee was able, gaue so fierce a charge in the Emperours armie, that the Romanes were likely to haue bin wholly lost; and the Persians apparantly had the better. IOVIANVS marching with great trouble and daunger, for that the waies were craggie and mountainous; the first day hee followed his iourney, and making an Alt in a valley, his armie was presently compassed about on euery side by the Persians; who assailed and skirmished with them after their manner. The next day he came to the citie of Carras, where IOVIANVS and his souldiers remembring that in ancient time, MARCVS CRASSVS was in that coast ouerthrowne and slaine by the Parthians; holding that place for fatall they accounted themselves lost, if the enemy euer gaue them battaile. The principall cause of which feare was, by reason of their weaknes through the hunger which they had endured, and at that instant did endure, through want of victuals: for as two so great armies marched so neere together, no prouision to be made could suffice to sustaine them. But in all these extremities, IOVIANVS neuer fainted or was discouraged, neither omitted to vse all diligence in guiding, defending, and animating his people, vntill they came to the riuer Tigris, their dangers still encreasing: where King SAPOR sent him Ambassadors, giuing him to vnderstand, that considering the weaknes of his armie, and his owne force, he was most assured of victorie; yet if hee would render vnto him the provinces which he required (which were many) he would be content to hold perpetuall peace with the Empire. IOVIANVS seeing the present necessitie wherein

wherein he was, tooke counsell hereupon of the chiefeest men in the armie: and after three or foure daies consultation, a peace was concluded for thirtie yeeres. IOVIANVS leauing to King SAPOR all the provinces beyond the riuer Tigris, and some cities in Mesopotamia, with further condition that the Emperour should not aide or assist ARSAX King of Armenia: which peace or truce, as write EVTROPVS, whose historie endeth with the life of this Emperour, and many other writers, was held for very shamefull and dishonourable to the greatnes of the Roman Empire, for voluntarily giuing to the enemy part of the provinces thereto belonging, and for shortning the bounds and limits thereof. But for that Princes actions are euer diuersly iudged of, PAVLVS OROSIVS and other writers excuse him, alleaging that he made such a peace as was requisite, considering the time, and although it were not honourable; yet at the least it was profitable and needfull: for he was in manifest daunger to haue lost his whole armie, and the greatest part of the provinces which hee rendred. Hereof euery man may iudge according to their fantasie; but thus it was. IOVIANVS hauing concluded this peace, went into Syria, where he commaunded by publike proclamation, that all those Bishops which were exiled for resisting and contradicting the heresie of ARRIVS, or for any other vnlawfull occasion, should be recalled and restored, and principally the great ATHANASIVS. He likewise reuoked and made voide all the prohibitions and decrees made by IVLIANVS against the Christians; and ordained that they should be admitted to any dignitie, office, charge, Magistracie or studie, as they were wont to be in the time of the Emperour CONSTANTINE the Great. He likewise caused to be paid to the Churches those rents of corne and other things which CONSTANTINE had appointed for them, and which by the commandement of IVLIANVS were sequestred: which is written by THEODORETVS and RVFFINVS. IOVIANVS hauing laid so godly a foundation to his Empire, concerning the Christian faith, giuing in all things good signes of a good and iust Prince, & prouiding for all matters in the East, as to him seemed most needfull, began his iourney towards Constantinople, shewing himself euery where as he passed in all his actions, a iust and a gracious Prince, so as al men conceiued a great good hope of him. But this and all his noble determinations and other Christianlike purposes, were interrupted by death: for the iniquitie of the people did not deserue to haue so good a Prince; which happened in this manner: He comming to a place which was called Dudaстана, in the confines of Bithynia, and Galatia, in Asia the lesser, the weather being very cold (for it was in the winter) they set in the chamber where the Emperour should lie that night, a great panne with kindled coales, which coales were wet, and as the officers of his chamber were gone to take their rest, the chamber doore being lockt, and he asleepe, the vapour of the fire waxing grosse and thicke, and filling euery thing with smoake, and finding no place to euaporate, stopped the Emperours breath, in such sort that he was smothered sleeping, and in the morning was found dead; all men imagining this to be the cause of his death. Yet some were of opinion that hee died by eating of Mushrumpes, which are held for venomous. And others coniectured that hee ate so much meate at supper, that his naturall heate could not digest the same, and so through the cruditie thereof he was suffocate. But howsoeuer it was, all men were very sorrowfull for his death, hee hauing wielded the scepter of the Empire but only eight moneths; being, according to some writers, of the age of fortie yeeres, and after some other, thirtie and odde.

Who so desireth to know more of this Emperour, as well in warre as in peace, let

A peace made betwene the Persians and the Romanes for thirtie yeeres.

The Emperour Iouianus smothered in his bed with smoake.

let him reade the authors aboue named, and particularly AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS, who was with him in all his aduentures: and the Tripartite Historie of CASSIODORVS in the seuenth booke: and RVFFINVS in the tenth booke of his ecclesiasticall Historie: and EVTROPIVS, although he be brieue was an eie-witnesse. And here endeth his Historie. Many things may be gathered of the life of this Emperour, by reading the first booke of the epistles of Saint AMBROSE: and the fourth booke of THEODORETVS.

## THE LIFE OF VALENTINIANVS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND OF HIS BROTHER VALENS, THE EIGHT AND FORTIETH Romane Emperour.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**V**alentinianus being the sonne of a rope maker, for his vertues deserved to be made an Emperour; even as his father mounted from making of ropes to the highest martiall dignitie. He hauing taken vpon him the imperiall dignitie, chose his brother Valens for his companion, and shortly after made his sonne Gratianus, Caesar. In their time the world was troubled, with so many prodigious earth-quakes, remoouing of the sea, strange raines, and so many warres, that there hath seldome been read of the like. Neuertheless the wise Emperours excellently well provided for all these troubles and perils; and not onely overcame barbarous Kings and strangers which were their enemies, but also tamed and subdued the domesticall tyrants, among which was one whose name was Procopius, a kinsman to Iulianus the Apostata; who taking the ensignes of Emperour, was so venturous, as to come to blowes with Valens. Valentinianus was a great friend to the Christians, yet Valens was to the contrarie, and being earnest to giue answer to certaine Ambassadors, he was taken with an Apoplexie which bereaued him of the vse of his tongue onely, leaving all his other senses sound; whereof within short space he died. Whereupon Valens remayning

ning in the Empire with his Nephew Gratian, as the manner of Vncles is, began to make small account of his Nephew: and fauouring the sect of the Arrians, gaue himselfe to inchantment, nigromancies, to persecute the Christians, and to martyrise many of them. For which his wickednes God punished him; for he coming against the Gothes (to whom he had done good) in a peece of seruice, was by them ouerthrowne, and flying wounded into a farmers house in the countrie, the house was fired by them, and he burning therein, made such an end as his euill life deserued, receiuing such punishment at Gods hands, as such obstinate heretikes are worthe of.



**V** pleased God of his goodnes, to giue to the Christian and vertuous Emperour IOVIANVS, a successor, although he left neither sonne nor kinsman, which was like vnto him in faith, goodnes and vertuous conditions: and this was VALENTINIANVS, who although that he were but of a meane stocke, and came of a poore father, yet hee was a faithfull Christian and endued with excellent vertues. His fathers name was GRATIANVS, borne and bred in Hungarie, in a citie of the Cimbares, a man of a meane parentage, as faith AVRELIVS VICTOR; and as he and PAVLVS DIACONVS affirme, was very poore, and by his trade a rope maker: but was of so great strength, that vpon a day fise souldiers struiing with al their might to take one of those ropes which he sold, out of his hands, were not able to doe it. Wherefore seeming to be strong and a very able man for the warres, he was counselled to follow the same, and he did so; and hauing no lesse courage of minde then force of body, he profited so much in armes, through the notable exploits which he performed therein, that offices were bestowed vpon him, and so ascending by degrees, he became Pretorian Prefect. And by these meanes his sonne VALENTINIANVS of whom we purpose to treat, came to bee bred vp in the warres, and therein wanne great honour. And being captain of the companies which were called *Scutarii*, which were targettiers, so called, for that no others did beare targets or pauises, but they: IULIANVS the Apostata commaunded him to doe sacrifice to his gods, or otherwise to giue vp the office which he held, (as he did by others, and as we said, he did by IOVIANVS;) but he as a good Catholike and not as a fained Christian, voluntarily surrendered his office and captainship, to continue in the faith of CHRIST. And the good and Christian IOVIANVS comming to the Empire, drew vnto him all such, as hee was; by meanes whereof VALENTINIANVS was in his seruice when hee died, in the same place and office which he forsooke in the time of IULIANVS. So soone as IOVIANVS was dead, the first and chiefe care that VALENTINIANVS tooke, was, to prepare his body to be sent to Constantinople to be buried; and the second and next was, to treat of, who should be the next Emperour. And the principall captaines marched with the armie to the citie of Nicea, which is the head and Metropolitan citie of the prouince of Bithynia, where determining to nominate an Emperour, there were some which made account to haue been so; and among many one was named, which was a Tribune called EQUITIVS; who (as MARCELLINVS reporteth) was afterwards for his curriish and sharpe conditions deposed. But finally after long consultations, VALENTINIANVS was chosen, by reason of his goodnes and valour, being at that time absent, hauing remained certaine daies iourney behinde the whole armie; and being sent for, and come, they all sware obedience vnto him, with great ioy and contentment. For truly he was (as all men write) a goodly personage, very valiant, and magnanimous;

The descent of Valentinianus.

Valentinianus gave up his office of Captaine rather then he would doe sacrifice to Idols.

Valentinianus chosen Emperour.

very wise and temperate; a louer of iustice, eloquent, and of a good grace, honorable and valorous, and a man who knew how to make himselfe beloued and respected of all men. Having accepted the Empire, and beginning to prouide for such things as might be needefull for the good gouernment thereof; it seemed good to the captaines and souldiers of the armie to name and giue him a companion and an equall in the Empire, to be an assistant to him in the gouernment; which the Emperours of their owne accord did often vse to doe. VALENTINIANVS being aduertised hereof, commaunded the armie to be called together, and with a bold and prompt stomacke and courage, among other matters spake vnto them in this manner. Gentlemen and souldiers, it was in your hands and at your pleasure, when I was not Emperour, to giue me the gouernment and command of the Empire; but now that I haue the gouernment and am in possession thereof, it is no part of your charge, neither ought you to entermiddle therein: for that is my charge onely, and the care thereof appertaineth to me to commaund and gouerne the common-wealth. And as for a companion when neede shall require, I will take care for one. These speeches are written by THEODORETVS; and other authors make mention of them: which made such an impression in the souldiers mindes, that from thenceforth they all tooke care to obey his commaundements, without daring to speake a word concerning any such matter. But when hee came to the citie of *Constantinople*, which euer since the time of the Emperour CONSTANTINE, was the head of the Empire, imagining it to be a matter very requisit, he made his brother VALENS his companion and equall with himselfe in the Empire, which truely he ought not to haue done, for that he was infected with the Arrian heresie, as hereafter we will declare. And hauing made this election, they deuided the Empire betweene them, so as VALENTINIANVS tooke charge of the prouinces in the West, and VALENS of those in the East. And matters standing vpon these termes, they both fell sicke of a burning feuer, so grievously, that all men thought they would haue died; but afterwards recouering, there happened vnto these brothers so many warres and such troubles, that they both had enough to doe. For the Saxons and the Scots which are northerly nations, came in great troupes to make a conquest of the Ile of *Britannie*, and the Germanes came againe downe into *France*: and the countries of *Hungarie* and *Austrich* were troubled with the Sarmates and the Catti: into *Thracia* came certaine companies of Gothes to robbe and steale. The King of *Persia* brake the truce, and inuaded *Armenia*, and afterwards *Mesopotamia*. Whereupon by reason of these tempests and others which were feared, and which were alreadie begun, VALENS tooke his way towards the East, and VALENTINIANVS towards *Milan*: And into *Hungarie* they sent a valiant captaine whose name was SEVERIANVS; and so they provided and placed in diuers parts excellent captaines and gouernours. To recite all things which passed in particular, would be a long peece of worke, but in summe it was thus: that in the first three yeeres of the raigne of VALENTINIANVS, hee had very cruell warres with the Saxons and Germanes, which in the end, after many batailles, he ouercame and subdued. In the third yeere of his raigne, he made his sonne GRATIANVS his companion, Emperour, and AVGVSTVS. And in *Rome* by reason of the death or deprivation of TVRCIVS APRONIANVS, for the Historie declareth it not (or I am forgetfull) he placed a noble man, named ORPHIVS. And as a good Christian, he honoured and fauored the Christians, their Temples and Churches: which his brother VALENS did not in the East; but

lying

A speech used  
by Valentinianus  
to the army.

Valentinianus  
made his brother  
Valens his  
companion in  
the Empire.

The Empire infected  
by for-  
raine nations.

Valentinianus  
made his sonne  
Emperour and  
Augustus.

lying for the most part in the citie of *Antioch*, permitted the idolatries and superstitions of the Gentiles, and likewise the rites and ceremonies of the Iewes. But the Arrians and Hereticks he extremely fauoured, only he molested and was enemy to the true Christians: and about all, gaue himselfe to diuinations, force-ries, and prohibited Astrologie, which CASSIODORVS, IOANNES MONACVS, otherwise called ZONARAS, and RVFFINVS also treat of at large.

These two brethren gouerning and commaunding the Empire, although after diuers manners, resisting and making head against the incursions of strange and barbarous nations, which infested the same: a noble man called PROCOPIVS, borne in *Sicilia*, and neere kinsman to IVLIANVS Apostata (who beginning by meane degrees, came to be Captaine generall of the Imperiall armies in the East) rebelled in *Constantinople*, and with the fauour and assistance of certaine Captaines, and some other men of warre (taking the Imperiall ensignes) he proclaimed himselfe Emperour, which greatly troubled the two Emperours: for they knew that he daily grew greater, and that his forces continually increased, and that he had sent for succours to the Gothes, and other strange nations. The Empire being thus troubled, there also followed in those daies so vniuersall and so terrible an earth-quake, that an infinite number of houses, and sundrie cities fell downe. For in *Sicilia* and in many other Ilands, whole countries perished, and the sea ouerwhelmed and drowned many townes and cities, ouerflowing the naturall bounds and limits; and about all, it was most terrible in the prouince of *Bithynia*, in *Asia*; so as the citie of *Nicea* was therewith wholie destroyed. And in many other prouinces bordering vpon the sea, the sea altring his course, in some places discovered and left dry land, where before was nothing but sea; and in some other places made sea, where before were greene fields and pastures without water; as PAVLVS OROSIVS and other authors do write, principallie MARCELLINVS, who saw it with his eies, and S. IEROME also. Whereof the Cosmographers of our times should take notice, and not so much blame and maruell at the auncient, if they find not described and set downe in their bookes the sea-coasts, the capes, points, hauens, and entries into the sea, to be such as they described them then to be: for these and many other naturall mutations haue been the cause thereof, besides the error which may be in the letter & depainting of the bookes, or in the phrase, through their fault which wrote and translated them. A little while after this earth-quake (S. IEROME writeth) that there rained from heauen, like as at other times it vseth to snow, an infinite quantitie of wooll, so perfect as the most fine wooll that the sheep beareth. But returning to our historie. This attempt of PROCOPIVS so much troubled VALENTINIANVS and VALENS, that VALENTINIANVS was in doubt whether he should go against him in person, or leaue it to VALENS; whom it seemed more to concerne, as well for the neerenes to him, as for that those parts were vnder his iurisdiction. And being resolved to go in person, he was constrained to alter his determination, for that certaine strange nations made new inuasions in the Empire, as well in *Germany* as in *Britannie*, and the cities and prouinces in these parts by their Ambassadors required succour. Whereupon he determined rather to relieue those which were friends to the whole Empire, and to the common estate, then his owne in particular: and publishing his determination, he returned to make warre against the strangers, sending an excellent Captaine with a very good armie against PROCOPIVS, to the end to resist and make head against him, and not to suffer his power to increase: and he himselfe went to the warres of *Germany*, wherein he did many

Gg 2

worthie

Valens permitting  
idolatrie,  
and the ceremonies  
of the  
Iewes, was  
an enemy to  
the Christians.

Procopius was  
called Empe-  
rour.

An vniuersall  
earth quake.

The citie of  
*Nicea* destroy-  
ed by an earth-  
quake.

Wooll fell frō  
heauen like  
snow.

worthie feates of armes against the Saxons, the Burgonians, and other nations, whose force was so great, that although that they were overcome by him, and reduced to his obedience, yet vntill this day the remembrance of them continueth, and they inhabit those parts. On the other side, VALENS as a man which had the lesser charge, marched towards PROCOPIVS, and he came to meete him in *Asia* the lesse, or in *Phrygia*, neere to a citie called *Natolia*, where they fought, and PROCOPIVS was ouerthrowne and fled. But before this battaile, VALENS had sent a Captaine whose name was IVLIVS, with a very good armie, against those Gothes which came to the aid of PROCOPIVS, he hauing spread a rumor that VALENTINIANVS was dead in *France*, and those Gothes were ouerthrowne by IVLIVS. PROCOPIVS, as is aforesaid, escaping from the battaile, vsed all possible meanes to reinforce his army, to the end again to returne to fight: but he not only failed of his purpose, but was by his owne Captaines which fled with him, thereby to obtaine pardon and grace with VALENS, apprehended and deliuered into his hands. Some write, that VALENS so soone as he had him, made his head to be stricken off: and others say, that bowing downe two trees by force and policie, one leg was bound to the one tree, and the other to the other, and the trees being let loose, he was torne in pieces, and so ended he his life, parted and diuided, which had caused so great parts-taking, and diuision in the Empire. PROCOPIVS when he died, was of the age of one and fortie yeeres, and was of a very tall and goodlie constitution, but that he went somewhat stooping. It is reported of him that he was cuer very sad, and was neuer scene to laugh, and that he alwaies thought on heauie and sad matters, and so had an heauie and an infortunate end, as one which was disloyall, and a traitor to his foueraigne Lord. After that VALENS had obtained this victorie, he extremely punished those which had fauoured and assisted PROCOPIVS, and because that *Chalcedonia*, which is a citie in *Asia* the lesse, our against *Constantinople*, had taken part with him, he caused all the towne wals to be throwne downe, and made euen with the ground, which before were very faire. When PROCOPIVS was dead, a Captaine and neere kinsman of his, named MARCELLVS, being in the citie of *Nicea* with certaine companies, and with three thousand Gothes which he had caused to come thither, tooke vpon him the name of Emperour: but he was soone set vpon, taken and slaine by another Captaine, whose name was EQVICIVS, gouernour of *Slauonia*. This so important an enterprise being by VALENS brought to happie end, he then endeououred himselfe to persecute the remainder of those souldiers, and to provide for other accidents in the East, which for that they were many and of lesse importance, I will omit. But in matters concerning our religion, as an heretick and a wicked man, he committed so many outrages, exiled so many, and did so great harme, that it would require a long time to describe the same. His brother VALENTINIANVS following the warres aforesaid, obtained sundrie victories, some in his owne person, and some vnder the leading of his Captaines. In the great *Britanny*, by a Captaine of his whose name was VALENTINE, he ouercame and subdued the Picts and the Scots, from whom the Scots at this day are descended, and the Kingdome of *Scotland* in that Iland tooke name. And THEODOSIVS of whom we will speake hereafter, obtained some other notable victories in *Germany*, whom VALENTINIANVS sent also into *Africa*, for that therein rebelled a mightie Captaine whose name was TIRMVVS, whom THEODOSIVS ouerthrew in battaile, and tooke prisoner, leauing the country in quiet. But notwithstanding that he had so good & so happie successe, yet the Romane Empire was so odious and

Procopius  
on browne.

The death of  
Procopius.

Valens razed  
the wals of  
Chalcedonia.

The Picts and  
Scots.

and hatefull to all the strange nations, that they neuer desisted, so long as they had any oportunitie thereto to inuade and molest the same. Whereupon the Sarmates, a barbarous people, of which we haue often spoken heretofore, rebelled, and entred *Hungarie*: against which VALENTINIANVS (being greatlie offended) went himselfe in person, and hauing ouerthrowne them in battaile they sent their Ambassadors vnto him: and the Emperour being in an earnest discourse with them, it is reported that he was very angrie, and cried out so loud, that with the force thereof the bloud gushed out at his mouth in such abundance, that he died within few daies after. Others write, that he was taken with an apoplexie, wherewith he lost his speech only, all his other senses remaining perfect. Finallie, of the one, or other, he died within a short space, nothing auailing any phisick that could be ministred vnto him, being of the age of 55. yeeres, in the twelfth yeere of his raigne, and according to S. IEROME his computation in the yeere of our Lord 379.

Valentinianus  
against the  
Sarmates.

Anno Domini.  
379.

This Emperour is accounted among the good and vertuous Emperours, and with great reason: for besides his valour and sufficiency, he was a very iust Prince, and a great enemy and a punisher of vice, especially of briberie and couetousnes. When he died he left two sonnes, and three daughters, which he had by two women. His eldest sonnes name was GRATIAN, whom he had by his lawfull wife, named SEVERA; him before his death he made Emperour AVGVSTVS. His other sonnes name was VALENTINIANVS, who afterwards was Emperour also. And his three daughters, IUSTA, GRATA, and GALLA, he had by a Gentlewoman called IUSTINA, of which one, which was GALLA, was afterwards married to THEODOSIVS, who in proceffe of time came to be Emperour. It is written, that this IUSTINA, mother to these three sisters, was the fairest woman of complexion, of the most excellent constitution of bodie, the comeliest personage, and was endowed with more commendable parts, then any woman then to be found in the world; so as she was brought to the Emperours Pallace to his wife the Emperesse for a miracle in beautie, where he had by her these three children, as PAVLVSDIACONVS reporteth, by the consent and permission of his wife the Emperesse.

We haue declared the principall of all that passed in the time of VALENTINIANVS, Emperour in the West, and of his brother VALENS in the East. VALENTINIANVS dying in such manner, as we said, left his sonne GRATIANVS for Emperour of all that which he possessed, and made him Emperour in his life time. And VALENS seeing himselfe freed and at libertie from the respect and dutie which he ought to his brother VALENTINIAN, making small account of his sonne GRATIAN, began to fauour and support the Arrians, and to persecute and oppresse the true Christians. Amongst other things S. IEROME writeth, that he commaunded and compelled all the Monks and Hermites in *Egypt*, and other parts (that leauing their monasticall life) they should become souldiers, and follow the warres: but before that he could bring them to it, he put many thousands of them to death, and did many other cruell deedes, for which God gaue him such an end as he deserued. To the contrarie, his nephew GRATIAN was a good Christian, and was likewise a good Poet, and an Oratour, a very vertuous, temperate, honest, and courteous Prince, and endued with many noble qualities; but he was condemned to be very remisse in matters of gouernement. But concerning the Christian religion, he fauoured and supported the Christian Churches in *Phenicia*, and other prouinces in the East, like as his father had done before him.

Gratianus remained Emperour in the place of his father.

Valens favoured the Arrians.

Valens made the Monks and Hermits to leaue their cels, and become souldiers.

A great victory obtained by Gratian against the Germans.

Valens gave great credit to incantations and sorceries.

Countries assigned by Valens for the Gothes to inhabit.

By meanes of whose death the high Dutch tooke heart and courage to come downe, and make warre within the bounds of the Empire, with great multitudes of men: and he with a farre lesser number went to fight with them, neere to a citie called *Argentine*, where recommending himselfe to IESVS CHRIST, hee fought a most cruell battaile, and obtained the victorie: and as PAVLVS OROSIVS reporteth slew of them about 40000. men. S. IEROME saith 30000. When the young Emperour GRATIAN had obtained this victorie, he resolved to make his brother VALENTINIAN his companion in the Empire, who was his brother by the father, and sonne to the most faire IVSTINA; which hee performed with great solemnitie. The Empire being in this estate, VALENS living in *Antioch* in *Soria*, and GRATIAN and this his young brother VALENTINIAN living in *France*, VALENS as hee was giuen to diuinations, inchauntments, nigromancies and such other like vanities, made certaine figures to be cast; and the diuell willing to shew him that after him there should raigne one, whose name began with this Greeke letter *θ*, which in Latin is *th*: he therefore caused to be slaine the most excellent Captaine THEODOSIVS, and others whose names began in that manner.

These things being past, as God in his secret iudgement had ordained that the Romane Empire should fall into a generall decay and diminution (as not long after it did) it pleased him in his diuine wisdom to permit that there should first happen some notable particular aduersities, which should be as signes and fore-warnings prefiging the great and generall euils which afterwards ensued, and continue euen vntil this day. For a beginning, and annunciation of the commune and generall aduersitie, which in processe of time afterwards followed, it pleased God to permit (for VALENS his infidelitie) that in those daies in the Northerly parts of *Scythia*, betweene a people called Hunnes, bordering vpon the *Risean* mountaines; and the Gothes which with them diuided their frontiers, and were their neere neighbours (both most valiant and fierce nations, as in this historie hereafter shall appeare) great warres arose: and after many battailes and slaughters betweene them (which make nothing to our purpose) at beginning about the parting of fields and diuiding their bounds and limits, and other ancient quarrels, as vsually happen betweene nations which are so neere neighbours; in these controuersies, the Gothes were finally ouerthrown in a great battaile by the Hunnes, and driuen out of their owne countrie by force of armes: and being a huge multitude of people (compelled through necessitie, as ouercome, and desiring to liue in peace) they sent to entreate the Emperour VALENS by their Ambassadors, that it might please him to receiue them for his seruants and vassals, and to giue them some lands and fields which they might till and inhabite the same. The Emperour simply graunted their request, assigning vnto them a great countrie beyond the riuer *Danubius*, and certaine fields in the prouince of *Misia*, which at this time is called *Bulgaria* and *Seruaia* (as PAVLVS OROSIVS, and PAVLVS DIACONVS and others doe report) and there for a certaine time they remained in peace and rest: and it was beleueed that they would so haue continued, had not two of the Emperours Captaines (which diuided the fields amongst them, and remained there as their guard and ouerseers) begun to vse them cruelly, like tyrants, doing them daily great wrongs and iniuries, as though they had been rather slaues then subiects. Whereupon they conuerted their obedience and humilitie into rebellion and desperation; resolving to beare armes, and to take perforce that which those men denied them. And so raunging themselves in good order (leaving that which

which was appointed for them) they marched forwards, destroying, robbing and spoiling all wherefoeuer they came. And entring into *Thracia*, they tooke some strong holds and cities, vntill they came neere to *Constantinople*, where VALENS then was: for so soone as these troubles began he was aduertised thereof, and departing from the citie of *Antioch*, came by great iournies to *Constantinople*, out of which he afterwards sallied with a great and very wel ordred armie, to make head against the Gothes, which from ancient time had bin euer much feared, and were still famous. And although they vnderstood of the Emperours comming, yet they were therewith nothing dismayed, nor doubted to meete him, but rather fought to fight with him. Which VALENS refused not; so as there was a cruell battaile betweene the two armies, wherein at the first encounter the Romane horsemen behaued themselves so ill, that disbanding, they left the squadrons of footemen naked without any defence; which the Gothes horsemen perceiuing, charged the Romane Infanterie, and compassing them about on euery side with an infinit multitude of archers, brake through them, and constrained them to flie: and so the Gothes had an entire victorie, and did great execution in the Imperiall armie. And VALENS flying thence wounded with an arrow, would haue hidden himselfe in a Farmers house neere to that place, and being found, the Gothes set the house on fire, and he being therein was burnt. Some write that he died fighting, and that he seeing the horsemen flie, alighted, and putting off his Imperial robes, placed himselfe in a squadron of footmen, and there being vnknowne, was slaine. But I hold the first opinion for most certaine, for so doe the most and best authors affirme. One of which is S. IEROME, in whose time these things happened: so as he died a death conformable to the course of his life.

The Gothes hauing obtained this victorie, marched forwards, and besieged the Imperiall citie of *Constantinople*, where ensued that which wee will hereafter declare. The Emperour VALENS died in the fiftieth yeere of his age, and the fiftieth of his raigne; of which he had raigned about eleuen in the companie of his brother, and the rest with his nephew GRATIANVS, which was in the yeere of our Lord IESVS CHRIST, three hundred, fourescore and two, after S. IEROMES computation, who in that yeere ended his historie, which PROSPERVS afterwards prosecuted.

I haue not read that this Emperour left any children behinde him.

A battaile betwene Valens and the Gothes.

The death of the Emperour Valens.

Anno Dom. 382.



THE LIFE OF GRATIA-  
NVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME,  
AND OF HIS BROTHER VALENTI-  
NIAN the second, and nine and fortieth  
Romane Emperour.



THE ARGVMENT.

**T**He whole burthen of the Empire resting vpon Gratianus, he was aduertised that the Gothes daily encreased their power, and were growne so audacious as to assault the citie of Constantinople: wherefore he made prouision to goe against them, and made one Theodosius a Spaniard Generall of his armie, who ouerthrew and subdued them, and reduced the Empire to the ancient dignitie. Wherefore Gratianus made him his companion in the Empire, assigning vnto him the East part, and he remaining in France, purchased the euill will of his men of warre, by shewing himselfe too much affected to the Alanes, and to other strange nations, whose fashions in attire he often used to weare. In which time one Maximus rebelling in Brittannie, made himselfe a tyrant; and Gratianus seeing himselfe forsaken by his legions, returned into Italy, in which iourney Maximus by a stratagem, caused him to be slaine. He had been a very vertuous and good Emperour, if he had applied himselfe to the government of the Empire: for otherwise he was endued with many good parts, and liued little more then 28.yeeres.

**A**fter the death of VALENS which was so ill and infortunate, as wee haue declared, the gouernment of the whole Empire, East and West, remained in his nephewes GRATIANVS, who was his brother VALENTINIANS sonne afore said, which before ruled the West Empire, and in his brother the young VALENTINIAN, whom he had made Emperour;

peror; although that by reason of his infancie no great account was made of him. The Gothes then following the victorie which they had obtained against the Emperour VALENS; without any stay, became maisters of all the countrie round about (and as I said) besieged the imperiall citie of Constantinople, wherein was the Emperesse DOMINICA, wife of the vnluckie VALENS; and they assaulted it with great furie and very resolutely, burning and destroying all the suburbs thereof, which were very great. And so they begit the citie, vntill that the widow Emperesse (as writeth CASSIODORVS) vsed such diligence in encouraging and animating the fouldiers which were therein, with good words, gifts, and readie money, which she distributed amongst them, that they fought so valiantly, that the Gothes receiued great losse, and could not enter the citie; and so it was defended by the diligence of this woman, and the valour of the besieged. And the Gothes diuiding themselues into seuerall troupes, became Lords of the prouinces of Thracia, Dacia, and their confines. Here the historiographers at large describe the originall and countrie of these Gothes; and by what meanes, and when they came forth of their countrie; wherein they are so tedious and so contrarie in opinions, the one to the other, that I purpose to eschew that labour, for that it little importeth; neither can the truth be fully explained. But it is true, that they were a people which came out of Scythia in Europe, according to the most writers; but whether they were borne there or came from some other countrie (as some say they did) it importeth not much: neither the difference in their names in calling them Ostrogothes or Visigothes; for herein is no greater difference, but that the Ostrogothes were more easterly, and the Visigothes more westerly; but generally both the one, and other were called Gothes, and so I purpose to call them, so often as I shall haue occasion to speake of them, which will be very often: for in truth the greatest wound, and chiefeft hurt that the Romane Empire receiued, and the beginning of the fall thereof, was through their occasion. Wherefore these people may iustly be accounted and esteemed for the most valiant in armes of all other nations in the world; seeing that they (although with much labour, and by fighting many battailes) were able to tame and subdue that people and Empire, which was the tamer and subduer of all other nations.

GRATIAN vnderstanding of the death of his Vncle VALENS, and of all the accidents which ensued; and being also aduertised of the power of the Gothes, and how that daily they became Lords of more lands of the Empire; and how that following their example, other northerly nations called Hunnes and Alanes, no lesse valiant in armes then the Gothes (as it was reported) made preparation to enter the Romane Empire, and to doe the like: resolued with the greatest armie that he was able to raise, to goe into Hungarie to stoppe their passage. And forasmuch as in so great an extremitie, in his owne person hee was not able to prouide for all occasions; he determined to make choise of the most sufficient man that he might finde to be generall of his armie, to whom he might commit the charge and care of the warre against the Gothes; which was both of great importance and very daungerous. There liued at that time in his countrie in Spaine, one THEODOSIUS, the sonne of a noble Captaine whose name was also THEODOSIUS; whom, as we haue told you, VALENS caused to be slaine. This THEODOSIUS after the death of his father, holding himselfe to be in danger, retired himselfe into his countrie, being aswell for the noblenes of his auncestors, and his fathers name and worthines, as for his owne valour, and his exploits in armes,

Constantinople  
besieged by the  
Goths.

The Gothes,  
and whence  
they came.

The occasion of  
the fall of the  
Empire was  
through the  
Goths.

Theodosius  
made generall  
of the Emper-  
all armie.

armes, the most renowned and of greatest account of any man in his time. Whereupon the Emperour GRATIAN, in great haste sent for him, and wrote his letters vnto him, wherein hee made him Captaine generall of all the Empire; and within a litle while after, Emperour, AVGVSTVS, and his equall in the Empire, he being of the age of three and thirte yeeres.

A great battaile  
betweene Theo-  
dosius and the  
Goths, where-  
in the Gothes  
were over-  
throwne.

When THEODOSIUS had receiued the Emperours letters, and accepted of the charge offered vnto him, with the greatest speed that he could make, he went into those countries where the Gothes were; which knowing of his comming gathered themselues together to fight with him. And THEODOSIUS being very desirous thereof, hauing first leuied a sufficient armie, and taken such order, and made such prouision as was most requisit; with great heede and circumspection drew neere vnto them: and after that hee had practized and tried his souldiers in some skirmishes and encounters; he came to giue them a field battaile; which was one of the most cruell and bloodie that euer was. But THEODOSIUS carried himselfe so wise and valiantly, as wel in fighting, as in encouraging and directing his men, that he obtained the victorie and made incredible slaughter of the enemy; and afterwards in the remainder of those which then escaped, vntill that he had driuen them all out of that province; so as there remained not any enemy therein. And leauing his owne people in good order, he went to doe his dutie to the Emperour GRATIAN in *Hungarie*, where he then lay in the citie of *Sirmie*. Who for so noble a victorie (after that hee had well considered and weighed his vertue and worthines) made him Emperour and AVGVSTVS, and his equall and companion. Yet some say, that he did this in the beginning in the same place, before the battaile. But howsoeuer, he shared the Empire with him, giuing to THEODOSIUS, *Constantinople* and *Thracia*, with all the provinces of the East, in like manner as VALENS held the same; reseruing to himselfe *Italie*, and all westwards, wherein also reigned his young brother VALENTINIANVS.

Theodosius  
made Emperour  
and Augustus  
by Gratianus.

This being ended, GRATIAN presently returned into *Italie*, and from thence into *France*; and THEODOSIUS went to make an end of his warres against the most feared and redoubted nations of all the world, which were the foresaid Gothes, the Alanes, and the Hunnes; all people of *Scythia*. We reade that ALEXANDER the great would not goe to make any conquest of these people: for they were feared of all the world.

The Alanes tooke their name of the riuer in *Scythia*, called *Alane*. AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS saith, that these were called in auncient time Massagetes. The Hunnes are also Scythians of *Scythia* in *Europe*, inhabiting ouer the bogges of *Meotis*, all which were most fierce nations: and although that all the northerly nations were such, yet were these more then any of all the rest; as in this Historie hereafter will appeare: and these (they say) are those which at this day are called Tartarians. This people being againe entred into *Hungarie*, THEODOSIUS went to fight with them, sometimes with one nation and sometimes with another. All authors write, that he fought many very cruell battailes with them, and in them all had the vpper hand: so as he slew an infinit number of them, and those which escaped the sword, he made to flie out of the confines of the Empire. And to the end that he would not so much tire his men of warre, being humbly required of peate by ATHANARICVS King of the Gothes, offering himselfe and his people to doe him seruice; he graunted it. And comming victorious to the citie of *Constantinople*, which was his imperiall seate, he brought ATHANARICVS with

Athanasius  
King of the  
Goths sued to  
Theodosius for  
peace.

Athanasius  
his comming to  
Constantinople,  
and his speech  
concerning the  
Romane Empe-  
rour.

with him; and was receiued with great solemnitie, ioy and triumph. Where (they write) that ATHANARICVS did so much wonder to see the power of the Emperour, the solemnitie and greatnes of his court, the sumptuousnes and magnificence of the buildings of the citie, and the riches of the furniture of his house and seruice, that he said, that truly the Romane Emperour was god of the earth, and represented the god of heauen; against whom no man ought to be so hardie, as to lift vp his hand, or heart, except he would presently be condemned to death.

The death of  
Athanasius.

Within few daies after that this valiant King ATHANARICVS came to *Constantinople*, he was taken with a grieuous sicknes, wherof he died, after that he had been tormented therewith, the space of three monethes; whom THEODOSIUS sumptuously buried and bestowed great cost vpon his obsequies. Some authors, as IORNANDES and others say, that this peace with the Gothes, was made by GRATIANVS; for THEODOSIUS fell so grieuouly sicke, that all men thought that hee would haue died; and that in that season the peace was graunted to ATHANARICVS more for feare then for any good will: and that THEODOSIUS recouering health, would not breake what GRATIANVS had concluded. AVRELIVS VICTOR, PAVLVVS OROSIVS, and others report it after the first manner; but this difference is of small importance. The Gothes which serued ATHANARICVS in his house and in his armie, knowing and perceiuing the goodnes and bountie of THEODOSIUS, desired to continue in his seruice; and afterwards serued him faithfully and valiantly, in such warres as happened. In this time through the grace and mercie of God, GRATIANVS and THEODOSIUS being true Christians, the Catholike Church was fauoured and protected by them. Yet some write, that THEODOSIUS was baptized after that he was Emperour: But therewith, that before that time hee did reuerence and beleue the Christian faith. SOZOMENVS, after CASSIODORVS, affirmeth it so, which to me seemeth hardly to be beleued. But howsoeuer it was, THEODORETVS writeth, that so soone as he came to *Constantinople*, hauing overcome and subdued all the barbarous nations; he applied himselfe to the reformation of the Church, and to the subuersion and rooting out of the Arrian heresie, which was dispersed ouer all the East parts. And vpon this occasion he vsed meanes to assemble a great number of Bishops at *Constantinople*; and although that the euill was not thoroughly cured thereby, yet that which he did, was very profitable. CASSIODORVS writeth THEODOSIUS his decree, wherein he professed and protested that he believed the same faith, which was preached by the holy Apostles; and which was published in the Nicene councill. He setteth downe also, how that THEODOSIUS banished certaine Bishops from *Constantinople*, for that they were of the diuellish and abominable sect of the Arrians. In the West, there was no neede of any such care or diligence; for this Arrian pestilence had not so much infected those parts: as we haue already declared in the liues of the three sonnes of CONSTANTINE the great, CONSTANS which reigned in that part, tooke great care to preferue and defend the auncient Catholike faith; and after him IOVIANVS and VALENTINIANVS. So as, aswell in matters concerning religion, as also the warres and ciuill gouernment, THEODOSIUS shewed himselfe a singular and marvellous good prince, and was so much feared and honored by all nations that the King of the Persians, notwithstanding that he had slaine the Emperour IULIANVS, and obtained so many victories; in great humilitie, sent his Ambassadors to *Constantinople*, entreating a perpetuall league and

The King of  
Persia sued to  
Theodosius for  
peace.

Gratianus ill  
beloued by his  
men of warre.

and peace with THEODOSIUS: and he seeing with how great submission that King sued for peace, graunted it him. THEODOSIUS liuing in this prosperitie, the better to assure the succession of the Empire to his posteritie, made one of his sons whose name was ARCADIVS, his equall and companion therein: notwithstanding that he was but a child, and very young. In this meane while liued GRATIAN in France, from thence making prouision and sending direction to all parts; as into *Africa, Spaine, Britannie, and Germanie*; and as he was a man very remisse and soft spirited (as the most part doe write of him) he waxed much more, after that hee had taken THEODOSIUS for his companion; depending much vpon his diligence and valour: so as he became ill beloued of his men of warre. And this disliking also encreased; for that he seeing that THEODOSIUS had entertained the Gothes which serued ATHANARICVS into his pay and wages, drew to his seruice certaine companies of Alanes; and respected and honored them so much, that he sometimes apparelled himselfe after their fashion, and made them his garde; wherewith the Romane and Italian souldiers were highly discontented.

Maximus cho-  
sen Emperour  
by the legions  
in Britannie.

In Rome and in all *Italie* the Empire was of no absolute authoritie: for therein was the young VALENTINIAN, brother to GRATIANVS; who for that he was very young and of little discretion, a noble man called PROBUS had the charge of the gouernment, which had been Consul, and was then Prefect of the citie. These matters gaue occasion to the legions which were in *Britannie* to presume to rebell, and to chuse an excellent capitaine, whose name was MAXIMVS for Emperour, and they did so; and as PAVLVS DIACONVS writeth, mauger the said MAXIMVS. But afterwards hauing accepted the name, hee determined courageously to proceede and so with all expedition possible, hee went into *France*; and forasmuch as GRATIAN was ill beloued of his armie, the greatest part of his men of warre forooke him, and calling MAXIMVS Emperour, went to his campe. Whereupon GRATIANVS finding himselfe vnable to fight with him, purposed to retire into *Italie*, where his brother was. MAXIMVS being aduertized thereof, vsed such meanes that GRATIANVS fell into his hands. Which was this, he caused a rumour to be spred abroad, that GRATIANVS his wife was coming to see her husband with a good companie of souldiers, and to goe with him into *Italie*, and sent some messengers before with counterfeit letters, which aduertised him thereof. After this, hee sent a valiant and subtile capitaine called ANDRAGATHVS, to the end that hee should put himselfe in a horselitter, with some chosen souldiers, and goe to meete GRATIAN, faining to be the Emperesse, and so take him and kill him. This cunning Champion performed what his Lord had committed to his charge, and at *Lions in France*, in passing the river *Rhodanus*, he came to ioyn with him, some going before and telling him that the Emperesse was nere at hand. The goodnes and sinceritie of GRATIANVS were the occasion that hee suspected nothing, neither discovered the deceit, vntill he came so neere, that he saw it with his eies, where being compassed about with ANDRAGATHVS his souldiers, he was thereby by his commande-ment slaine. In this manner ended the life and raigne of the Emperour GRATIANVS, being of the age of nine and twentie yeeres; fiftene yeeres after that his father made him Emperour and his companion; whereof eight yeeres were in his father's time, more in name then effect; and of the other seuen yeeres, three were with his Vncle VALENS who was slaine by the Gothes, and the rest with THEODOSIUS whom he chose for his companion, and with his brother VA-

LENTINIANVS

Gratianus  
slaine by An-  
dragathius,  
through the  
procurement of  
Maximus.

LENTINIAN; who for that he was a child was not regarded. He died (after PROSPERVS his computation) in the yeere of our Lord three hundred, fourescore and seauen. This prince was endued with many excellent vertuous: for he was valiant, noble and discrete, and aboue all, a Catholike and a very deuout Christian: but he had a fault, which was, that he was too soft spirited, remisse, and negligent, taking little care for the gouernment: which (as is said) was the principall cause of his ruine. And truly this is a great and dangerous fault in Kings and princes: for as their principall charge and office is to gouerne and rule, and they therefore are called, *Reges*, failing to performe their office and dutie they make themselves hated, odious and vnworthie of the power and dignitie which they enioy.

## THE LIFE OF THEODO- SIVS. THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND FIFTITH RO- MANE EMPEROVR.



### THE ARGVMENT.



After that Gratianus was dead, the whole burthen and care for both peace and warre, appertaining to the Empire, rested vpon Theodosius. The first enterprise that he undertooke, was in *Italie* against the tyrant Maximus, who made the Emperour Gratianus to be slaine. And besieging him in *Aquileia*, made him die like a traitor, together with a sonne of his. And hauing triumphed in Rome, he restored the empire to Valentinian. And returning to Constantinople within short space after, he vnderstoode that Valentinian was slaine; and that onely two (to wit) Arbogastes and Eugenius, vsurped the Empire. Whereupon returning againe into *Italie*, he fought with these two tyrants, and overcame them both, more by miracle and by the especiall grace of God, then through his power or any humane wisdom. After this

Hb

victorie,

victorie, the whole charge of the Empire both East and West, rested vpon him alone; but he called his sonne Honorius, inuested him in the Empire of the West, and to Arcadius he left the Empire of the East: but because they were both children, and very little, he gave them two tutors, men no lesse valiant in armes in the warres, then politike in peace. After this, happening to be excommunicate and absolved by S. Ambrose Bishop of Milan, for certaine cruelties committed in Thessalonica, falling grievously sick, he dyed at the age of fiftie yeeres.



Sixte yeeres reigned THEODOSIVS in companie with GRATIANVS, when GRATIANVS was slaine by the commandemēt of MAXIMVS, who as a tyrant and vsurper proclaimed himselfe Emperour: and by reason of GRATIANVS death, all the care and trouble both for warre and peace rested vpon THEODOSIVS, who was very sufficient, and wellable to support the same. For although that young VALENTINIAN was in Italy, yet he had neither power nor the hart to reuenge the death of his brother GRATIANVS; but knowing that MAXIMVS came with a great armie, and was already entred Italy, he abandoned it, and went to Constantinople to intreate aid of THEODOSIVS: Who taking compassion of the two brothers, the one slaine by treason, and the other wrongfullie dispossessed of his Empire, of his naturall and accustomed valour, he resolved to go into Italy to reuenge the death of the one, and to restore the other to his estate, by pursuing and destroying the new and mightie tyrant. Whereupon leauing his sonne ARCADIVS in Constantinople, taking VALENTINIAN with him, he made preparation for his departure, raising the greatest and best forces that he was able, and began to march through Gallia Cisalpina, which is now called Lombardie, where MAXIMVS already was in the citie of Aquileia, hauing made ANDROGATHIVS generall of his armie to make head against THEODOSIVS.

This ANDROGATHIVS was a politick and a valiant man in the warres, and he, which slue the Emperour GRATIANVS, who with great care and diligence had taken all the streights, riuers, bridges and passages, whereby THEODOSIVS might passe: and afterwards changing his mind, thinking that THEODOSIVS peradventure would haue passed his armie by sea, he drew his forces from the mountaines, and from those places which he had left them to guard, and embarked them aboard a great number of ships and barks, purposing to ouerthrow him, and to take him prisoner vpon the water. The valorous THEODOSIVS being aduertised hereof, marched by great iournies, and finding the passages open, entred with his troupes into the plaines of Lombardie, and besieged the citie of Aquileia, wherein the vsurping Emperour was, before that ANDROGATHIVS could ouertake him; and compassing the citie round about, those which were within it with him of meere feare hauing guiltie consciences, deliuered him into the hands of THEODOSIVS, without staying for any assault, or fight, and he iustly made him (as a traitor and a rebell to his Prince) to be put to death. The like was afterwards done by a sonne of his, called VICTOR, whom his father had created and entituled Emperour, to auoid the perils & troubles that might ensue. When ANDROGATHIVS which was his Generall, being vpon the sea with a very mightie nauie, vnderstood of the taking and death of MAXIMVS, he was so overcome with sorrow and despaire, that he cast himselfe ouer-board out of his galley wherein he was, into the sea, and therein was drowned, and his people wanting a leader, yeelded themselves to THEODOSIVS: And so without either death or bloud-shed God gaue him a very great victorie; and from France, Britanny, Ger-

Maximus and his sonne Victor put to death by Theodosius.

Androgathius drowned himselfe in the Sea.

many and Spaine, came Ambassadors vnto him, yeelding him their obedience, with great humilitie and deuotion. Hauing perfourmed this enterprise, he went with young VALENTINIAN to Rome, the principall head of the Empire, where they were receiued with a solemne triumph (as RVFFINVS and CASSIODORVS report) whither he sent for his young sonne ARCADIVS from Constantinople where he left him, to the end that he might be knowne and honoured in Rome: wherein he remained certaine daies reforming the abuses and disorders therein, and he inflicted great punishment, and did great iustice vpon certaine euill and wicked persons. And, as he was a deuout and good Christian; so he tooke great care to reforme the abuses in the Church and in religion. And finally, setting all things in good order, he returned to Constantinople, to gouerne the Empire of the East, and to VALENTINIAN he left all the West, leauing him an armie & power sufficient to defend the same, which is no small argument of his goodness and loyaltie, that being of power able (if he had would) to haue made himselfe onely Monarch and lord of the whole) yet he held it for greater honour and greatnes to reconquer the Empire, and to restore it to him, to whom in right it did appertain, then to hold the same himselfe. THEODOSIVS being returned to Constantinople, VALENTINIAN went for France, to the end to be neere at hand if any occasion should be offered: where liuing in prosperitie and void of care, a Captain of his, whose name was ARBOGASTES, practised his death, who was a man of a hautie stomach, politike, venturous, and of great power, by reason of the place and authoritie which he held neere about the Emperour, whom PAVLVS OROSIVS and PAVLVS DIACONVS do call Comes, or Earle: for in those times we find that name and dignitie, and before that also, and these were those which were Gouvernours and Captaines of Prouinces, and sometimes were the Emperours companions, to which were committed matters of the greatest importance: In like manner as the auncient Consuls, when they went to make a conquest of any countrey, had with them Legates, which is as much as, Lieutenants. This ARBOGASTES resolved with himselfe to kill VALENTINIAN, thereby to aduance an Emperour of his making, although it prospered ill, not daring to vsurp it himselfe, for that he was of base parentage, a stranger borne, and an Infidell, and for other causes which in the historie are not mentioned. Finally, he practised with one EVGENIVS, who of a Grammarian and a Rhetorician, being for that cause well beloued and esteemed, came to beare armes and to follow the court, and was now highlie regarded and of great account, promising him to kill VALENTINIAN, and to make him Emperour, letting him to vnderstand that it was a matter possible and easie to be done. EVGENIVS accepted what this wicked man offered him, and ARBOGASTES vsed such meanes that he corrupted the Eunuches which waited in VALENTINIANS chamber, and agreed with them that they should strangle him in the night, and giue it out in speech that they found him dead in the morning, and they did so. VALENTINIAN being in the citie of Vienna in France, sleeping in his bed, was by these Eunuches strangled, and they published abroad, that he had hanged himselfe eightene yeeres after that his brother had nominated him Emperour. The manner of his death was kept so secret, that it was bruted abroad that he had hanged himselfe: so as PROSPERVS in the addition which he made to EVSEBIVS his booke of times writing his death, saith, that he died in that manner.

Presentlie so soone as his death was knowne, before that the treason was discovered, ARBOGASTES nominated and made EVGENIVS Emperour. What these

Theodosius triumphed in Rome.

Arbogastes practised to kill the Emperour Valentinian.

Valentinian strangled by his Eunuches.

Eugenius made Emperour by these Arbogastes.

these two men did, being of greatest authoritie, was generally appoynted by all men; and by means of their reputation, and through their cunning, large promises and great gifts, they leuied a great number of men of warre, as well barbarians as Romanes, and so became Lords of all the Prouinces: And although that EVGENIVS bare the name of Emperour, yet all was ordred and disposed accordinglye as it pleased ARBOGASTES.

Within short space THEODOSIVS was aduertised of this fact, for which he was very sory, and therewith much troubled, seeing how dangerous a warre lay before him; but accounting it a great dishonor and a shame to suffer such a matter to passe unpunished, with the greatest expedition and diligence that could be made, he mustred vp his men of warre, and with all possible speed, departed from *Constantinople*, leaving his sonne ARCADIVS therein, and HONORIVS also, whom he then made Emperour, appointing him to be equall and companion with his brother. But as a good and deuout Christian, the first prouision that he made, was to fast and to pray, that it might please God to giue him victorie against those infidels and tyrants; and so he sent to a Monke which was accounted a very holie man, whose name was IOHN, dwelling in the cite of *Thebes in Egypt*, to pray for him: who sent him word that he should haue the victorie, but should dye in *Italy*, and neuer returne to *Constantinople*. THEODOSIVS being come to the confines of *Italy*, the tyrants had so great forces, and had taken so good order for all matters concerning the warres, that all passages were stopt in the Alpes, and at the foote thereof were EVGENIVS and ARBOGASTES, with their whole armie; so as THEODOSIVS was much troubled and distressed, as well after that he had passed those passages and mountaines, as when he was entred into *Lumbardie*, where he found himselfe inclosed about with enemies, which on euery side stopped the comming of any victuals to his camp; they hauing besides this, a greater number of men then he had, and no lesse experienced and valiant in the warres then his were. But the valiant Emperour vsing the best means that he could in all things, as a faithfull Christian expected and hoped for his best reliefe from God, to whom with teares he made his continuall supplications. Truly the danger and extremitie wherein he was, and the multitude of his enemies was so great, that all writers affirme, that he had been vtterlie lost, if God in a battaile that ensued, had not shewed a manifest and apparant miracle. The night before the battaile he spent altogether in prayer, without either eating or sleeping: and the next day seeing himselfe charged on euery side, he set his men in very good order to fight; and with great courage and boldnes, attended the comming of his enemies, and presentlie in the beginning a capitaine of theirs called ARBICVS came ouer to his side with his whole charge, which was a good signe of his good successe: and the battaile beginning where Romanes fought against Romanes, they fought at euen hand, most cruellie killing and wounding one another. The other battailions and squadrons which were auxiliaries of sundrie nations, those of THEODOSIVS his side had the worse; so as at the first charge tenne thousand Gothes which were in his pay were slaine: which when he saw and considered, he lifted vp his eies to heauen, and with a true faith and stedfast hope shedding many teares, prayed to the Lord that he might not be ouerthrowne in so iust a cause. At that instant a Capitaine of his called BARBARIVS, with a great troupe of souldiers came to the rescue of certaine squadrons which in shew were euen ouerthrowne; and he came with such courage, that they which were in a manner vanquished, recovered strength and heart, in such manner, that without retiring, they

they fought most valiantly for the victorie; but the enemies were so many, that it seemed impossible for them to defend themselves. At that instant it pleased God to send them succour from heauen, which was, that suddenly there arose so violent a winde and tempest, as the like thereof had neuer been scene by any man then liuing; which without annoyance to the Emperours people, did beate in their enemies faces with such force, that it wholie bereaued them of their fight; so as they were not able to march forwards: and the winde was so strong and so mightie, that all the arrowes, stones, darts, and launces, which they shot and hurled, were thereby borne backe againe, and they which threw them were therewith wounded, in such manner, that it most plainly appeared to be miraculous, and the especiall gift of God. Which the most Christian Emperour perceiuing, rendring thanks to God for the same, encouraged and animated his people, so as within short space hee obtained a complete victorie. For his enemies souldiers tooke no other care, but how they might saue themselves by flight: but EVGENIVS persevering obstinate in his treason, was taken fighting, and brought to THEODOSIVS, who commaunded him to be slaine: yet some write that he killed him himselfe. All writers affirme, that ARBOGASTES seeing himselfe ouerthrowne, fled from the battaile, and finding no certaine place of refuge, with his owne sword did cut his owne throte. So as THEODOSIVS obtained a most glorious victorie, followed the execution, and had the spoile of his enemies Campe. Of this battell & the strange accident that happened therein, we haue for testimonie, not onely Christian and godly authors, more then a few, as well such as liued at that time and neere vnto it, as also one CLAUDIANVS a Heathen Poet of that age, who reciteth the same in heroicall verse most excellently, in the third and fourth Consulship of HONORIVS the sonne of THEODOSIVS.

After that THEODOSIVS had obtained this victorie, there was no man either in the East or West that durst oppose himselfe against his power; so as all the Princes of the Empire sent him their Ambassadors to congratulate his victorie: and many barbarous nations did the like, and so hee became absolute and onely Lord of the whole Empire. And seeing that he was free from warres, he came to *Milan*, whereof S. AMBROSE was Archbishop, where he remained all the rest of his life time, applying himselfe to ciuill gouernment; whereof in the warres he neuer left to haue all possible care. Being thus in *Milan*, acknowledging himselfe to be but mortall, and knowing how vnfound and diseased hee was in bodie, he purposed to provide for matters to come: wherefore he sent to *Constantinople* for his sonne HONORIVS; to whom (by the assent and good will of all men) he assigned after his daies the Empire of *Italy* and of all the West; and to his other sonne ARCADIVS, the Empire of the East; and into *Africa* and the prouinces thereof, he sent a principal man of great wisdom and experience called GILDVS to gouerne the same, and he himselfe tooke care for and had the ouersight of the whole. With such prosperitie was the world gouerned (as PROSPERVS writeth) the space of three yeeres: for so long time liued THEODOSIVS in *Milan*, in companie with the great Doctor S. AMBROSE, with whom there happened a notable matter, which because it is an example of humilitie, I meane to declare in a more large manner then ordinarie, which is also written by THEODORETVS, PAVLVVS DIACONVS, RVFFINVS, and CASSIODORVS.

THEODOSIVS being in *Thessalonica*, a very rich, a very populous and a noble cite in the prouince of *Macedonia*, there happened a great tumult among the people, against the Magistrates and gouernours of the cite; and their furie and presumption

A miraculous  
tempest.

A great victorie  
obtained by  
Theodosius.

Eugenius  
slaine in the  
presence of  
Theodosius.

Arbogastes did  
cut his owne  
throte with  
his owne  
sword.

Theodosius  
made his sons  
Arcadius and  
Honorius Em-  
perours.

tion grew to be so great, that they slew the Iudges and all those which tooke part with the Emperour in the government. Which when THEODOSIVS vnderstood, notwithstanding that he was very vertuous, yet did hee much desire to execute his displeasure against them, and not without iust cause: but hee did therein so farre exceede the bounds of reason, that hee made his souldiers put to death seuen thousand persons of the common people, without making any difference betweene the faultie and the faultlesse. Which punishment was held for rigorous and very cruell; although the offence were very great, chiefly against a Prince so iust and so much admired in al his actions. Amongst those which reprooued him therefore, the holy Doctour S. AMBROSE then Bishop of Milan was one; and the Emperour afterwards comming to that citie, and being receiued as to his estate appertained, the next day he meant to haue gone to the Church to haue done his deuotion and to pray, as of custom he vsed, nothing thinking of what he had done at *Thessalonica*, whereof it was thought that hee had long before repented. But S. AMBROSE to the end that his punishment should be as publike as his offence, with great authoritie and boldnes set himselfe in the Church doore, and told the Emperour that hee should not enter thereat: and making a learned oration vnto him, wherein with the authoritie of a Bishop, hee opened vnto him his fault and offence; concluding with excommunicating him, and forbidding him to come into the Church. All which speeches the Emperour heard, with great patience, and returned to his palace, obeying the excommunication and prohibition, and so remained eight moneths without comming any more to the Church; at the end whereof, a priuate seruant and Captaine of his (whose name was RVFFINVS) finding the Emperour melancholike, and discontented for that hee was so long excommunicated, offered to goe to S. AMBROSE to get him absolution, perswading him to come to the Church, and he would goe before to obtaine his leaue. The Emperour, although he much doubted thereof, did so. But RVFFINVS was not onely denied of his request, but was highly reprehended by the Bishop, as a minister and counsellor of the Emperours crueltie: which when hee perceived, he sent to aduertise the Emperour thereof, and to aduise him not to come thither, for that at that time he should by no meanes be receiued. The Emperour met with the messenger vpon the way, and hearing what message hee brought, answered; Yet truly I will goe to see what penance my Pastor will lay vpon me for my offence. And so went forwards vntill that hee came to the Church doore, and went not in, but came where S. AMBROSE was, whom hee requested to absolve him, and to permit him to come into the Church there to heare the diuine seruice. When S. AMBROSE saw the Emperour, and heard what hee said, imagining that he came of purpose to goe into the Church, which hee was resolved to withstand, vntill that he were absolved, or had done some open penance for the great crueltie which he had commaunded to be done, hee asked him wherefore he came so as a tyrant, contemning and violating the lawes? Whereunto the Emperour mildly answered: I come not to breake the lawes, neither thy commaundement, neither will I passe ouer the threshold of this doore: but I come to request thee to loose the bands wherewith thou hast bound me, and that thou wilt pray to God to forgiue me my sinnes, and not shut the doores of his Church against me, which God openeth to all sinners which heartily repent. What repentance hast thou shewed (quoth the Bishop) for so hainous an offence? and with what salue hast thou healed so mortall a wound? Thou (quoth the Emperour) art to instruct me, and to shew me what I ought to doe, and thou shalt see that I will accomplish what

what thou shalt prescribe. The Bishop seeing the Emperours mildnes, thinking it a sufficient penance for him to be excommunicated from the Church the space of eight moneths, with faire and charitable speeches said; Thy penance THEODOSIVS shall be this, that (seeing that thou to follow thy owne will and to execute thy wrath, diddest commit so cruel a murder) thou shalt presently proclaim and establish a law, that no man, whom thou shalt adiudge or condemne to die, or any thy successors, shall be executed within thirtie daies after that thou hast pronounced the sentence of death against him. At the end of which thirtie daies, thou shalt be againe demanded, whether thou dost hold thy commaundement for iust: for by that time being free from passion, thou wilt iudge of thy selfe whether thou hast iustly iudged, or no. When THEODOSIVS heard this, hee presently commaunded that law to be written & made it to be proclaimed: and he himselfe obserued it so long as he liued, wherof much good ensued. This law being made, the Emperour came into the Church, where making his prayers and doing his deuotion, hee received the Sacrament: and from thenceforth loued the Bishop very deerely, and vsed his counsell in many matters: For as he was hastie and cholerick, this law was a bridle to restraine him from being too extreme in punishing offenders. THEODORETVS reciteth one example thereof, which was, that the citizens of *Antioch* hauing committed a great offence, and made a great vprore in the citie, THEODOSIVS commaunded great punishment to be inflicted vpon the malefactors, which was not presently executed, by reason of this law: and afterwards he altered his opinion, which hee attributed to the counsell of S. AMBROSE, whom hee loued so much, that to enioy his companie and counsell, hee staid in Milan, and therein made his abode al the rest of his life time. From thence he sent to *Constantinople* for his sonne HONORIVS, who came to Milan; and within a little while after, THEODOSIVS fell so extremely sicke, that after care taken for his soules health, he disposed of the Empire, ordaining his sonne HONORIVS to haue the government of *Rome*, and of all the prouinces of the West: and ARCADIVS to rule *Constantinople* and all the East. And for as much as these his two sonnes were very young, and not of fit yeeres to gouerne, hee left with them as their tutors and gouernours, two very sufficient men both in warre and peace, the one called RVFFINVS, and the other STILICO; RVFFINVS to be with ARCADIVS in the East, and STILICO with HONORIVS in the West: and into *Africa* and the prouinces thereof he sent GILDVS, to gouerne the same as Lieutenant to the two Emperours, to whom hee gaue that charge. After that hee had set all things in order, his disease so much encreased, that hee could not endure it any longer: wherefore recommending his soule to God, he departed out of this present life, as SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR saith, which here maketh an end of his historie, & the most part of the other authors, in the fiftieth yeere of his age, and the eleuenth of his raigne, accounting from the death of GRATIANVS, raigning alone, and with GRATIANVS other fixe yeeres; so as in all he raigned seuentene yeeres; and in the yeere of our Lord, three hundred, ninetie and seuen. This Emperour, according to all authors that write of him, was of constitution of bodie, countenance, and gesture, very like to the Emperor TRAIANE, as by TRAIANES statues and pictures, which in that time were remaining, might easily be perceived, and might be imagined by that which was written both of the one and the other: And they write, that he was not onely like vnto him, and did resemble him in bodie and gesture; but that hee did imitate and excell him in vertue and good conditions, and had the same qualities, and was naturally so inclined; sauing that

A penance  
laid vpon the  
Emperor Theodosius by Saint  
Ambrose.

Theodosius  
made Stilico  
and Rufinus  
tutors and  
ouerscers to his  
two sonnes  
Honorius and  
Arcadius, and  
Gildus to be  
their Lieutenant  
in Africa.

Anno Dom.  
397.

Theodosius  
likened to  
Traiano.

*Theodosius his  
conditions and  
qualities.*

if **TRAIA**NE were spotted with any vice, **THEODOSIVS** was free from it. It is written that **TRAIA**NE was a little too much giuen to the drinking of wine, but we reade that **THEODOSIVS** was most temperate, in eating and drinking. **TRAIA**NE was very desirous of triumphs, glorie and honour; **THEODOSIVS** despised them and held them for things of no moment: but he euer sought to obtaine the victorie, and in all battailes and skirmishes was both valiant and politike, euer giuing thanks and honour vnto God as a good Christian. In conclusion, **THEODOSIVS** was of admirable valour, force and courage, very politike and expert in the warres, of an excellent wit and iudgement in ciuill gouernment, a louer of iustice and equitie, merciful, pitiful, and of a most noble inclination, although somewhat hastie and cholericke against malefactors; but hee was presently appeased and easily entreated. And to moderate this passion, besides **S. AMBROSE** his law concerning matters of death, he vsed of custome (knowing his owne hastie condition) not to determine of any thing, vntill that he had repeated ouer the foure and twentie letters of the Greeke Alphabet: for in that space his wrath would bee aswaged. He was much honoured and beloued by all men, especially by such as were honest. He was exceeding liberall, continent, and shamefast, very circumspect and carefull, indifferently well learned and scene in historie. He much desired to know the acts of the ancient, and greatly honoured learned and wise men. He was well spoken, and of a pleasant and merrie conuersation, framing himselfe with great discretion to the qualitie of those persons with whom he discoursed, maintaining the maiestie of his estate and the authoritie of his person; and had also other excellent conditions and vertues too long to recite. **THEODOSIVS** when he died left two sonnes (of which we haue already spoken) and one daughter.

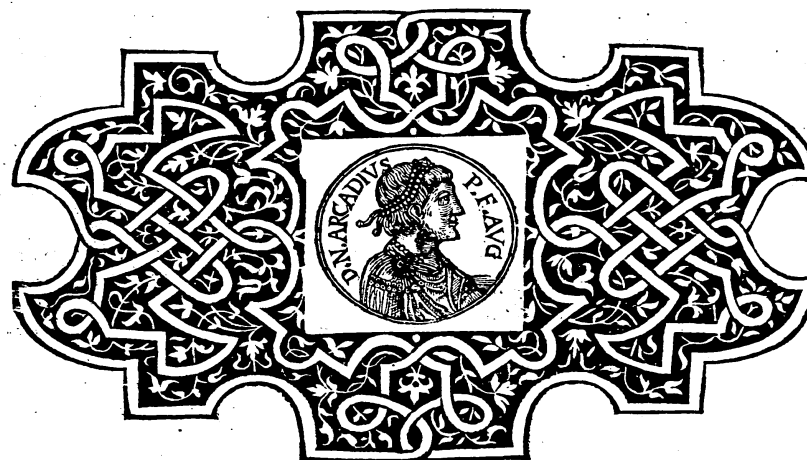
*Theodosius his  
children.*

His sonnes **ARCADIVS** and **HONORIVS** were Emperours, both which he had by his first wife whose name was **FLACILLA**, an excellent and a most religious woman; his daughters name was **PLACIDIA GALLA**, which hee had by his second wife, who was the daughter of the Emperour **VALENTINIANVS**; the first

THE



THE LIFE OF **ARCADIVS**  
AND **HONORIVS**, ONELY OF  
THAT NAME, AND THE ONE AND  
fiftith Romane Emperours.



THE ARGVMENT.

**T**He Empire being under the gouernment of **Theodosius** his two sonnes, and so under the tutors ordained by him, that is, **Rufinus** and **Stilico**, which ought to haue taken care for the youngmen, and to haue gouerned them as fathers: but they not only neglected the tutele of the youthes committed to their charge (nothing caring that they should bee acknowledged for Emperours) but sought to make themselves absolute princes, but they both came to an euill end. For **Rufinus** who was **Arcadius** his tutor in the East, his treason being discovered, had his head stricken off and set ouer one of the gates of **Constantinople**. And **Stilico**, who was **Honorius** his tutor in the West, notwithstanding that he went against the **Gothes**, yet he temporized, to the end to bring his treason to some effect; which being in the end discovered, he was slaine by **Honorius** his commaundement: which was the beginning of the utter ruine of the Roman Empire, which was in a manner wholly destroyed by the **Gothes**. In which time **Arcadius**, who had very peaceably enioyed his Empire the space of certaine yeeres, died in **Constantinople**. But sundrie barbarous nations ouerranne all **Honorius** his Empire, he lying in **Rauenna** making small shew to be an Emperour; being very negligent, when there was neede of great care and diligence. Nevertheless giuing charge of the warres to sundrie of his captaines, he freed his estate (excepting **Spaine** which was conquered

conquered by the Gothes, the Vandales and other strange nations.) in which time he fell sicke and died in Rome, without leauing any heires of his body: for he had no children by any wife; when he had held the Empire in a manner eight and twentie yeeres.



Ruelly I am afraid that those which shall read this Historie, will reprove me for spending more time about the life of THEODOSIUS, then I vse to doe in writing the liues of other Emperours; but he that shall duly weigh and consider his vertues and excellencies, will iudge that I haue been rather too brieft, then otherwise. Wherefore holding the time and labour herein spent for wel employed, let vs come to speake of his sonnes, in whose Historie I can vse no greater breuitie, then in that of their father, considering the great and sundrie accidents which happened in thirtie yeeres; for ARCADIUS raigned little lesse: and so likewise from henceforth we shall be constrained to write more at large, according to the alterations of estates and other matters, whereof we shall haue occasion to speake.

THEODOSIUS left the Empire in such subiection, so peaceable, and in such quiet to his sonnes ARCADIUS and HONORIUS, that if the wickednes of their tutors had not altdred and troubled it, they might easily haue ruled and supported the same. But those which were put in trust to see that all should be well, were the cause that the Empire was molested, in such manner, that it plainly appeareth, that they were the occasion of the totall perdition of the Empire, or at the least, the beginning thereof. For so soone as THEODOSIUS was dead, GILDVS which was Gouvernour of *Africa*, and of the prouinces therein, and RVFFINVS and STILICO in their gouernments, each of them practized to get the Empire for himselfe, and to dispossesse the sonnes of their soueraigne Lord; and each of them shewed his determination so soone as he had opportunity thereto. ARCADIUS with his gouernour RVFFINVS went to *Constantinople*, whither he commaunded his fathers dead body to be brought to be buried with great solemnitie. HONORIUS remained in *Italie*, with STILICO: and so they began to raigne without any contradiction or resistance, in the same order as their father had left them. So soone as GILDVS, gouernour of *Africa*, vnderstood that THEODOSIUS was dead, he tooke no longer care to conceale his determination, but presently shewed it openly in his actions; and beginning to make himselfe Lord of all that countrey, not with the title of Comes or Earle, as vntill then he held (which as PAVLVS DIACONVS writeth, was then giuen to gouernours of prouinces) but as absolute Lord thereof, without acknowledging any subiection or dutie to HONORIUS, or to ARCADIUS. This GILDVS had a brother whose name was MASTELZERIVS, a very good and loyall Christian, who to the vttermost of his power resisted his brothers proceedings. But GILDVS was alreadie so mightie and of such power, that MASTELZERIVS whom some call MASTELZEEZ was driuen to flee into *Italie*, and so he remained sole and absolute Lord of all *Africa*. And GILDVS vnderstanding that his brother was gone to the Emperour (like a cruell tyrant) made two of his sonnes which were his Nephewes and left in *Africa*, to be slaine, nothing regarding how neere they were to him in blood. MASTELZERIVS came into *Italie*, and making relation to HONORIUS, or to say better, to STILICO, of what was happened (whose wisdome and courage was very great, although grounded vpon disloyaltie) had an

Each of those men which Theodosius left for tutors ouer his sonnes sought, particularly to make himselfe an Emperour.

The title of Earle to whom it was giuen.

Gildus put two of his brothers sonnes to death.

an armie giuen him, and all things thereto needefull, and so was sent against his brother, as against a common enemy. And MASTELZERIVS aswell to perfourme his dutie, as to be reuenged of the death of his sonnes, with the greatest expedition that he could make, departed towards *Africa*, although with small forces, trusting in the equitie of his cause, in the friendship that he had in that countrey, and aboue all, in the help and power of God, which he dayly implored with teares, and most deuout prayers. And, as PAVLVS OROSIVS reporteth, comming to an Iland called *Capraria*, neere to *Naples*, he caried with him from thence certaine deuout religious men which liued there, in whose prayers he reposed greater trust, then in the strength of his whole armie: with which he made so many fastings and prayers, that it seemed that God heard him; for he preuailed without any battaile or bloodshed, which happened in this manner. Comming vpon the coast of *Africa* with the small forces which he brought, with great courage he went to land, and entrenched his armie and fortified the same, and sent abroad to giue notice of his arriual, and of his power in all places, fro which he thought his friends and souldiers would haue come to ioine with him: but his brother came against him with threecore and tenne thousand men very well appointed. MASTELZERIVS seeing himselfe in this distresse, was no way discouraged, neither made any doubt of the victorie, assuring himselfe that to obtaine the same, it lay in the hand of God, and not in the multitudes of men and horses. And hauing a determination to passe by a certaine port, by that meane to auoid his enemy and brother, but considering with himselfe how hardlie it was to be performed (as PAVLVS OROSIVS writeth) he made his prayers, and praying, fell asleepe and dreamed, that within three daies he should obtaine the victorie. Hereupon MASTELZERIVS remained there vntill the third day, and then with inuincible courage sallied out of his trenches against his enemies, which thought of no such matter, but rather dayly expected to haue had him in their hands, and they comming forth against him, he went towards them, before his troupes, aduising and perswading them to yeeld obedience, and not to beare armes against him: for he was sent thither to them by the Emperour their soueraigne Lord. And as an Ensigne-bearer would haue charged him, and those which were with him, he slept to him and wounding him, smote his colours to the ground, with which one onely blow, it pleased God that he subdued and pacified all the rest: for there was not any one that made any resistance, but all the Ensigne-bearers and ordinarie souldiers came ouer to him, and yeelded their obedience; and the souldiers of that countrey fled, and so did his brother, and he had the victorie, as we may say, miraculously, for so all men accounted the same.

This GILDVS seeing himselfe abandoned by his souldiers, fled to the sea side, and embarking himselfe aboard a ship did set saile, thinking to haue escaped, and hauing sailed some space, it pleased God that the wind came contrarie, and he for ought that he could do was driuen to land, where he was taken, and by his brothers commaundement had his head stricken off, in requitall of the crueltie which he had shewed to his sonnes, and for his treason against his Lords: MASTELZERIVS remaining without controulement victorious, and maister of his brothers Camp. But afterwards seeing himselfe mightie, as of custome, in prosperitie men grow insolent, hauing no such feare of God before his eyes as he ought to haue had, he purposed and attempted to haue the Empire of *Africa* to himselfe, without any regard of the Emperour HONORIUS, who had sent him thither, which his disloyaltie his captaines could not indure, and therefore they slue him. These

MASTELZERIVS went with an armie against his brother Gildus.

MASTELZERIVS his victorie against his brother Gildus.

Gildus taken and beheaded by his brothers commaundement.

MASTELZERIVS slaine by his souldiers, and the cause.

Ruffinus Arcadius his tutor solicited the Gothes to invade the Empire.  
The death of Ruffinus.

Stilico father in law to Honorius.

Stilico his practises and treason against Honorius.

The Alanes, and their originall.

The originall of the Vandals.

two brothers being dead, *Africa* remained for a space in quiet subiection to the Emperours. These warres afore said are excellentlie well written in verse by CLAUDIANVS. While as these matters passed in *Africa*, ARCADIVS was not idle in *Constantinople*: for his gouernour RVFFINVS vnwilling any longer to conceale his wicked purposes, sought by all meanes to bring ARCADIVS into some distresse, that he might vsurp the Empire; and to that end solicited the Gothes and other nations to make warre in the Empire. Which being discovered, ARCADIVS procuring it, although but a boy, he was slaine by certaine companies of Italian souldiers, which striking off his head, set it ouer one of the gates of the citie of *Constantinople*. This RVFFINVS, as some say, was borne in *Britannie*. Others say, that he was a Frenchman, a man of great iudgement, and an excellent Captaine, but disloyall, and ill inclined. His goods ARCADIVS gaue to an Eunuch of his called EVTROPIVS, who was very priuate with him. Against this RVFFINVS (declaring his doings) the afore said CLAUDIANVS wrote two bookes in heroicall verse, and by his death ARCADIVS remained at libertie, and Lord of his Empire in the East with greater quietnes, then his brother HONORIVS: for STILICO who gouerned in the West, was farre more cunning and subtile then RVFFINVS, and was very valiant, and a most expert man of warre: and as he had as wicked or a worse intent then he, so he knew better how to couer the same as well by his wit, as the great power which he enioyed. For besides that he was HONORIVS his gouernor, or tutor, he was twise his father in lawe: for HONORIVS had his daughter to wife, hauing been first contracted to another daughter of his, which died vnmarried. This STILICO was by birth a Vandal, and hauing purposed to make a sonne of his called EVCHERIVS Emperour, by his great (although malicious) wit, he concealed the same, vntill time of better opportunitie: whereto he thought that the best and most assured way was, to bring the Emperours into necessitie, distresse and dangers, to the end that he only might be the meane to redresse and recouer all losses. For he had so prowd a heart, and so great power, that he was perswaded, that so often as it pleased him, he was able to remedie all matters, and that the need which the Emperour should haue of him, would open the way to his purposes. And to that end by deuises and secret practises, he solicited many nations to make warres vpon the Empire: as the Alanes, whose originall I thinke we haue described, which according to PTOLOMY was of *Getland*, and after MARCELLINVS and PLINY, was of *Sarmatia* in *Europe*, who at that time inhabited part of *Germany*: and the Sweuians, a most fierce people of the same *Germany*, and the Vandales borne also therein, called *Vandales*, after the name of a Riuer of that name in *Scythia*, from whence they first descended, as is aboue declared, which by PLINY and PTOLOMY are called Vandalines: and those Burgundians which we now call Burgonians, of which CORNELIVS TACITVS saith, that they were of the same Vandales, & all one nation. They were called Burgundians, for that in times past being driuen out of *Germany* by DRVSVS and TIBERIVS NERO, in the time of AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, they were constrained to dwell in the fields, and suburbs of cities called Burgi, or Burghes, and thereof tooke their name of Burgundes or Burgundians, but they were very famous by many authors. He hauing mooued these nations, and procured them to make warre, sometimes by letters from certaine persons which promised to aid and assist them, and sometimes by causing displeasures and violences to be offered them, the more to incense them: He vsed yet another policie, which was, that the Gothes, called Visigothes, which (as we haue

haue said) for the space of 21. yeeres had serued in the Emperours pay, and had serued faithfullie euer since that the Emperour THEODOSIVS had receiued them into his seruice, after the death of ATHANARICVS their King, he found a meane to cassiere them, and that they should be ill intreated, & had in contempt. Which they tooke for such a disgrace, and in such scorne, that they presentlie determined to mutine: and doing so, chose a Noble man of their owne nation for their King, whose name was ALARICVS, and began to inuade the countries of *Hungarie* and *Austrich*. Matters standing in these termes, STILICO his drift was that the Gothes, as men which knew, and had good experience in *Italie*, should go to make a conquest thereof; and as the other nations, as Vandales, Alanes, and Sueuians, should inuade *France*, he should haue the charge to defend *Italy*: and HONORIVS being thus distressed, should defend *France* in person, where he should be either slaine or ouerthrowne, or at the least be so oppressed, that he ouercomming the Gothes which he held to be easily done, would make himselfe Lord of *Rome*, which was the head of the Empire, and afterwards would do the like by all the rest, which happened not as he expected: but of his treason arose the destruction and totall decay of the whole Empire, and of himselfe also. Eight yeeres were expired since the death of THEODOSIVS, and that HONORIVS and ARCADIVS reigned, when STILICO, and another Noble man, whose name was AVRELIANVS were chosen Consuls, and the Visigothes which were put out of pay, began to make open warres in *Hungary*, and *Austrich*: and this warre which in the beginning seemed to be of small importance, their force and power in short space increased in such maner, that all the world stood in feare of them. For as PAVLVS OROSIVS an Author of that time, PAVLVS DIACONVS and others do write, So soone as the Gothes were in a mutinie, a certaine King whose name was RADAGASIVS, ioyned with them, with two hundred thousand other Gothes, all most fierce men of warre. But it is true, that they writ not how, or from whence came so great a number of men; neither what this King RADAGASIVS was. It seemeth that then it was a thing so publicly knowne, that no man was ignorant, or stood in doubt thereof, and therefore needlesse to be repeated, by reason whereof we are now ignorant thereof: but they most constantly affirmed, the number of the men of warre to be such as is already specified.

ALARICVS and RADAGASIVS comming together, without finding any resistance or force able to offend them, ouerranne and spoiled all *Thracia*, *Hungarie*, *Austrich*, *Slauonia*, *Dalmatia*, and the frontiers thereof, in such sort, that it seemed that diuels, and not men had passed that way: for they left nothing standing, but the earth and the aire: which S. HEROME, who liued in that time, writing to PAVLVS and EVSTACHIUS plainly expresth in these words: The brute beafts haue also endured the wrath of the Lord in this warre: for the cities being laid waste, and the people thereof put to the sword, the like is done by the very fields; so as they lie bare, desolate, and desert; whereof the prouinces of *Thracia* and *Slauonia*, and the countrie wherein I was borne beare true record: whereby it seemeth that nothing remaineth but the earth, the aire, the bushes and the woods, for all the rest is spoiled and destroyed. After these inhumane spoiles, ALARICVS and RADAGASIVS resolved to come into *Italy*, diuiding their armies into sundrie troupes: for it was impossible that so huge an armie should be able to march together. When these newes were knowne in *Rome*, there fell so great a terrour among the citizens, and generally ouer all *Italy*, that they all held themselves for lost and dead men.

Alaricus King of the Gothes.

The warres of the Gothes.

Radagafus King of the Gothes.

The cruell warres which the Gothes made in the lands of the Empire.

Radagaisus  
came into Italy

Vldinus and  
Sarra Captains  
for Honorius  
against Rada-  
gaisus.

The Hunnes  
aided the Ro-  
manes.

Radagaisus and  
all his host de-  
feated.

A strange and  
wonderfull ac-  
cident.

The death of  
Radagaisus.

Rauenna.

Alaricus came  
into Italy.

Stilico the most  
excellent Cap-  
taine of his  
time.

The coming  
of the Alanes,  
Hunnes, Van-  
dales and Bur-  
gonians.

RADAGAIUS being arriued in *Italy*, and hauing passed the *Apennine* moun-  
taines, came to the mountaines *Fiesole* in *Tuscane*. There came in the behalfe of  
the Empire against RADAGAIUS two Captaines, which serued the Emperour  
HONORIUS, the one of which was called VLDINVS, and the other SARRA, with  
a great number of Gothes and Hunnes in the Emperours pay, which made head  
against RADAGAIUS, and stopped the passages in the mountaines against him,  
and cut off his victuals, whereof he stood in great want, considering the greatnes  
of his armie. These Hunnes and Gothes which came to the aide of the Ro-  
manes, PAVLVS OROSIVS, who, as wee may say, was an eye witnesse, and also  
PAVLVS DIACONVS and others, write of their coming: but they write not  
how, or from whence they then came; although it bee already declared from  
whence they were: but neuertheless they were a great defence of *Italy*; so  
that the Lord abated the pride of RADAGAIUS, through hunger, thirst,  
and the want of necessaries. But herein the authors disagree: for PROSPERVS  
saith, that RADAGAIUS was ouerthrowne and taken prisoner, STILICO  
leading a great Armie against him. But PAVLVS OROSIVS, and PAVLVS  
DIACONVS, after they haue spoken of the two Captains VLDINVS & SARRA,  
say, that RADAGAIUS and his host were ouerthrowne through pure hunger  
and thirst, without any battaile, and that they were taken prisoners like sheepe.  
But howsoeuer it happened, for it might be that there was a battaile, and the rest  
also, the truth is, that hee and his armie were ouerthrowne in this iourney, and all  
taken prisoners by HONORIUS his souldiers, in such sort that S. AVGVSTINE  
who liued in that time, whose reports are to be beleued, in his booke *de Ciuitate  
Dei*, affirmeth, that in one only day RADAGAIUS lost aboute one hundred thou-  
sand men; and all authors affirme, that a great number of them died of hunger:  
and that there was not a souldier among the Romanes but had a droue of cap-  
tiues, as if they had been sheepe; and that they were so cheape, that for a peece of  
gold, which is now worth but a ducat, a man might haue bought a whole com-  
panie of them. And there fell so great a mortalitie and sicknes amongst them, that  
within short space they in a manner all died. And their King and Captaine RA-  
DAGAIUS was likewise taken prisoner and put to death by HONORIUS. HO-  
NORIUS his vertue and valour is much commended in this matter by PAVLVS  
OROSIVS; but (as by the histories it appeareth) hee seemed to be of very little  
worth, a very negligent and carelesse Prince, chiefly in matters concerning the  
wars, & at that time lay in *Rauenna* where he held his Court, which in those daies  
was a great and principall citie. And his brother ARCADIUS lay in *Constantinople*,  
from whence he sent aide and succors to his brother. This feare being past, with-  
in a little while after ALARICVS entred *Italy*, who was a man of greater wit & cou-  
rage then RADAGAIUS was, & his souldiers were better trained and of greater  
experience; against whom STILICO courageously opposed himselfe, & the war be-  
gan between them in the marches of *Rauenna*, and ALARICVS was ouerthrowne  
in battell by STILICO: for in those daies, STILICO for valour and policie in the  
wars, had not his equall in the world. But his purposes being such as we haue said,  
he would neuer throughly ouerthrow ALARICVS, but sometimes would make  
shew to be carelesse, & leaue open the waies for him to passe; so as ALARICVS  
well perceived that STILICO had no meaning to ouerthrow him; and this war  
continued betweene them (as some authors write) the space of three yeeres.

About the same time the Alanes, Hunnes, Vandales and Burgonians entred the  
lands of the Empire, making warre vpon the shoare sides of the riuer *Rhine*, wher-

of

of a new feare seised the hearts of the people. When ALARICVS vnderstood  
these newes, he sent to HONORIUS to haue peace, and some countrie in *France*,  
wherein he and his people might inhabite, promising to defend that prouince a-  
gainst those nations, and therewith aduertising him that STILICO did cunning-  
ly prolong the warres against him. The Emperour beginning to be iealous of  
STILICO, and notwithstanding that hee was also certified by others of his trea-  
son, yet for the present he dissembled the matter, and agreed with ALARICVS,  
granting him his request, and taking securitie of him, sent him into *France*. Where-  
of it was imagined that two great benefits would haue ensued; the one was, the  
peace and quiet of *Italy* through his absence; the other was, the defence of  
*France*, wherein the Vandales, Hunnes, Alanes and Burgonians were already en-  
tered; which all men affirmed to be aboute two hundred thousand men. But STI-  
LICO his treason marred all: for notwithstanding that he did that which HONO-  
RIUS commaunded in suffering ALARICVS and the Gothes to begin their iour-  
ney in peace, and gaue them such things as were needfull, accordingly as the Em-  
perour had appointed; yet as a man which altogetherto repined against peace, and  
chiefly that to ALARICVS should be committed the defence of *France*, he resol-  
ued to breake and scatter all those troupes, and had such meanes thereto, as I will  
tell you, whereof ensued his owne totall destruction, and the ruine of the whole  
Empire, which happened in this manner.

ALARICVS, free from any suspicion (according to the agreement) went for  
*France*: but STILICO secretly practised with a Captaine in his armie which was  
a Jew, whose name was SAVI, that he with his companie, faining some displea-  
sure, or particular quarrell, vpon an Easter day when the Gothes mistrusting no-  
thing (being Christians celebrated diuine seruice) should then set vpon them, and  
kill so many of them as he could: for by these meanes he was assured that the wars  
would begin againe, and therewith would his power and authoritie also begin,  
which with the peace was at an end. The Jew put this secret practise in execution,  
and the Gothes being suddenly set vpon, receiued great hurt and dammage: but  
he presently paid for it, for the Gothes in great haste putting themselves in armes  
fought with him; and there was SAVI slaine with the greatest part of his soul-  
diers. ALARICVS being herewith highly offended, returned against STILICO  
his armie, and STILICO faining to stand in great feare, made shew not to dare to  
fight, but sent to the Emperour for new succours; who being aduertised of that  
which STILICO thought to be most secret, and what had happened, concerning  
the Jew SAVI, and standing in great feare of STILICO, sent certaine persons to  
the armie, which finding oportunitie thereto should kill both him & his sonne:  
which was performed accordingly, and his treason was disclosed, and the cause  
wherefore they were put to death. But herein although the Emperour HONO-  
RIUS vsed a good policie, yet hee was retchlesse in prouiding for the rest: for hee  
sent not any such Generall to commaund his armie as the case required. So as the  
King ALARICVS either beleued that the iniurie which SAVI had done to him,  
was done by the Emperours consent, or else he knew and saw his time and opor-  
tunitie: and thereupon finding no resistance, marched directly with his whole  
armie towards *Rome*, the head and Emperesse of the world. And making most  
cruell warre by fire and sword, he drew neere vnto it, in the yeere one thousand,  
one hundred and threescore, after the foundation thereof: and the Romanes  
standing vpon their guard, he could not take it at the first assault; wherefore hee  
besieged it, which siege continued two yeeres. Of the besieging of *Rome*, and how

A league be-  
twene Ala-  
ricus and Ho-  
norius the Em-  
perour.

Alaricus go-  
ing for France.

The treason of  
Stilico.

The death of  
Stilico.

Alaricus re-  
turned against  
Rome, besieged  
and took it.

ALARICVS tooke it in the end, many authors write that it was so: but in what manner it was taken, and what exploits were done during the time of the siege, they write so briefly that in a manner they say nothing thereof. But that it was taken, PAVLVS OROSIVS in his seventh booke, PAVLVS DIACONVS in the life of HONORIUS, IORNANDES in his historie of the Gothes, S. AVGVSTINE in his booke *De Civitate Dei*, S. HIEROME in his epistle *ad Principium*, as a matter which happened in his time, auerre the same: and so doth S. ISIDORE in his historie of the Gothes: PROCOPIVS a Greeke author, and others of latter time, as I could gather out of their writings, say, that ALARICVS marching with his armie towards Rome, with a determination to doe that which afterwards he did, as to a Christian, although fierce and cruell, there came a Monke which very boldly (ALARICVS giuing him audience) admonished and counselled him to desist from his enterprife, and to consider that hee was a Christian, and that for the loue of God hee should moderate his furie, and not seeme to reioyce in the slaughter of men, and the shedding of humane blood; and sith that Rome had not done him any offence, he should not goe thither. To whom they say, that ALARICVS made this answer: I let thee vnderstand, man of God, that I goe not of my owne will and desire against the great cite of Rome, but I assure thee, that there daily appeareth vnto me a man, who doth virge and importune me thereto, saying, Get thee to Rome and destroy it, euen to the ground. Whereat the religious man being greatly amazed, durst say no more: This I finde written in the Annales of *Constantinople* annexed to the historie of EVTROIPIVS: whereby it plainly appeareth, that the affliction of Rome was the especiall punishment of God. PAVLVS OROSIVS likewise affirmeth the same, saying, That in like manner as God drew the mist LOT out of *Sodome*, when he inflicted so great punishment vpon that citie; so did hee draw Pope INNOCENT the first out of Rome when ALARICVS came to besiege it; who went to *Rauenna* to see the Emperour HONORIUS. Yet PLATINAVR writeth, that this misfortune happened in the time of Pope ZOZIMVS: but it may be that it began in the time of the one, and ended in the time of the other. S. HIEROME liued also in those daies out of Rome, being then gone to doe penance in *Bethlehem*.

But returning againe to the matter, ALARICVS held the citie of Rome, strictly besieged round about; where betweene the besiegers and the besieged, were many skirmishes, and many men were slaine in those two yeeres space; and the famine was so great in Rome, and they endured it with so great patience and constancie, that Saint HIEROME saith, that when the citie was taken, there were very few men therein that could be slaine or taken prisoners, for that extreame hunger had consumed them, and had constrained them (in horrible manner) to cate the flesh the one of the other; so as the mother did not spare the child which she held at her breast, but through hunger, lodged the same againe in her wombe, from whence not long before it issued. These are the words of Saint HIEROME. But in what manner Rome was taken, the authors agree not: for PROCOPIVS saith, that ALARICVS seeing that he could not take it by force, resolved to vse some stratagem, and faining that he would raise the siege, made a kinde of truce, and secretly sent into Rome three hundred prisoners in which he reposed much trust, hauing first instructed them what they had to doe, setting them at libertie and promising them great rewards. The which one day at a certaine hower, making shew as though they went to see the citie, met all together at a port according to their appointment, which port they tooke and held in despite of those which had

A vision appeared to Alaricus.

Famine in Rome in the time of the siege.

had the guard there; and the Gothes running thither vpon a sodaine, through that port entred, and surprised the citie. Others affirme, that by the commaundment and policie of a woman, which was a great ladie of that citie, a port was giuen to the Gothes, in at which they entred. And that she did this of pittie, to see the great famine which raged within the citie; imagining that the enemies could not doe so great hurt in Rome, as the Romanes did to themselves, as we haue said. Some authors there are, which say, that the citie of Rome was taken by force of armes, for that those which were within it, were not able to man the walles, or to make any longer resistance. But howsoeuer it was, all authors affirme that ALARICVS before he entred the same, commaunded vpon paine of death, that no man should be so hardie, as to touch any of those which had withdrawne themselves into the Churches and temples, chiefly of Saint PETER and Saint PAVL Apostles; which was afterwards duely obserued. But all the rest of the citie was robbed and spoiled, and many thousands of people slaine, and many taken prisoners; among which was a sister of the Emperours, whose name was PLACIDIA, whom ATHAVLPVS one of the most principall men among the Gothes, and neere kinsman to King ALARICVS tooke, and had in his keeping; and afterwards married her. The next day after that they had taken the citie, in disgrace and disdaine of the Empire, and to make themselves merrie, they chose one ATALVS for Emperour of Rome, and the same day they carried him vp and downe the streetes in the habit of an Emperour; and the next day they made him serue like a slaue. Three or fower daies the Gothes remained within Rome, which being past, setting fire in sundrie parts of the citie, their King ALARICVS and they departed.

All this while the Emperour HONORIUS was in *Rauenna*, so carelesse, that when the newes was sodainly brought to him that Rome was lost (nothing remembering the citie whereof he was Emperour) he thought that they had told him of a French-man, whom they called ROMA, which was one of those which were men maintained by the Emperours to fight man to man, one with another, after the manner of the Gladiators in Rome, whereat the Emperour greatly marueiled that he should be so soone dead or taken; for it was but a little while since that he saw him fight with others: whereby it plainly appeareth how carelesse and retchlesse he was. This was the first time that Rome, after that it grew to be mightie, was taken by the barbarous nations: for when the Gaules tooke it, it was of no such account; being in the beginning but of small power. After this time that ALARICVS tooke it, the Romane Empire daily declined, and the citie of Rome was afterwards oftentimes taken and destroyed, whereof we will declare the most notable accidents, to the end that the reader may know and perceiue how weake, and of how small power the Empires and mightie kingdoms of the world are: and how that Rome which was the queene and emperesse of the vniuersall world, in time became a slaue to all the nations thereof. ALARICVS departing from Rome would haue sailed into *Sicilia*, but a tempest returned him into *Italie*, and he died in the citie of COSENZA; and the Gothes after that hee was dead, chose ATHAVLPVS for their King, who (as we said) married with PLACIDIA the Emperour THEODOSIVS his daughter. Which ATHAVLPVS so soone as he was King returned towards Rome, with a determination to haue wholly destroyed the same, to haue rooted out the name thereof, and to haue left it desolate; which his cruell determination he altd at his wiues intercession, who with teares entreated the same. When ATHAVLPVS departed

The taking of Rome.

Placidia sister to the Emperour Honorius taken prisoner.

Rome set on fire by the Gothes.

When the Romane Empire began to decline.

The death of Alaricus King of the Gothes. Athaulphus made King of the Gothes in place of Alaricus.

Athaulphus would haue destroyed it but forbore through the entreatie of his wife Placidia.

ted with his armie from *Rome*, it is not written, whether he placed therein any gouernour, or left it at libertie to the Emperour. For his wife *PLACIDIA* was a meane to bring *HONORIVS* and *ATHAVLPVS* to some agreement, and concluded a truce betweene them. And *ATHAVLPVS* consummating his nuptiall rites with her, which vntill then were not solemnized, he went out of *Italie*, and marching with his armie through *France*, to the citie of *Barcelona* in *Spaine*, and taking the same and the territorie thereof, hee staid there a certaine space. What end he made, you shall heare hereafter.

In the time of these troubles in *Italie*, *ARCADIVS* lived in peace in *Constantinople*, and in the easterly parts free from troubles: for the authors write not of any warres of any importance that hee waged, or of any aduersitie that befell him; for it pleased God to lay his scourge vpon the prouinces of the West onely: and so hauing raigned thirteene yeeres, in the one and thirtieth of his age, he died in *Constantinople*. Others say, that he held the Empire a great while longer; alledging that he died after the taking of *Rome*; but *PROSPERVS* and others affirme, that he died before it. Some say, that it was in the yeere of our Lord foure hundred and tenne: others say, foure hundred and thirteene. And he seeing death neere at hand, and that he could not liue, and that his sonne *THEODOSIVS* whom he left behinde him for his heire, was but eight yeeres old; he tooke a dangerous course, but it prooued very profitable, which was: That leauing his son *CESAR*, and his successor, hee ordained by his last will *HISDIGERDV*s King of *Persia* and of *Parthia* for his tutor, who at that time was a friend and in league with the Empire; notwithstanding that the house of *Persia* was euer a capitall enemy thereof. When the King of *Persia* vnderstood what *ARCADIVS* had ordained, he accepted of the gouernment and of the protection of the child, and speedily sent one *ANTIOCHVS* an excellent man, and a great warriour to *Constantinople*: who with the goodwill and consent of *HONORIVS*, who was not a little glad of the friendship of *Persia*, gouerned the East Empire, with great fidelitie, and discretion; and so conserved the same in peace and iustice, vntill that young *THEODOSIVS* sonne of the Emperour *ARCADIVS*, came to age. *ARCADIVS* being dead, whether before or after the sacke of *Rome*, the name of Emperour rested in *HONORIVS*, and in his Nephew the young *THEODOSIVS*.

*A relation of what happened after the death of the Emperour ARCADIVS.*

ALL things being in such confusion, that the Gothes, Vandales, and other nations invaded and made a conquest of the lands of the Empire; and the Emperour *HONORIVS* lying in *Rauenna*, taking no sufficient order for the same: In the Ile of *Britannie* also a great Lord borne in the same Iland, whose name was *GRATIANVS* rebelled, and tooke vpon him the title and ensignes of Emperour, with the consent of some of the men of warre in the same Iland. But his presumption had an euill end, for within few daies after, the same men of warre slew him. But they setting all dutie apart, determined to make another souldier among themselves Emperour, whose name was *CONSTANTINE*, who was a man of greater courage and of more witte, then *GRATIANVS*; and he drawing all the armie out of *England*, went into *France*, with a conceit to haue made himselfe Lord thereof; and to that end, made peace with the Vandales, Sueuians and Alanes, which already were in *France* marching towards *Spaine*:

for

for the Burgonians made their abode in that part which is now called *Burgundie*. This peace betweene *CONSTANTINE* and these three nations could not well be concluded: for *CONSTANTINE* drew to him many men of warre of *France*, and growing mightie made a full account to become Lord of *Spaine* also, before that those Barbarians should be able to come thither. Whereupon he sent thither certaine gouernours, with a competent number of souldiers, and many townes in *Spaine* were of the mind to haue obeyed his commaundement; holding it for better to serue him, then those nations which were comming thitherwards. But two noble men, rich, and of great authoritie, whose names were (as saith *PAVLVS DIACONVS*) *DIDIMVS* and *VERODIANVS* borne in *Valentia*, withstood them, and found meanes to driue them out of *Spaine*. And thereupon with the aide of their kindred, friends, and acquaintance they went to the Pyrenæan Mountaines, with a determination not onely to defend the passages against *CONSTANTINE*'s armie, but also against all the other nations which we haue before named: vsing all meanes to retaine *Spaine* in the obedience and seruice of the Emperour *HONORIVS*; which they continued along time, although with great trouble, effusion of blood, and daunger. *CONSTANTINE* holding himselfe herewith greatly iniured, assembled together a certaine number of the most actiue and best tried souldiers that hee had, and made his sonne *CONSTANS* their captaine, who by some authors is called *CONSTANTIUS*; whom for this purpose, he tooke out of a Monasterie wherein he was a Monke, and making him *CESAR*, sent him against the two brothers. His people were of such power and so expert in the warres, that they ouerthrew, and killed the two Spanish brethren, and entred *Spaine*, which was the ruine thereof: for the men of warre which came with *CONSTANS*, after that they had robbed and spoiled the countrie, and had vied all kind of hostilitie, returned to the Pyrenæan Mountaines; and driuing the Spaniards from thence which garded the passages, tooke vpon them the defence thereof, and were well able to haue performed the same. But *CONSTANS* going to *Arles* a citie in *France* to speake with his father, who then lay there, those which had the garde in the Mountaines came to an agreement with the Vandales and the other strange nations, and sold to them the passages, suffering those Alanes, Sueuians, and Vandales to passe into *Spaine*, which there made such hauocke and did so much harme, as can hardly be expressed: especially neere vnto the Pyrenæan hilles where they found greatest resistance. From thence they marched into the maine land to the citie of *Valentia* (against which they bare an old grudge) which citie they destroyed, and the countrie round about it; and then went to the citie of *Astorga*, which they entred by force of armes; and passing further made great spoile in all *Galicia*. And afterwards crossing through *Castile* they came to the citie of *Toledo*, which by reason of the scituation and naturall strength thereof, and the valour of the inhabitants, they could not take; notwithstanding that they besieged it for a certaine space, and were constrained to raise their siege with shame and dishonour, from that citie which for wars and feates of armes hath euer been famous in that countrie, through whose example many townes in *Spaine* continued their allegiance to *HONORIVS*; notwithstanding that he sent neither souldiers, captaines, nor reliefe. This people did much harme in the territorie of *Toledo*, and passing forwards they followed the riuier *Tagus*, still spoyling the countrie vntill they came to the citie of *Lisbon*, in *Portugall*: which in those daies also was very famous, and giuing an assault thereto, it was so well defended by the inhabitants,

Li 4

that

The Emperour Arcadius died in Constantinople.

Anno Domini. 410 413.

Arcadius made King of Persia tutor of his son.

Antiochus a Persian gouernour of the young Emperour Theodosius.

Gratianus rebelled and took the title of Emperour in England.

The souldiers slue Gratianus and in his place made Constantine Emperour.

The Vandales Sueuians, and Alanes tooke their way towards Spaine.

Didimus and Verodians opposed themselves against Constantine.

Constantine made his sonne Constans Caesar, and sent him into Spaine.

Strange nations sacked Spaine.

Lisbon.

that they could not take it, but came to a composition: and they receiving a great quantitie of treasure raised their siege, and returned the same way that they came, making warre on euerie side. And by reason of a great famine and scarcitie in the land (as OROSIVS writeth) they laid downe their weapons for a space, and fell to tilling of the earth, as inhabitants of the countrie; diuiding what they had gotten amongst those nations, and their captaines or Kings, Vandales, Sueuians, and Alanes. The Empire being in this estate, ATHAVLPHVS and the Goths possessing *Narbona, Barcelona*, and the marches thereof, which in name were confederates with HONORIVS, the tyrant CONSTANTINE and his sonnes possessed the rest of all *France*. The young Emperour THEODOSIVS being a child, was bred vp in *Constantinople*, vnder the protection of the King of *Persia*, and of *Antiochus* whom he had sent. But of his house and person a very vertuous and honorable noble man tooke charge, whose name was ANTHEMIVS, who was his Pretorian Prefect. This child was bred vp in all learning, and became a vertuous prince and a good Christian. Now his Vncle HONORIVS, which then lay in *Rauenna*, bethought himselfe how he might make to the West Empire, as free from the slauerie of these tyrants and barbarous nations, as was the East; and to that end he made an excellent man, whose name was CONSTANTIVS, generall of his armie against those tyrants and Barbarians. Which CONSTANTIVS vntill then was an Earle, borne in *Rome*, descended of the noble and auncient Romanes; who like a perfect Romane, with a pickt and selected armie, entred *France*, and fighting with the Emperour CONSTANTINE the tyrant, overthrew him, and besieged him in the citie of *Arles*, and at length getting him into his hands, smote off his head. And it happened so well with him, that within few daies after that the death of CONSTANTINE was published, young CONSTANS sonne of the said CONSTANTINE, whom his father had made CÆSAR, was slaine in the citie of *Vienna* in *France*, by the hands of a captaine of his whose name was GERONCIUS. And the same GERONCIUS, who also sought to haue made himselfe a tyrant, and to haue created one MAXIMVS a friend of his Emperour, was also slaine by those souldiers which in *England* rebelled with CONSTANTINE; with a determination to returne to the seruice of HONORIVS. And GERONCIUS being dead, they dispoiled MAXIMVS of his Imperiall robes, and sent him in exile into *Spaine*. In this manner was *France* freed from these tyrants, by this excellent man CONSTANTIVS; & the armie reduced to the seruice of the right Emperour HONORIVS. After this, HONORIVS speedily sent Captains and souldiers into *Britannie*, which held for CONSTANTINE, from the first beginning of his tyrannie, and they recovered and reduced the same to obedience and subiection. And in *France*, a man of great parentage and authoritie in that countrie (as say PAVLVS OROSIVS, and PAVLVS DIACONVS) sought to make himselfe Emperour; but he was presently slaine: and in the like manner another brother of his, called SEBASTIAN; both which rebelled (as it seemed) without any occasion or reason, but onely that they desired to die with the name and title of Emperours.

This CONSTANTIVS Generall for the Emperour HONORIVS, being of great power in *France*, ATHAVLPHVS king of the Goths which lay in *Barcelona*, and was Lord of all the countrie round about, and had there liued in peace and quiet the space of three yeeres, at the entreatie of P LACIDIA to whom hee was married, which was HONORIVS his sister; began to stand in some feare of the power of the Emperour and of his Generall CONSTANTIVS, knowing that they

Anthemius  
was gouernour  
of the young  
Emperour  
Theodosius.

Honorius made  
Constantius ge-  
nerall of his  
armie.

Constantius put  
the tyrant Con-  
stantine to  
death.

Constantius his  
victories.

The designs  
of Athaulphus.

had fortified the Alpes, so the end that hee should not any more returne into *Italy*. Whereupon he determined to aduenture to make himselfe Lord of all *Spaine*, and perswaded a Romane Captaine whose name was ATTALVS, to take vpon him the name and title of Emperour, and to goe with a fleet which he would giue him, to seise vpon the countrie of *Andalusia*, which was then called *Betica*; and to doe the like by so much as he should be able in *Africa*; and he would also make warre in his owne person. ATTALVS very vnwisely accepted his offer, and presently sent into *Africa* an armie with Iudges and gouernours, as though hee had been the peaceable Emperour thereof, and began to make warre in *Spaine*. Against whom, HONORIVS sent a wife and a valiant Captaine called HERACLIVS, who driuing all ATTALVS his Iudges and gouernours out of *Africa*, leauing the countrie in peace, with a Nauie came to seeke him himselfe; and finding him, fought with him in a battaile by Sea and ouercame him. And hee flying to the shore in *Spaine*, was taken by the Spaniards, and sent to CONSTANTIVS, who was Generall for HONORIVS, who was then in *France*; and he presently sent him prisoner to HONORIVS; and HONORIVS made his hand to be stricken off, and sent him in exile into the Ile of *Lipari*, neere vnto *Sicilia*. And to HERACLIVS for the victorie which he obtained against him, was giuen the Consulship and the gouernment of *Africa*. But as in prosperitie pride and ambition increaseth, and men are then farre more excessiue therein, then in time of aduersitie: so this HERACLIVS seeing himselfe faoured and in great authoritie, thought that hee might also be an Emperour. And as he was in possession of *Africa*, PAVLVS OROSIVS writeth, that taking another Captaine for his sonne in law and companion in his rebellion, whose name was SABINVS, a most subtile fellow and very valiant, he assembled (to goe into *Italy* against HONORIVS and to make a conquest thereof) the greatest Nauie of all manner of shippes that I euer read of. For OROSIVS affirmeth, that hee gathered together (if there be no error in the figures) foure thousand and seuentie sailes of all sorts little and great; which without comparison was the greatest in number that euer was seene vpon the Sea: for we doe not reade that XERXES or ALEXANDER euer armed so great a Nauie. With this great fleet, fraught with souldiers, armes and victuals, he came to the coast of *Italy*, and set his men on land to march directly to *Rome*, being many in number, but neither so well experienced and trained as were the Romanes; which in the fields by HONORIVS his commaundement attended their coming, led by a good Generall called MARINVS, with the title and dignitie of an Earle: who had raunged his Romanes in very good order, with a resolution to die or to ouercome, and not to suffer themselves to be besieged, as they were by ALARICVS. HERACLIVS, who thought to haue amazed the world with the name and number of his fleet, and that he should haue found no resistance, was so discouraged when he saw MARINVS his armie, that hee presently fled to the Sea; and embarking himselfe aboard one of his ships, returned by flight into *Africa* with that onely ship; from whence he came with so many as is before said. He being arriued, and his base cowardize discovered, the ordinarie Garrisons vpon a day mutined and slew him. And his sonne in law and companion SABINVS, altring his determination, fled to *Constantinople* to entreate the young Emperour THEODOSIVS, nephew to HONORIVS, to take compassion of him: from whence within a little while after he was brought to HONORIVS, and hauing his life graunted, was condemned to perpetuall exile. And so through the prudence and good happe of HONORIVS, all these tyrants were defeated which rebelled against

Attalus called  
Emperour.

Heraclianus  
ouertrew  
and tooke At-  
talus prisoner.

Heraclianus  
rebelled in A-  
frica.

An incredible  
great Nauie by  
Sea.

Heraclianus  
came into Italy

Heraclianus  
his shameful  
flight.

The death of  
Heraclianus.

gainst him. As wee haue alreadie related in so plaine manner as I possibly haue been able; which trulie was not without great paine and difficultie: for matters which passed in the time of ARCADIVS, and afterwards in the time of HONORIVS were so many and so diuers, and many times so many accidents happened together, and the Historiographers treat of them so confusedly, that in writing them I am much troubled, as well in collecting and abbreviating them, as in relating them, in such sort as the readers may vnderstand and comprehend the same; and to recite them in order as they passed and happened one before another, which hath been my principall care from the beginning, and by the grace of God shall be, vntill I haue ended. All the victories and about recited good haps of HONORIVS, after so many aduersities and warres which he had in his time, the authors attribute to the care which hee had of the Christian faith and religion. For in those times, through the diligence and endeavour of a Captaine of his called MARCELLINVS, with the assistance of his great Captaine CONSTANTIVS, he procured concord and an vnitie in all the Churches of *Africa*, and of other prouinces; wherein were many contrarieties and erroneous opinions concerning the Christian faith. And truly S. AVGVSTINE was a speciall good meane to bring this to passe, who at that time was Bishop of *Hippo in Africa*; which the Emperour CHARLES the fift in his iourney and conquest of *Tunis* tooke from the mightie and most cruell tyrant BARBAROSSA, but his sonne PHILIP the second within few yeeres after againe lost the same.

HONORIVS then seeing himselfe free from those tyrants, and the most part of the prouinces of his Empire in peace, and obedient, resolved to driue the straunge and barbarous nations out of those countries which they held in *Spaine* and in *France* about *Narbona*; and thought it best to begin with the Gothes, which were the most mightie and most warlike people of all other nations, and possessed such part of *Spaine*, as is aforesaid: for these being defeated, he iudged it an easie matter to make an end of the rest. The King ATHALPHVS, as he deely loued his wife PLACIDIA, much desired peace with HONORIVS, and so by all meanes sought the same: which when his men of warre perceiued, which were of a farre contrarie opinion to him, they so much abhorred him that they slew him: but the authors set not downe in what manner. And they presently chose a great man among themselves for their King, whose name was SEGERICVS; and for that they suspected him as they did ATHALPHVS, they handled him in the same manner, as they did their last King. And hauing slaine these two their Kings, they chose one VVALIA for their King, conceiuing that he would be a great enemy to the Romanes, with whom they desired to haue cruell warres; they hauing the Emperours sister PLACIDIA in their power which was then a widow, whom they entreated honourably and honestly.

This VVALIA beginning to rule his kingdome and gouernement, held it for necessarie and sound counsell to hold peace and friendship with HONORIVS, but taking warning by his predecessors (to satisfie his people) he rigged vp a great fleet, which he sent to make a conquest of *Africa*, which in peace held for HONORIVS: and as it pleased God so to worke for HONORIVS, without that he should set his hand thereto, such a tempest tooke them vpon the sea, that the whole fleet was in a manner lost and cast away. Which misfortune, together with the newes of the comming of CONSTANTIVS, generall of the Emperours armie with great power, did much assuage the fiercenes and furie of the Gothes; and VVALIA tooke so good order with them, that of their owne accord and consent,

The Gothes  
slew their  
King Athal-  
phus.

Segericus King  
of the Gothes  
slaine by his  
souldiers.  
VValia King of  
the Gothes.

sent, a treatie of peace was made with HONORIVS, which was concluded vpon condition, that PLACIDIA should be rendered to the Emperour, and that VVALIA and his forces should faithfullie aid CONSTANTIVS, to driue the Vandales, Alanes, and Sueuians out of *Spaine*, which had alreadie made themselves Lords of the greatest part thereof. This being concluded, hostages were giuen in the behalfe of VVALIA, and PLACIDIA was deliuered, whom HONORIVS afterwards gaue to wife to CONSTANTIVS, in reward of his seruices and victories obtained by him, and making him CESAR, he proclaimed him for his successor. And then began CONSTANTIVS his warres in *Spaine* against the Barbarians, King VVALIA assisting and seruing therein with his Visigothes, as we will presently declare.

While these matters (whereof we haue spoken) were a doing, the Barbarians tooke and were in possession of the greatest part of *Spaine*, especiallie the Vandals, which conquered a great part of *Betica*, from whom that countrey tooke the name of *Vandaluzia*: and afterwards in proceesse of time, leauing out the letter *V*, it came to be called *Andaluzia*. And the Sueuians and Alanes held *Merida*, and a great part of *Lusitania*, which is now *Estremadura*, and part of *Portugall*: and in *Galicia* and *Leon*, they inioyed great part from the beginning, and had diuided these countries amongst them by lot. CONSTANTIVS the Imperiall generall being come into *Spaine*, and with him the Gothes, according to the agreement, the first warre that they made was against the Alanes nere to the citie of *Merida*, where was fought betweene them a very cruell battaile, wherein the Alanes were ouerthrowne, and CONSTANTIVS had the victorie, and the King of the Alanes, called ACHACE, was slaine in the battaile. This victorie obtained by CONSTANTIVS, strooke so great feare into the hearts of the rest of the barbarous nations, that they presentlie in great humilitie sued for peace, and sent to intreate HONORIVS to graunt them truce, and some place in *Spaine* wherein they might liue. While these accidents happened in *Spaine*, HONORIVS went to *Constantinople*, to visit the Easterne parts, wherein his Nephew the yong THEODOSIUS ruled, who was now come to riper yeeres; and being at libertie free from his tutors, there happened some controuersie betweene him and the King of *Persia*. And it happened, that as CONSTANTIVS was buied in the warres of *Spaine*, and HONORIVS out of *Italy*, a principall man, borne and inhabiting in *Rome*, being of the auncient Nobilitie thereof, named TARTALLVS, assisted by a great part of the Romane people, and by many townes in *Italy*, rebelled and tooke the name and title of Emperour, and began to leuie souldiers. But the loyall subiects which held with HONORIVS, fighting with him, he was by them ouerthrowne and slaine. But disloyaltie and treacherie was then so much in vse, that another whose name was ATTALVS did the like, who putting on the Imperiall Robes, and taking the Ensignes, was called Emperour, and began to leuie great forces in *Italy*. When the Imperiall generall CONSTANTIVS, being then in *Spaine*, heard these newes, after the victorie aforesaid, putting the Vandales, Sueuians and Alanes in good hope to obtaine what they desired, and giuing it out that he went into *Italy* to conferre thereof with the Emperour, the better to keepe them in peace in his absence, he departed out of *Spaine*, and came into *Italy*: the like did the Emperour HONORIVS, who (as I said) was aduertised thereof in *Constantinople*. When the comming of HONORIVS and CONSTANTIVS was knowne in *Rome*, the people arose in great furie, and apprehending the tyrant ATTALVS, sent him to *Rauenna*, to the Emperour HONORIVS, whither CONSTANTIVS

Honorius made  
peace with  
VValia King  
of the Gothes.

Constantius  
made Cesar,  
and sent gene-  
rall into Spaine  
against the  
Vandales.

Andaluzia so  
called after  
the Vandales.

Constantius  
his victorie  
against the  
Alanes.

Honorius  
went to Con-  
stantinople.

Tartallus re-  
belled in  
Rome.

Attalus rebel-  
led, and tooke  
upon him the  
name of Em-  
perour.

Honorius and  
Constantius  
returne into  
Italy.

was

Attalus bani-  
shed.

was alreadie come, with his wife PLACIDIA, where ATTALVS by HONORIVS his commandement had his hand stricken off, and was banished to *Constantinople*, wherein HONORIVS in the opinion of the world shewed too great patience and clemencie.

Honorius made  
Constantius his  
companion in  
the Empire.

HONORIVS being in *Ravenna*, whither his brother in law CONSTANTIVS CÆSAR was alreadie come, and hauing consideration of his worthie seruices, and how profitable he had been to the Empire, made him with very great solemnitie to be called AVGVSTVS, Emperour, and his equall and companion in the Empire of the West, and made a long set Oration in praise of his vertues, and there the two Emperours by mutuall consent (to the end that VALIA King of the Gothes should continue in their seruice) consigned vnto him the citie of *Tbolisa* in the kingdome of *France*, with all the countrey neere adiacent, called *Aquitania*, which they then named *Basconia*, and is now called *Gasconia*.

Aquitania.  
Gasconie.

After the feasts and Coronation of CONSTANTIVS, HONORIVS went to *Rome* to pacifie some commotions which were therein, and the new Emperour CONSTANTIVS determining to go into *Spaine* to make an end of the war which he had there begun, commaunded for that purpose souldiers to be mustered. Surely the valour and wisedome of this excellent Captaine and Emperour was such, that if God had permitted him life he had freed *Spaine* from the barbarous nations, but death stayed his iourney, so that he neuer came thither. Whereof when HONORIVS was aduertised, he was extremely sory, and in his place sent into *Spaine* a famous and valiant Captaine, called ECIVS, who tooke charge of the armie which CONSTANTIVS had leuied, and marching thitherwards, by the way ouerthrew the Burgonians which attempted to haue entered *France*. The like he did by the Franckes, which afterwards entered and inhabited therein. And being come into *Spaine*, his principall care was to finde out the Alanes, which after their ouerthrow by CONSTANTIVS, did not choosethem any King, but ioyned with the Sueuians, which were Lords of all the countrey about *Lisbon*. But so soone as they knew that CONSTANTIVS was dead, they returned to *Merida*, and the Vandales and Sueuians were now growne so stout, that they would neither require, nor accept peace, but came to the aid of the Alanes, and began to make warre against such Cities as held for the Emperour. ECIVS being come into *Spaine*, seeing that all made head against him, and hauing no sufficient armie to encounter them, protracted the time for certaine daies, and leuied more forces, which by HONORIVS (without reason) was imputed to him for cowardize, and he sent the Earle CASTINVS to be generall, and his successor, displacing ECIVS from his charge. But CASTINVS perceiuing how the world went, approued the iudgement of ECIVS, and in the same manner prolonged the wars, vntill that BONIFACIVS who was gouernor of *Africa*, (whom we reade S. AVGVSTINE for his vertue to haue much loued) came into *Spaine* to his aid, bringing very good troupes with him, and they two together began the warre, and obtained many notable victories against the Barbarians; and so handled the matter, that it was held for certaine that they would haue freed the countrey. But this commaund is such a thing as can neuer be well shared: for these two excellent Captaines fell at such variance, that BONIFACIVS would not stay any longer, but returned to his gouernment of *Africa* (as PROSPERVS, and PAVLVS DIACONVS haue written, yet EVTROPIVS differeth from them) and CASTINVS remaining alone, the Emperours partie began to grow weak in *Spaine*.

Whilst these matters passed in the West, HONORIVS his nephew THEODOSIVS,

The death of  
Constantius.

Ecivs made  
generall in  
Spaine against  
the Vandales  
and the rest.

Castinus suc-  
ceeded Ecivs  
in his charge.

Boniface came  
into Spaine in  
aid of Casti-  
nus.

SIVS, Emperour in the East, being now of sufficient age, was freed from his tutors: and as he was a good Christian, his chiefest care was for the seruice of God, and for the defence of his holie Church. Whereupon he fell at variance with BARRABANVS King of *Persia*, who succeeded ISDEGERDVS which had been his tutor (as is before said) for that he was giuen to vnderstand that BARRABANVS persecuted the Christians which liued in his dominions, whereof THEODOSIVS had admonished him, requiring amendment: but seeing he could not obtaine it, he sent ARDABVRVS an excellent Captaine against him, who fought a battaile with NASIVS generall of the Persians, and therein ouerthrew him, and made great slaughter of his people, and afterwards entered the countrey, and did great harme and spoile therein. And by another way THEODOSIVS sent another Captaine called GRATIANVS against ALAMANDER King of the Sarrazins, which came in aid of the king of *Persia*: this King was likewise ouerthrowne in battaile by GRATIANVS, and a very great multitude of his people were slaine, and he himselfe escaped by flight. And in another place another Captaine called ARSOVIDA ouerthrew the Persians also, so as this warre was made to the great aduantage of the Romanes, and with hurt and dammage to the Persians, vntill that BARRABANVS ceassing to persecute the Christians, a peace was treated and concluded betweene him and THEODOSIVS. This happened in the time that I told you that the Emperours partie began to wax feeble and weak in *Spaine*, which weakenes increased by reason of the death of HONORIVS, who as PAVLVS DIACONVS writeth, died of an infirmite in *Rome*, hauing reigned sole Emperour of the West about fiftene yeeres after the death of his brother ARCADIVS, in whose companie he reigned other thirteene yeeres; so as the whole time of his raigne was eight and twentie yeeres, besides two yeeres in the time of his father. HONORIVS left no heires of his bodie, for by two wiues which he had which were the daughters of STILICO, he had neuer any child. And a little before he died, he fell so farre at dissension with his sister PLACIDIA, that he went to *Constantinople* to her Nephew the Emperour THEODOSIVS, with her two sonnes which she had by the Captaine and Emperour CONSTANTIVS, of whom we haue alreadie treated: her sonnes were named HONORIVS, and VALENTINIANVS: this VALENTINIANVS was afterwards Emperour: He died in the yeere of the Incarnation of our Sauour Christ 427.

Arres be-  
tweene the  
Emperour  
Theodosius,  
and Barraba-  
nus King of  
*Persia*.

Theodosius  
his victories.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Honorius.

Anno Domini.  
427.

HONORIVS (as before is touched) was a vertuous and a very good Christian, very noblie minded, and very pitifull. He did one notable thing, which was the part of a charitable and good Christian, which was, to abolish the Gladiators or Sword-players, which (as it is written) did vse in *Rome* vpon pleasure most cruelly to kill one another. He much loued his ease, and so we see, that in his owne person he neuer followed the warres; and in his gouernement was very negligent. But in the end by his Captaines he so much preuailed, that excepting *Spaine*, he brought all the rest of his Empire to quiet subiection in his life time, although after great rebellions, warres, and troubles.

Honorius put  
downe the  
Sword-players  
called Gladia-  
tors.

A few yeeres before his death died the great Doctor S. HIEROME, being of the age of fourescore and twelue yeeres, in *Bethleem* in *Iewry*, where Christ was borne, who departing out of this life, went to enioy the life cuerlasting.

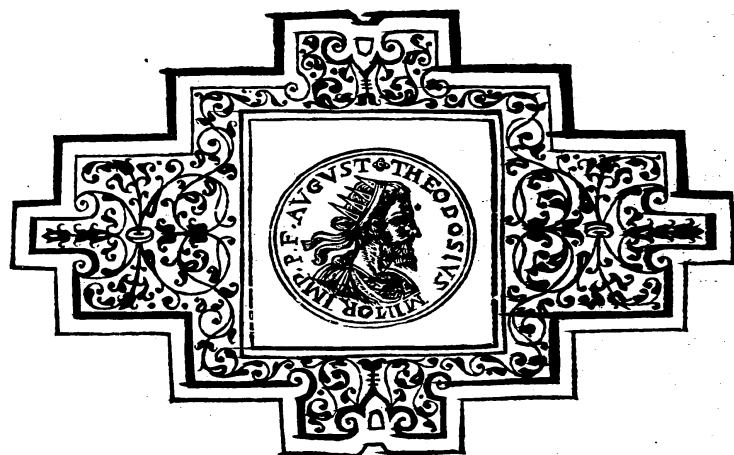
The death of  
S. Hierome.

Kk

THE



THE LIFE OF THEODO-  
SIVS THE SECOND OF THAT  
NAME, AND TWO AND FIFTITH RO-  
MANE EMPEROVR, AND OF HIS  
Cosen germane VALENTINIAN  
the second.



THE ARGVMENT.



After the death of Honorius, Theodosius lawfully succeeded in the Empire, who perceiving that many went about to make themselves tyrants of the West Empire, resolved to make his cosen Valentinian, Caesar, in these parts. Who within a small time after, making himselfe Lord of all Italie, was by the consent of Theodosius, and of the people, called Emperour. All the while that these two Emperours lived, there were so cruell and bloudie warres made by the Barbarians, as Hunnes, Gothes, Vandales and such like nations, that the whole world seemed to have been turned upside downe. But above all other the warres of the Hunnes was most dangerous and of longest continuance, for they hauing conquered Hungarie, would haue gone into France. Against which, Valentinianus continually sent fresh supplies, vnder the leading of his generall called Ecicius. But Theodosius his Empire in the East was in farre better rest and quiet. For the West Empire was continually infested with cruell warres, whither Theodosius neuer left to send new supplies of captaines and souldiers. By reason whereof, Aetila King of the Gothes, thinking

thinking to finde the Empire of Constantinople vnfurnished of men of warre to defend it, invaded the same: wherupon Theodosius recalled those captaines which he had sent into Sicilia to the aide of Valentinianus, and encountered the Gothes; and during the time of that warre, which on the Gothes side was managed very coldly, by reason of some suspitions and iealousies among themselves, Theodosius falling sicke died of the plague, when hee had raigned two and fortie yeeres, whose death was bewailed by the whole Empire: for he was a very good man and much beloved in his life time.



Great in truth are the accidents and wars, happie, and infortunate, which haue happened in the Romane Empire in the space of fourehundred and seauentie yeeres (little more or lesse) that we haue written thereof, as the reader may easily perceiue. But notwithstanding that we haue sometimes seene it in distresse, troubled, and in daunger to haue been lost in the whole, or in part; yet in the end, although those aduersities continued for a space, we haue seene how it hath been deliuered from those calamities, by ouercomming them and redressing them by some meanes. So as we may say, that it hath been cured of those infirmities wherewith it was oppressed, and recovered the losses which it sustayned, vntill the time, whereto we are now come. But through the secret iudgement of God, from henceforth matters succeeded not in any such manner, but the losses multiplied, and the forces diminished. And although that sometime through the valour of some excellent Emperours and their captaines, the Empire enforced it selfe to recouer the auncient maiestie thereof, and was both honored and feared, yet it could neuer attaine to the former: and this also was very feldom. So as from henceforth, at sundrie times and by diuers accidents, the Emperours lost prouinces and countries, and in them began kingdomes and particular dominions; and of those countries which the Empire lost, arose great and mightie monarchies: and as principalities and kingdomes multiplied, so great and more strange were the accidents which happened, which I cannot relate, neither am I bound thereto: for my purpose and intent was, not to write a generall historie, but onely of the Emperours, and that briefly and in summe. Wherefore as briefly as I shall be able, I will discouer the substance, and hold on my way, writing such things as shall be of greatest importance in the historie of the Emperours, leauing that of other Kings and kingdomes which in proceesse of time shall present themselves to others, which either already haue, or hereafter shall take that charge vpon them. For this which I haue already taken in hand, will be enough for my small abilitie, which I pray God, I may be able to bring to any reasonable good end, and honest satisfaction of those which shall reade the same.

By the death of HONORIUS, in reason, and of right, the whole Romane Empire appertained to his Nephew THEODOSIVS, then sole Emperour, who then was in Constantinople, and held the East Empire, as by that which is already said may easily be vnderstood; although that in the time of HONORIUS, there be no notable mention made of his doings aswell for his few yeeres, as for that the Empire of the East was in better rest and greater quiet, then the Western Empire, which then was infested and turmoiled. When it was commonly knowne that HONORIUS was dead, some which meant to continue their allegiance held for THEODOSIVS, as reason and their dutie required. But the greatest potentates, began to make themselves Lords of the Empire or of part thereof. In Africa was BONIFACIVS (as we say) gouernour of that prouince, who in the beginning

The alterations  
and changes  
which hap-  
ped through  
the death of  
Honorius.

The Hunnes  
entred Hunga-  
rie.

held himselfe neuter. In *Spain* the Vandales, Sueuians, and Alanes, thinking that **CASTINVS** who was generall for the Empire against them, should not be able to withstand them; began vpon a sudden to bee discontent with that which they held; and so tooke armes and would haue more. The Gothes which were Lords of *Barcelona*, *Narbona*, *Tolosa*, and all the countries round about, by the leaue and permission of **HONORIVS**, as his allies and friends; tooke the same resolution as the rest did. And the Burgonians in like manner which dwelt vpon the *Rhines* side, and the Franques which had been driuen out of *France*, resolved to returne thither againe. The Hunnes also a most fierce nation, whose originall was in *Scythia*, as was that of the Gothes, desirous to leaue the sterilitie of their countries; departed thence in great numbers, and came to the confines of *Pannonia Inferior*, which now is called *Hungarie*: so that into all those nations and into sundrie others, the death of **HONORIVS** did put new thoughts and conceits; although that they all did not presently put them in execution: of all which as it shall bee most fit for my purpose, I will hereafter make particular mention. The state standing in these termes, as **THEODOSIVS** provided not for his comming into *Italy*, or to send some noble personage with his power and authoritie; there was a principall man in *Rome* whose name was **IOHN**, who by meanes of his dignitie and riches, was of great power. He by the counsell and direction of **CASTINVS** (although in secret) which, as wee haue said, was an Earle and Generall in *Spaine*, rebelled, and tooke the name of Emperour, and **ECIVS** whom **HONORIVS** deposed from the government of *Spaine*, was also of his counsell, and fauoured and assisted him in his proceedings.

This Tyrant **IOHN** hauing made himselfe Lord of *Rome*, and of the greatest part of *Italy*, great part of *France* holding for him already, and all that part of *Spaine* which was vnder the government of **CASTINVS**; the same **ECIVS** and **CASTINVS** as they were both enemies to **BONIFACE** gouernour of *Africa*, seeing that hee tooke not part with **IOHN**, perswaded him to declare him for an enemy; yet they discouered not themselves as then, to the end the better to bring the other to confusion. Wherefore **CASTINVS**, from *Spaine* where he then was, with a great fleet and a great number of souldiers sailed into *Africa*, spreading a rumour that he fled thither for feare of the Vandales, from which in no part of *Spaine* he could liue in safetie. Vnder colour whereof, and writing very louing letters to **BONIFACIVS**, setting his men on land, he seized on many cities in the coast of *Africa*, and so liued for certaine daies in counterfeite peace and friendship with **BONIFACIVS**; yet **BONIFACE** was not free from suspicion of him. Hereof are at this day epistles extant, written to him by **S. AVGVSTINE**, who then was Bishop of *Hippo*, and the answers thereto; discouering the suspicion. And **CASTINVS** afterwards manifesting his ill meaning, **S. AVGVSTINE** fought meanes to reconcile them: but his godly endeavour taking no effect, they fought a battaile, which although it were very cruell and bloudie, **CASTINVS** was therein ouerthrowne and fled to his ships, and with such of his souldiers as hee could gather together, (being put to flight) he returned with shame and dishonour into *Spaine*. Which when **IOHN** the vsurping Emperour vnderstood, hee sent for him, to the end to leaue him for his Lieutenant in *Italy*; and assembling together the old Captaines and souldiers which remained since the time of **HONORIVS**, with the greatest power that he was able to leue, and a very strong fleet, he made preparation to passe into *Africa*. Some authors write, that hee went thither in person, and that after many battailes he was slaine by **BONIFACIVS**. So writeth **BLONDVS** in his booke

Castinus came  
against Boni-  
face in Africa.

Castinus ouer-  
came in battell  
by Boniface.

booke of the declining of the Roman Empire, and **GVIDO** of *Rauenna*, and **ANTONIVS SABELLICVS** in his *AEneades*, & other moderne authors, which in my opinion are deceiued, or at the least, I know not what ancient authors they follow therein. Whereof that which I finde written, is, that **THEODOSIVS** being aduertised of the great Commotions in the West Empire, and daring not to leaue the East, thought it his safest course to nominate his cousin germane **VALENTINIAN**, **CESAR**, who was the sonne of **PLACIDIA**, sister to the two Emperours **ARCADIVS** and **HONORIVS**, and wife to the excellent Captaine and Emperour **CONSTANTIVS**. And after some time and accidents which happened, with such troups as he thought good, he sent him into *Italy* with his mother **PLACIDIA**, whose vertue and wisdom was sufficient to gouerne the whole, vntill the young **CESAR** came to age fit for the gouernment. Before this, the vsurper **IOHN** sent his Ambassadors to **THEODOSIVS**, requesting him to allow of his election, and to be pleased to accept him for his companion in the Empire. Whereunto **THEODOSIVS** his answer was, to command his Ambassadors to be apprehended as traitors and rebels. And hee sent commaundement to **ARDABVRIVS** or **ANDABVRIVS**, an excellent Captaine of his, that with the greatest power that he could, he should take his passage by Sea into *Italy*, before **PLACIDIA** and her sonne, and should seeke to defeat the tyrant **IOHN**. And **ARDABVRIVS** presently put the matter in practise: but there befell him such a storme vpon the Sea, that his ship was driuen from the rest of the fleet, and arriued where he was taken and carried prisoner to *Rauenna*. And his sonne **ASPAR** within few daies after being aduertised hereof (who also came in the same fleet) after that the tempest ceased and that the Seas were calme, set his men on land, and vsed such meanes, that passing through certaine lakes or meares of water, which are, or were neere to *Rauenna* (where the vsurping Emperour **IOHN** then was, and held his father prisoner: which was held for a matter impossible, and so it is written for a wonder) hee by force of armes entred the citie, which nothing suspected any such mishap, and he not onely did set his father at libertie, but tooke the Emperour **IOHN** the vsurper prisoner, and smote off his head. In this manner writeth Bishop **PHRECVLPVS** in his historie of the death of the tyrant **IOHN**, who wrote the same about seuen hundred yeeres since; with whom **PROCOPIVS** agreeth, an author of about a thousand yeeres continuance; **CASSIODORVS** in his tripartite historie declareth it at large; and **PROSPERVS** and **IORNANDES** of little lesse antiquitie; and also **PAVLVS DIACONVS**. And although they all briefly passe it ouer, yet they signifie that hee died in *Italy*, and not in *Africa*. And **PLATINA**, **CYSPINIANVS** and other diligent moderne authors follow them therein: whereby it is to be presumed, that they were deceiued which wrote that he was slaine by **BONIFACIVS** in *Africa*; although it be not to be doubted, but that he went into *Africa*, and was there ouerthrowne. And holding this for the most certaine, let vs proceede to the rest, wherein in a manner all agree in the taking of *Rauenna*; and that after that they were entred, **ASPAR** and his souldiers tooke and executed cruell reuenge. Five yeeres did **IOHN** enioy the name of Emperour before his death; and was commended for his vertue and good conditions by the authors, so as they condemned him not for any thing, but onely for making himselfe a tyrant, in vsurping the Empire: whereof the greatest fault is laid vpon **CASTINVS** and **ECIVS**, which perswaded him thereto. This victorie being obtained, within short space after it came **PLACIDIA** with her sonne **VALENTINIANVS** the new made **CESAR** into *Italy*, through whose comming and the death of the aforesaid **IOHN**, in a

Theodosius  
made his cousin  
Valentinian,  
Cesar.

Theodosius  
sent Andabu-  
rius against  
John the ty-  
rant.

Andaburius  
taken prisoner  
by John the ty-  
rant.

John the tyrant  
put to death by  
Aspar sonne of  
Andaburius.  
Phreolus in  
his 2. tome. fift  
booke and se-  
uenth chap.  
Procopius in  
his 4. booke of  
the warres of  
the Vandales.  
Cassiodorus in  
his 2. booke  
18. chap.

The coming  
of Placidia  
and Valenti-  
nian into Italy.  
short

short space there followed a great alteration: for being come to *Raenna*, and vnderstanding that *CASTINVS* came from *Spaine*, with forces as he was able, to put himselfe into *Rome* with *ECIVS*, who held the same against *VALENTINIAN*; *PLACIDIA* sent *ARDAVRIVS* against him, or after some others, *BVRGVNDIVS*, and it may be both; which fighting a battel, *CASTINVS* was ouerthrowne, and escaping from the furie, his owne souldiers mutined, and deliuered him to the Emperours Generall, who sent him to *Raenna*. The like happened to *ECIVS* in *Rome*: for the souldiers and citizens arose and apprehended him, and hee was brought prisoner also to *Raenna*. This is that *ECIVS* whom some call *ACIVS*, so much commended by the writers of those times for one of the best Captaines in the world; and in truth so had hee already shewed himselfe in all his actions, but he shewed it much more afterwards. And no lesse great was *BONIFACIVS* which gouerned *Africa*. And *ARDAVRIVS* was very famous for his victories, as wee haue said, against the Persians; and so was *CASTINVS* also. These Captaines being brought prisoners, and the neede of such men in the Empire considered, as well in *Spaine* against the Vandales and the rest, as in *France* against the Gothes and Burgundians, which already inuaded that kingdome, and against the Hunnes which were in *Pannonia*. After many allegations *pro et contra*, *PLACIDIA* vnderooke to procure her sonne *VALENTINIAN* to pardon them their liues: and so *CASTINVS* after some few daies imprisonment, was banished. And *ECIVS* hauing put in securitie for his fidelitie, was made Generall of the armie in *France* against the Gothes; who tooke such order that the Hunnes came no further forwards: for he had great friendship amongst those nations, and was borne in those parts; and in the time of his disgrace with *HONORIVS*, he liued amongst them.

*Ecivs made  
Generall a-  
gainst the Hunns  
and Gothes.*

*VALENTINIANVS* being in full possession of all *Italy*, was with the good will of all men, and by the consent of his Cousen *THEODOSIVS* called Emperour, and *AVGVSTVS*, and for such obeyed and receiued by the Senate and people of *Rome*: and the Earle and generall *ECIVS* without delaying any time, vnderooke his charge of generall of the warres in *France*. And at that time that he came into *France* (as *PROSPERVS* and *DIACONVS* doe write) *THEODORICVS* by the death of *VVALIA* was King of the Gothes, and had besieged a principall citie then called *Archilla*, after the taking of many other townes. But so soone as *ECIVS* came with his armie, he began the warres in such manner, that to the losse of the Gothes the citie was relieued, and they raising their siege, retired themselves into their Countries, and he euery where made such head against them, that they could not take any other places either in *France* or *Spaine*. In the same time in the Ile of *Britanny*, which then was vnfurnished of such garrisons as it was wont to haue, were great warres and troubles: for the Scots a fierce people, of which we haue already made mention, and after whose names part of *Britanny* is called the kingdome of *Scotland* to this day, with other people called *Picts*, or *Pictauians*, whose originall was of *Sarmatia* in *Europe*, robbed and ouerranne all the land, and made themselves Lords of a great part thereof. Wherefore such of the inhabitants of that Iland as continued subiect to the Empire, sent to *ECIVS* for succour, certifying him that if reliefe came not within a short space, the whole Iland would fall into the hands of the enemy. When *ECIVS* vnderstood these newes, he presentlie sent one Legion of his armie vnder the leading of a Captaine whose name was *GALLIO*, into *Britanny*, and he ioining with the inhabitants which sent for aid, fought oftentimes with the Scots and *Picts*, and obtaining the victorie, compelled them to leaue that countrey in peace and quiet: and so they

*The warres  
which Ecivs  
made in France  
against the  
Goths.*

*The coming  
of the Scots  
into Britanny.*

continued

continued, vntill that *ECIVS* standing in neede of succours to make head against the Burgonians, which already had passed the *Rhine*, and began with great furie to inuade *France*, being feared to haue meant to passe into *Italy*, drew that legion out of *Britanny*, and left it in the borders of *Paris* in *France* to guard that countrey; and left another legion neere to *Tarragona* in *Spaine*, vnder the command of a Captaine called *SEBASTIAN*, to defend the same against the Gothes; and he with the rest of his armie went to the warres against the Burgonians, with which he oftentimes came to blowes, and ouercame them in some battailes. But the Britains being abandoned by that legion which *ECIVS* sent for out of that Iland, were so distressed, that if *VALENTINIAN* had not sent commaundement to *ECIVS* to send back that legion which he had drawne out of *Britanny*, thither againe, they had been in great extremitie; but that legion comming to their aid, they were sufficientlie able for that time to defend and support themselves in the Emperours seruice. While these things passed in *Britanny*, *France*, and *Italy*, *BONIFACE* grew daily more mightie in *Africa*, who although that he yet shewed not himselfe to be against *VALENTINIAN*, but rather seemed to be of his partie, euer after that he was troubled by the vsurper *IOHN*, but yet he seemed to be a friend in such manner, that he would not leaue any part of that which he possessed. Which *VALENTINIAN* and *PLACIDIA* perceiuing, determining to found his intent, sent to commaund him to leaue his gouernement to a successor whom they would appoint, and to come to them: which *BONIFACE* openly refused to do, and leuied men of warre to defend him against the Emperour. It is true that some Authors write, that he was deluded by *ECIVS*, who sent him word, that if he came into *Italy*, *VALENTINIAN* would put him to death, whereof he aduertised him as a friend: and he likewise told *PLACIDIA*, that *BONIFACE* would not come, but would rebell; so as they affirme that more for feare then for any euil intet, he made himself a tirant, of which opiniõ is *PROCOPIVS*. But howsoever the matter went, *VALENTINIAN* sent presentlie two Captaines against him, the one called *MAHORCIVS* or *MABORCIVS*; the other called *GALBIO* or *GALBIO*, he, who (as I said) went to the aid of the Britains with a legion, which being arriued in *Africa* with great power, *BONIFACE* which was an excellent man of warre with a very good armie attended their comming, and knowing where they landed, went to meete them, and seeing his power equall, they came to a battaile, wherein *BONIFACE* through his great valour and policie gat the victorie, and the Emperours Captaines were ouerthrowne and slaine, together with a great number of their souldiers, and so *BONIFACE* became more mightie, and a greater Lord then before. The losse of this battaile and of men of warre greatly increased the strength of the enemies to the Empire: for first the Gothes followed the warres in *Spaine* with greater force then before, as well against the Emperours subiects, as against the Vandales and other nations inhabiting other parts of that countrey. And the Burgonians began to make a more resolute resistance against *ECIVS*, then before they had done. And about all, the Francks or Francons (a people of *Germany*) comming from *Franconia* (after some authors) so called after their name, as truly writeth *AGATHIVS* (although of their originall there be many fabulous opinions) seeing that *ECIVS* had enough to do against the Burgonians and the Gothes, and that the Emperour *VALENTINIAN* had lost his armie in *Africa*, and that his cousin *THEODOSIVS* was busied about matters of the East, they resolved to inuade *France*; out of which a little before they had been expelled by the Vandales, Alanes, and Sueuians, in the time of the

*Boniface rebel-  
led in Africa.*

*Maborcius and  
Galbio Cap-  
taines against  
Boniface.*

*A battaile  
wherein the  
tyrant Boniface  
preuailed.*

*The coming  
of the Francons  
or Frenchmen  
into France.*

The successe  
of the French.

Gallia called  
France.

The antiquitie  
of the French.

The Kings of  
France descended  
not from  
the Francons.

The changes  
which haue  
happened in  
the royall house  
of France.

Ecivs granted  
peace to the  
Burgonians.

Emperours HONORIVS and ARCADIVS, and also by ECIVS, as we haue said, when HONORIVS sent him into *Spaine*. But now taking the benefit of the time, they came with very great power, and entred the prouince called *Senonensis*, and the countries about *Orleanse* and *Paris*, and presentlie tooke those countries. MARCOMVNDVS hauing been before this time their Captaine, and afterwards his sonne FARRAMOND, was the first King of the Francques, whom CLODIVS succeeded, who at that time was their King. And in proceffe of time their power increased so much, that *Gallia* from them tooke the name of *France*, and the King thereof is called king of the Francques or Frenchmen. Of these Frenchmen (which in truth were a warlike & valiant nation) some French Historiographers recite certaine fables, saying, that they descended from the Troianes, from one of HECTOR'S sonnes called FRANCVS, and that from him they tooke their name. Others say, that they had this name for certaine franchises, priuiledges, and immunities which they inioyed in the time of VALENTINIAN the first. All which is fabulous and vntue; for neither had HECTOR any such sonne, neither descended they frō the Troianes, neither is there any memorie of those Francques, but from the time of the Emperour AVRELIANVS, which ouerthrew them about the yeere of our Lord two hundred and threescore, little more or lesse. Neither obtained they this name in the time of the Emperour VALENTINIAN: for he reigned long afterwards, and they (as I said) were so called two hundred yeeres before. But they were then a new people, of which neither CESAR, STRABO, PLINY, CORNELIVS TACITVS, POMPONIVS MELA, nor PTOLOMY, made any mention, neither were they then of any name, or knowne: which if it had bin otherwise, it had bin impossible but that some of those authors, if not all, would haue left some memoriall of them. The Francques might begin to be knowne a little before the time of AVRELIANVS, the rest is but winde.

And it is to be vnderstood, that the Kings which in our time reigned in *France*, are not descended from this people: for in the house of *France* there haue beene two or three alterations and changes: the first was about the yeere of our Lord seven hundred & fiftie, at which time King CHILDERICVS or CHILPERICVS was deposed by Pope ZACHARY, that kingdome hauing continued three hundred and thirtie yeeres in the line of the Francques. And PEPIN, father to CHARLES the great, being a Germane borne, was chosen King, and so the Francques then lost the royall scepter. And in King PEPIN'S posteritie it afterwards continued two hundred and eight and thirtie yeeres, vntill the yeere of our Lord nine hundred, fourescore and ten, at what time LEVVE the sonne of LOTHARIVS then reigning, was poisoned, and for that he had no sonnes, they sought to haue made his brother CHARLES Duke of *Lorrain* their King. But a great and mightie man, whose name was JOHN CAPVTIVS, and borne in that country, hindered the same, and was of such power, that he tooke CHARLES prisoner, and rose with the kingdome, and in his posteritie the kingdome continueth vntill this day, the next in bloud inheriting, for want of heires males. So as we are not to hold the Kings of *France* to be of the lineage of the Francques, seeing they come not, neither are they descended from them. Herein do all good and true authors agree. But to returne to our historie, I say that the Frenchmen entred with such force and furie, that they tooke all that they inuaded; which ECIVS considering, and the warres which the Gothes made in *Spaine*, notwithstanding that he had oftentimes ouerthrowne the Burgonians, and was in hope shortlie wholie to haue subdued them, yet he resolved to graunt them peace: which they humbly sued for, to be the better

better able to giue succours to other places where neede required: but especially to come against the Frenchmen, for they were a mightie and a valiant people.

In this time whilst that ECIVS was thus troubled to defend the Romane Empire against so many nations, the new Emperour VALENTINIAN being still in hope to recouer *Africa*, with a greater resolution then at any time before, commaunded souldiers to be leuied in *Italie* and *Sicilie*; and with the aide of men and ships which his cosin the Emperour THEODOSIVS sent him from *Constantinople*, he sent an excellent Captaine called SISVLPHVS, against BONIFACE in *Africa*; who by PAVLVS DIACONVS is called SIGISVLVS. And he brought such an armie and vsed such meanes, that taking land in *Africa* neere vnto *Carthage*, hee grew so strong in that countrie, that BONIFACE durst not abide his comming in *Carthage*, but went into *Mauritania Cesariensis*; and the marches thereof, which now containeth the kingdomes of *Bugia*, *Argier* and *Oran*, and the countries bordering vpon *Spaine*. And yet not holding himselfe there in safetie, he sent to treat with GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, who then was in the prouince of *Betica*, then called after their name *Vandaluzia*, to the end that he should come from *Spaine* to relieue him, and hee would giue him townes and cities to possesse, if hee would helpe him to recouer what he had lost. This ambassade came to GENSERICVS when he stood more in neede of helpe, then was able to send any: for the Gothes which had many times inuaded *Spaine*, taking the benefit of the time, when as all things were turned vpside downe, THEODORICVS being their King and leader; and not contenting themselves with what they held, and was giuen them in *Spaine*, entred, making a conquest of the countrie, & determined to make warre particularly against the Vandales; wherewith GENSERICVS was so oppressed, that hee was out of all hope to be able to defend himselfe. Whereupon more of necessitie, then for any good will, he accepted the offer made by BONIFACE, and abandoning the prouince of *Vandaluzia*, he passed the streights of *Gibraltar*, as well with his people of warre, as of peace, women, children, goods, and cattell, and seised on the best part that he could, of all *Mauritania*; and hauing entred vnder the name and title of succour, he made himselfe absolute Lord, robbing and spoiling the cities and townes with great crueltie. And this people thus abandoning *Andaluzia*, was the occasion that THEODORICVS and his Gothes took great part thereof, and so the Gothes continued Kings of *Spaine*. And although that at sundrie times they had wars and battailes with the Alanes, & Sueuians, yet in the end the power of the Gothes preuailed: And from this THEODORICVS the first, is descended the roote and stocke of the Kings of *Spaine* vntill this day. The Vandales being barbarous and misbeleeuers (for they were of the sect of the Arrians) held not promise nor league with BONIFACE in *Africa*, who had placed them there: but taking the cities vpon the coast which hee had giuen them, they entred and tooke the rest in despite of him: wherefore he was constrained through necessitie, to become enemy to those which hee had drawne thither for his succour and reliefe, seeing that they tooke all. But as he was hated by the Emperour VALENTINIAN, and could hope for no succours from any where else, as wise and as valiant as he was, he was not able to make sufficient resistance against all, but being too weake, was driuen to flie from place to place. But the prouince of *Carthage* and all the countries thereabout, were valiantly defended by the Generall SISVLPHVS, whom the Emperour VALENTINIAN sent thither against BONIFACE. GENSERICVS King of the Vandales being so mightie in *Africa*, and finding SISVLPHVS of power able to make head against him, and fearing (as a wiseman)

Valentinian sent an armie against Boniface the tyrant in Africa.

The Vandales abandon Spain, and saile into Africa.

The Vandales made themselves Lords of great part of Africa.

a wiseman) the mutabilitie of fortune, sent to entreate a peace with VALENTINIAN, vpon condition that he should suffer him to enioy that which he had taken from BONIFACE, seeing that he was not possessed thereof himselfe. The Emperour VALENTINIAN considering that ECIVS was much troubled in France against the French, new inhabitants therein; and that there was little assurance of the truce with the Burgonians; with a desire to recouer that which was lost in Spaine (for he was aduerised that his Generall SEBASTIAN, who was there in his seruice against the Alanes and Sueuians, had obtained certaine victories against them, and that they were ioyned with the Gothes, so as he was vnable alone to defend himselfe against all) determined to graunt the Vandales in Africa that peace which they required, and taking securitie and great promises of their King GENSERICVS, the peace was concluded betweene them; and VALENTINIAN relying more vpon that peace, then he ought to haue done, sent for SISVLPHVS, commaunding him to come into Italy with his armie, without leauing or sending any Garrison to keepe Carthage or Africa. For his meaning was with all his whole power to haue reinforced ECIVS his armie, and to haue driuen out those nations which were entred France, and to haue recouered, or at least to haue preserued that which he possessed in Spaine. SISVLPHVS being arriued in Italy, GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, as an ambitious impudent Infidell, went presently to Cathage, and entred the same by force of armes. Five hundred, foure score and five yeeres (as PROSPERVS reporteth) after that SCIPIO subdued it to the Romane Empire. The like he afterwards did by all the rest, and in the end came to the citie of Hippe, wherein S. AVGVSTINE was Bishop, and therein also, as saith POSIDIVS (a disciple and familiar of S. AVGVSTINE) was BONIFACE, who had retired himselfe thither; and holding it besieged the space of fouretee moneths (God hauing first taken away S. AVGVSTINE, being when he died of the age of seuentie and six yeeres) he tooke it, and put BONIFACE to death. Herein PROCOPIVS doth differ from other authors, who writeth that he raised his siege without taking the citie: and concerning BONIFACE, PROSPERVS and PAVLVS DIACONVS recount it after another manner, saying, that hee had his pardon, and went into Italy, where he died of a naturall infirmitee.

After the taking of Hippe, the power of GENSERICVS daily encreased, in such manner that he made a full conquest of all Africa; and so the Vandales remained for a long time absolute Lords thereof. Wherein this cruell King committed so many cruelties against the Bishops and Priests, which held the true faith and would not become Arrians, as he was, as the like had seldome been seene: most cruelly putting many of them to death, and banishing others. The like he vsed towards all kind of people, committing incredible insolencies and robberies, as many credible authors affirme, whereof VICTOR wrote a particular booke, which he intituled the Vandalicall persecution, whereto I referre the curious reader: which booke is newly imprinted and annexed to EUSEBIVS his Chronicle, and to the tripartite historie. After this accident thus happened in Africa, VALENTINIAN had daily aduertisements, that the Hunnes which alreadie were become Lords of Austrich and Hungarie, with the marches thereof, made preparation to come downe into France, and to that end had raised a great number of men of warre (TOTILA a most fierce proud man, being their King) against which their designes he daily sent new forces to ECIVS, who followed the ordinarie warres of France) by means whereof ECIVS could not fend any succours to those of the Ile of Britannie, which newly had sent to him for aide against the Scots and Picts:

for

for which cause the Romanes and Britaines which inhabited Britannie, despairing of any other redresse, called to their aide, and solicited with faire promises, the Angles then called Saxons, a people of Germany inhabiting neere to the Sea side; which being inticed and allured thereto, partly for pay, and partly through the fertilitie and fruitfulness of that cuntry, came into Britannie, vnder the leading of their Captaine Hengist (as saith BEDA) who assisting the inhabitants, in such manner subdued their aduerfaries, that they rebelled no more. But they afterwards growing strong and ambitious, did the like in Britannie as the Vandales did in Africa: and making warre vpon the cuntry and subduing the Britaines, made themselves Lords of all the land, excepting that which is now the kingdome of Scotland. In this manner the Empire lost this Iland, and the Angles remained Kings thereof; and afterwards it lost the name of Britannie, and by them was called Anglia, and now is called England, which is as much to say, as the land of the English; & so from henceforth we will call it. And their power so much increased, that in the time of AVGVSTVLVS, as wee will hereafter declare, they banished and draue the Britaines wholly out of that cuntry, so that none of them remained: but so well as they could came ouer into France, and inhabited that cuntry which is now called Britannie, wherein before that time dwelled the Turones and Veneti, which through their thither coming is called Britannie; and so the dominion of that Iland rested in the Kings of the Angles or English, and hath continued in them with great alterations, warres and troubles, which import not me to recite. Of all which, besides BEDA, and other ancient and moderne authors not a few, POLIDORE VIRGILIAN author of our time, with great care and industrie hath written a notable historie, of the beginning and successe of all matters in Britannie or England. But to returne to our storie of GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, I say, that being vnfatisfied with Africa, hee rigged vp a fleete and sailed into Sicilie, and tooke great part thereof, robbing and burning the cuntry: And truly hee had taken all the rest of the Iland, if that VALENTINIAN (notwithstanding that he was very tender and delicate, and in his person did nothing, neither would follow the wars) had not (as it cannot be denied) taken great care and vsed all possible diligence to prouide what was needfull, so farre as hee was able: who presently sent comendement to SEBASTIAN, his Generall in Spaine, to transport himself with the greatest power that he was able, into Africa, and to make seisure thereof, while as GENSERICVS was busied in Sicilie. GENSERICVS was aduertized of this preparation, and vnderstanding that without delay it should be put in execution, resolved to leaue Sicilie, and to returne to defend Africa which was of greater importance, and concerned him more: and so Sicilie escaped out of his hands. And SEBASTIAN forbore to goe into Africa. But he seeing himselfe of greater power then before, and that his Lord was oppressed with warres and aduerfities (wherein those men are seldome faithfull, which in prosperitie shew themselves most seruiceable) and purposing to make himselfe Lord of all that which the Emperour possessed in Spaine, was the cause that the Empire lost the same, and he without obtaining his desire, lost both his life and honour. For moued by this ambition, as I said, he treated with THEODORICVS, and the Gothes, and with the Alanes also, that they should come to a peace with him, and that they should diuide the land amongst them, without yeelding any acknowledgement to VALENTINIAN. Wherewith in outward shew they seemed to be very well pleased, and yeelded to his propositions, which they obserued for certaine daies: but afterwards vpon a safeconduct they slew him; and he being dead which

was

Valentinian  
granteth peace  
to the Vandales  
in Africa.

Valentinian  
was ill aduised.

Gensericus  
King of the  
Vandales vio-  
lated the peace.

Gensericus  
slew Boniface.  
The death of  
S. Augustine.

The cruelties  
used by Gensericus  
King of the Vandales  
against the true  
Christians.

Totila King of  
the Hunnes.

The Britaines  
called the Sax-  
ons to their  
aide.

The Angles or  
Saxons tooke  
the Ile of Bri-  
tannie.

Britannie cal-  
led England.

Britannie in  
France vnder  
so called.

Gensericus  
went to make  
warre in Sici-  
lia.

The treason  
and death of  
Sebastian Ge-  
nerall for the  
Emperour Va-  
lentinian in  
Spaine.

was wont to defend the countrie, they tooke all *Spaine*, excepting some small part of *Galicia* and *Biscay*, which by reason of the inaccessible steepnes of the mountaines, and the valour of the inhabitants, defended themselves for a season.

While as in *Spaine* and *Africa* these euents happened, *ECIVS* neuer desisted from warring against the French, and Burgonians & other nations in *France*: and *VALENTINIAN* leauing al things in the best order that he could in *Italy*, took his passage for *Gracia*, and went to *Constantinople* to see his cosin the Emperor *THEODOSIUS*; whose Empire as it pleased God was then better in peace and in more quietnes then the West. At this meeting *VALENTINIAN* married with *EVDOXA* *THEODOSIUS* his daughter, and then presently returned into *Italy*, to provide for the defence of that which remained, and to recouer that which was lost.

*Valentinian went to Constantinople, and married with Evdoka the Emperor Theodosius his daughter.*

*Ariobindus and Ansila Captaines sent by Theodosius.*

Which the Emperor *THEODOSIUS* *CONDOLEING* sent him two Captaines called *ARIOBINDVS* and *ANSILA*, with a very great number of souldiers, to the end that they should reconquer *Africa*; and was very wroth with *GENSERICVS* King of the Vandales, for the breach of the peace, and for the great cruelties which he had committed in that countrie. These Captaines and men of warre failed into *Sicilia*, from thence to passe into *Africa*: but they so detracted the time and prolonged their departure in such manner, that they spoiled the whole land of *Sicilia*, and it pleased not God that they should proceede on their journey. For *ATTILA* a mightie King of the Hunnes, which of long time had purposed to make himselfe Lord of the Empire; after that, besides *Hungarie*, hee had made a conquest of many cities in *Germanie*, drawing to him for pay and by faire promises and subtile meanes, an infinite number of people, part of which were called Turlingi, Tungri, Ostrogothes, and Marcomanni, and other barbarous northerly nations, which like swarmes of Bees arose and came to him in that time: which (as *PAVLVS* *DIACONVS* recounteth) determined to invade the Empire of *Constantinople*, knowing that the best and greatest part of the men of warre thereof, were gone with the two Captaines aforesaid into *Sicilia*. At this his entrie, he tooke many cities in *Thracia*, and in *Slauonia* also, and made so great spoile in that countrie, that the Emperour in great haste sent for *ARIOBINDVS* and *ANSILA*; which with a great armie (as I said) were in *Sicilia*; to the end that they should come and defend the countrie; together with other great forces which hee had commaunded to be leuiued. And so hee began the warre and to oppose himselfe against the force and furie of *ATTILA*; whereto this was a great helpe, that at that instant there began to grow some suspitions and iealousies betweene *ATTILA* and his brother *BEDA*, and enuie and emulation betweene the Kings which came with him; by reason whereof, the warre was not so terrible as before, although that they still did much harme. *THEODOSIUS* Emperour of the East being in this care, and at warres with the mightie *ATTILA*, and his cosin *VALENTINIAN* in such trouble, as is before said, that the Vandales and their King held *Africa*, the Gothes and Alanes *Spaine*, and his Generall *ECIVS* in *France*, held warre with so many nations, and therein passed so many aduentures, that they would be too long to recite. And *THEODOSIUS* applying himselfe in *Constantinople*, with great care and diligence to send greater reliefe and forces against the said *ATTILA*, was stricken with the plague, whereof within few daies he died. Whose death was generally greatly lamented: for hee was a very good, pitifull and a very vertuous and Christian Prince; as it plainly appeareth by many letters which at this day are extant, written to him by *LEO* Bishop of *Rome*, who liued in his time. It is written of him, that he was very deuout and religious, and

*Theodosius the second died of the plague.*

and spent much time in prayer; and that hee fasted two daies in the weeke, and exceedingly much honoured the Church and the Clergie. Finally, hee left nothing vndone which a Christian was bound to doe, neither what was conuenient for an Emperour. He was very studious and addicted to letters, and to Philosophie, and made great Libraries, principally of the holie Scriptures. He was so pitifull and mercifull, that being one day reprehended for giuing so many malefactors their liues, he answered: I would to God that I could raile againe those which I haue put to death. In conclusion, hee was accomplished with all vertues, and voide and free from all vices, so as he was not subiect vnto any, onely he was noted to be somewhat mutable and hastie. He was married to *EVDOXA* a very godly and discrete woman, the daughter of *LEONCIUS*, whom he married for her vertue onely: she was called before that she was married to him, *ATANATIS*, and with her marriage her name was chaunged. For this his goodnes and vertue, it pleased God that his raigne continued two and fortie yeeres, fourteene or fiftene being a childe, vnder the protection of the King of *Persia*, in the time of his Vncle *HONORIUS*, as is alreadie written; and seuen and twentie with his cosin *VALENTINIAN*, and that for the most part hee enioyed the Empire of the East in peace and quiet: and died being about fiftie yeeres old: for almost so soone as he was borne, he inherited the Empire. He departed this world, according to *MATHEVV* *PALMERVS* computation in his additions to *EVSEBIUS* his Chronicle, and after *PROSPERVS*, in the yeere of our Lord, foure hundred, fiftie and three; and after some others, foure hundred and fiftie; and after the most common opinion, in the seuen and twentieth yeere of the raigne of the Emperor *VALENTINIAN*, who then reigned in *Italy*, and liued in the citie of *Rome*.

*The religion and vertue of Theodosius.*

*An example of clemencie.*

*Anno Dom. 453.*

L1

THE



THE LIFE OF VALENTINIAN THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THE THREE AND FIFTIETH ROMANE EMPEROVR, and of his brother in law MARTIANVS.



THE ARGVMENT.

**V**alentinian remaining alone in the Empire of the West, tired with many warres, and seeing that Attila molested the eastern parts, to please his sister Pulcheria, and to the end that that part should not remaine without an Emperour, he gave the charge thereof to an old man called Martiannus, who was a man of great iudgement, and very wise. In which time Attila determining to give over his enterprize against Constantinople, being long and very hardly to be effected, came towards the western parts, with a determination to passe into France and into Italie: Against whom Valentinian made Ecicius his generall, who ordinarily was his generall in France: having first concluded a peace with Gensericus King of the Vandales, wherein the new Emperour old Martiannus entred also. This Ecicius gave Attila much to doe, and made him to know, to the great losse of his people how valorous a man he was in the warres; so as he compelled him to flee. For which victorie Valentinian began to haue Ecicius in suspicion, that he had an intent to haue made himselfe Emperour, and to that end had some intelligence with Attila, seeing that he did not thoroughly destroy him when he might: wherefore he made him to be slaine, which was the cause of the ruine of Italie, and of the West Empire. For Attila understanding that Ecicius was dead, returned into Italie, which Valentinian enioyed in peace, and being invaded, there was not one of the Emperours that set his hand to rescue it, being unable to leaue any sufficient armie to withstand the enemy. Whereupon having taken Aquileia, and comming towards Rome, at the entreatie of Pope Leo, he spared that citie, and so leauing Italie he returned into Hungarie, where marrying with the sister of the Emperour Valentinian, upon his wedding day he gorged himselfe so full with wine and

and meate, that in the night (nature being unable to support so great a charge, casting up abundance of blood) he died in his bed. Whose death yielded some libertie to the Empire, notwithstanding that the West remained in a manner destroyed, whereof grew the greatnes of the Empire of the East, and of Constantinople. And one yeere after the death of Attila, Valentinian was also slaine by a souldier, whose name was Tansillus, nolesse to take reueng for the death of his captaine Ecicius, then urged by the hatred of one Maximus, whose wife Valentinian had forced, when he had reigned Emperour thirtie yeeres.



Ruely I know not whether the reading of that which I haue already declared and am presently to recount, shall make the reader so much to wonder, as it doth me which doe write the same. For mine owne part I can verrefie, that no warres, alterations or changes of kingdomes, of all that euer I haue read in auncient or moderne histories, seeme worthe of so great admiration as those of these times, whereof we are now to treat.

*A consideration of the calamities of these times.*

Neither doe I remember that I euer marvelled more at any thing then at these; considering the great and sundrie calamities, of so many prouinces and cities, the battailes and effusion of blood, the alterations and falles of estates, the diuersitie of people and nations which flocked together in them. And aboute al, I do most wonder at the infinit numbers of people which came out of the northren parts, so that it seemed that the earth did flowe with armed men. And likewise to consider, what so great, rage, furie, pride, or ambition (for I can giue it no other name) might moue so many fundrie nations, to abandon their owne countries, and to destroy and conquer the world, without being urged, or moued thereto by any offence or iniurie receiued. But it was the iust iudgement and permission of our Lord God whose counsels are vnsearchable, and whose prouidence cannot bee perceiued by the light of any humane eie. Let vs giue humble thanks vnto his diuine maiestie, that although that for our sinnes, he suffereth warres and troubles in these our times; yet they are not so generall, neither so miserable and cruell, as those which the people endured in that age, as the reader may plainly perceiue by that which is already, and hereafter shall be expressed, which passed in this manner.

The state of Italie and of the West, wherein VALENTINIAN reigned, standing in such manner, as is before said, THEODOSIUS dying in Constantinople, leauing neuer a son to succede him, and but one sister, whose name was PVLCHERIA, a wife and worthie woman, who as she bare a great sway in the gouernment, and considered the wars with the Gothes, and in what state the whole Empire of both East and West stood; she endeouored to procure that some excellent man, both in peace, and war, might be chosen Emperour, whether he were descended of imperiall blood or no. And it seemed that there was not any man in whom more noble and excellent qualities did concur, then in an old captaine called MARTIANVS, who although that he were but of meane parentage, yet with his age he was of great experience, and was a very valorous and excellent captaine. PVLCHERIA and those which were of her counsell having taken this resolution, concealed the death of THEODOSIUS for certaine daies, vntill they had taken such order as was requisite concerning the election of MARTIANVS. And notwithstanding that he was old, PVLCHERIA tooke him for her husband, to the end to giue the greater assurance and authoritie to his Empire, and so he was ioyfully receiued by all men for their soueraigne Lord and Emperour. And VALENTINIAN likewise who then was in Rome, was well pleased therewith; as well for his deserts, as

*Martianus chosen Emperour of Constantinople.*

also for that it was done by PVLCHERIA, of whose vertue and worthines there was a generall good opinion. ZONARAS an auncient author, whom some call IOHANNES MONACVS, writeth (as IOHN CVPINIAN relateth) that PVLCHERIA married with MARTIANVS to giue the greater authoritie and reputation to his Empire: but first she tooke securitie of him, that they should both liue chaste; for she was a maide, and had resolu'd to keepe her virginitie inuio-  
 lable: and that MARTIANVS accepted thereof, and they both obserued the same, which is a notable example. So soone as MARTIANVS was made Empe-  
 rour of the East, the first thing that hee did, was to make prouision to reinforce the armie which THEODOSIUS had left, and to send against ATTILA fresh souldiers and a new generall. And the writers affirme, that if ATTILA had continued the warre which he began against *Constantinople*, he had without doubt come to confusion, by reason of the mutinies and contentions which began among his men of warre; which that politike and mightie King comprehending, and also for that (as they say) that a great Captaine of his counsell'd him to leaue that conquest, and to go from thence to make warres in the rest of *Germany*, and afterwards in *France*, *Spaine*, and *Italy*, where VALENTINIAN ruled; knowing that the Empire was diuided and vsurped by diuers nations, and therefore was very easie to be conquered. He resolu'd therefore to go into *Hungarie*, where by treason he slue his brother BEDA, who together with him was equall King, for that he suspected that BEDA was the cause of the dissension and discord, and to the end to make himselfe absolute Lord: so great was his pride, crueltie, and ambition. And after this giuing good pay to his old souldiers, and continuing them therein, and raising other new, he grew to be so mightie, that the Kings and Captaines of the Ostrogothes, and the Heruli, and other Nations which in the beginning came to aid and assist him as a friend, did now serue and obey him as their Lord. And the Authors affirme, that he raised an armie of fise hundred thousand men, which were souldiers, and hazardours or aduenturers (so great was his fame and reputation at that time) with which armie comming out of *Hungarie* and *Austrich*, and the confines thereof, which were in his subiection, together with many other countries which he had taken in the last troubles, wherein the Empire was brought so low, he presentlie began to make a conquest of *Germany*, and tooke the most part thereof, and the best cities therein, as *Colein*, *Argentine*, *Spire*, *Constance*, *Basil*, and many other, making all possible hast to come into *France*, and into *Italy*, imagining that VALENTINIAN should not be able to protect and defend the same. Wherewith (such was his pride) he pretended not to rest contented, but to make himselfe sole Monarch of the whole world, through all which his name was greatly feared, and so he intituled himselfe King of the Hunnes, of the Medes, of the Gothes, and of the Danes, the terrour to the world, and the scourge of God. PRISCUS an Historiographer writeth (who being Secretarie to the Emperour VALENTINIAN, was sent Ambassador to him into *Scythia* before his comming into *Hungary*) that he was but a little man of stature, and had a large broad brest, a great head, little eyes, but very quick, a very little thin beard, and some gray haire therein, a flat nose, and was of a very swarth complexion; and that in his going and lookes he shewed the pride and greatnes of his mind. He greatly delighted in the warres, and was both politike and valiant therein, although he did not often vse to fight in battailes in person, but reserued himselfe for greater occasions. He was gentle and easie to be pleased, by those which humbly required pardon, and submitted themselves vnto him; and held

A notable  
example of  
chastitie.

Attila trans-  
lated his war  
from the East,  
into the West.

Attila slue his  
brother Beda  
by treason.

Attila his  
great power  
and armie.

Attila his  
title.

Attila his  
bodily consti-  
tution.

and maintained his faith and word, and defended those which yielded themselves into his protection: but with all this, he was most proud, and desirous to make himselfe Lord ouer all others. VALENTINIAN the Emperour of *Rome* vnderstanding ATTILA his successe, determination and desire, whereof of long time before he had stood in feare, did the vttermost of his power to resist and make head against so great force and furie. The first prouision that he made, was to conclude a peace with GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, who was now also King of all *Africa*, to the end to haue his back in safetie from so mightie an enemy. This peace was very acceptable to GENSERICVS, and as to a thing which he greatlie desired he gladlie yielded: for at that time there was great dissension and rebellion amongst his Captaines and men of warre. This peace was concluded betweene them, vpon condition, that the King should resigne certaine prouinces and cities to VALENTINIAN, and MARTIANVS the new Emperour of the East was included in the same. This being ended, ECIVS which followed the ordinarie warres in *France*, was made generall against ATTILA, for that he was the best and most expert Captaine in his time, whom ATTILA had not forborne to haue seduced with many faire promises, putting him in mind of former friendship, but he for all that he could do, gaue no care to him.

ECIVS vnderstanding that ATTILA with his armie had already passed the riuer *Rhine*, and knowing himself to haue no sufficient army to make head against him, notwithstanding that many new supplies were come to his aid, he therefore by all meanes and deuises sought the friendship of THEODORICVS, whom some call THEODOREDVS King of the Gothes (who possessed the greatest part of *Spaine*, and a great part of *France* also, and was a mightie Prince and very valiant, and at that time lay in *Tholouse*) to induce him to aid and assist the Romanes, who franklie promised, and faithfullie performed the same; which the Emperour VALENTINIAN had also before attempted. And although that ATTILA by his letters had sued to the contrarie, promising him assurance of his estate; yet he (comprehending that ATTILA preuailing would aswell seeke to defeat him afterwards as he did now the Romanes) raised all his whole power, and drew neere to ioine with ECIVS, and made the Alanes and Sueuians which liued in *Spaine* to do the like. And with the like perswasion ECIVS concluded a peace with MEROBREVS king of the Frenchmen, and with GVANDARICVS king of the Burgonians, which of custome were his ordinarie enemies, and with the Saxons and other nations; all which more for feare, and through the hatred which they bare to ATTILA, then for any good will to the Romanes, resolu'd to take part with ECIVS, whose wisdom and discretion was so great, that they all willinglie ioined with him; yet for all this ATTILA entred *France* with such power and furie, that without finding any resistance he tooke the greatest part thereof before that ECIVS was in order to fight with him. But while as he made this spoile and conquest in *France*, the Kings and people afore said ioyned with ECIVS in the fields called *Catalanes*, in the borders of *Tholouse*: so as he had one of the greatest and best armies that euer was seene aswell for number, as goodnes of men, and his partie was held to be of no lesse power then that of ATTILA. Wherefore the one armie drew neere to the other, and betweene them began a most cruell warre, wherein (as IORNANDES affirmeth) dyed fourescore and ten thousand men, before that they came to the generall battaile, whereof we will speake presentlie, either partie desiring it, but chiefly ATTILA, who held his power for inuincible, and so all nations attended the issue thereof: for it seemed that of the victorie de-

Valentinia  
made peace  
with Gense-  
ricus King of  
the Vandales,  
and of Africa.

Ecivus made  
generall a-  
gainst Attila.

Ecivus sought  
the friendship  
of Theodoricus  
King of the  
Goths, and  
of Spaine.

The Kings  
which ioined  
with Ecivus  
against Attila.

The warres  
between Ecivs  
and Attila.

pended the dominion and empire of the whole world. And to say the truth, at this meeting were gathered together the best, and the greatest part of men of all Europe, and therein concurred about a million of people: wherefore it shall not be amisse that we describe this battaile more distinctly then we do others, seeing that it cannot be said, that there was euer scene any that was greater or more bloudie. First then, there fought therein in proper person about ten mightie and warlike kings of the one side, and of the other. Of ATTILA his partie was ARDARICVS king of a people called *Gepidi*, and ANDARICVS, VALAMIR, and THEODOMIR brethren, and kings of the Gothes, or Ostrogothes, and the king of the *Marsomanni*, and others whose names I find not written, and the people alreadie named which were without number. Of ECIVS his partie, was THEODORICVS, (who was of greater power then any of the rest) king of the Gothes, Visigothes, and of *Spaine*, and his sonne THORISMVND, MEROBEVS, kings of the Francques, GVANDARICVS king of the Burgonians, SANGVIBANVS king of the Alanes, and the Captaines and kings of diuers other nations, which tooke his part, besides the Romane Legions and Captaines of the Empire. But ATTILAMADE small account of all these men: for he had alreadie theretofore overthrowne the greatest part of them, so as nothing made him to feare or to doubt of the victorie, but only the discretion and valour of ECIVS, who was their generall. Wherefore as he was an Infidell and superstitious, he commaunded his soothsayers and wizards to be called together, to the end that vsing their enchantments and forceries, they should tell him what successe he should haue, and how he should speede in the battaile, and they sacrificing their beasts, told him, that he should lose the victorie, but that the greatest Captaine among his enemies should dye therein. Whereto giuing credit (although that it grieved him to thinke that he should be overthrowne, imagining that ECIVS should dye) he sought and procured it: for he made account that if ECIVS were dead, although he lost the day, yet he would raise new supplies, and preuaile against the rest, and so he disposed himselfe to fight. And as ECIVS and his partakers desired the same, the two armies came so neere together, that there rested nothing but to come to blowes, and so they fought, which as PROCOPIVS, IORDANVS, ALABIVS, PAVLVSDIACONVS, and others do write, was in this manner. Both parties being desirous to fight, the one armie being in the morning by breake of day in sight of the other, both Generals commaunded to marshall and raunge their troupes in order, and to forme their bataillions, to the end to charge their enemies; but as their numbers were so infinite (notwithstanding all the diligence and expedition that could be vied by either partie) it was past noone before they could set their men in order. ATTILA with all his carts and wagons which he brought for his cariage, made a kind of fort or sconce vpon the side of a hill, wherein he put the women and disarmed people of his armie, and of his whole armie made three bataillions, reseruing to himselfe with his Scythians and Hunnes, the maine or middle battaile. And ARDARICVS king of the *Gepidi* with his countrymen, & many others in whom he reposed greatest trust, led the battaile on the right hand, and to ANDARICVS, VALAMIR, and THEODOMIR, brethren kings of the Ostrogothes, with their owne people and their most friends, he gaue the charge and leading of the bataillion on the left hand.

How Attila  
set his armie  
in order.

And in this order he marched against ECIVS: who had somewhat prolonged the time, by reason of a great mistrust which he had conceiued of SANGVIBANVS King of the Alanes, doubting that he would haue gone over to ATTILA: for

for he was aduertised that there had been some treatie betweene them; wherein ATTILA graunted to resigne to him a citie, wherein he had lien, and which was taken from him. Wherefore ranging his armie into three squadrons also, in the middle squadron, he set the laid SANGVIBANVS, placing in the auant, and arrierguard of the troupe, the most valiant men of the Romane legions, to the end that he should not chuse but fight. And to THEODORICVS with his sonne THORISMVND with his Gothes and Spaniards, he gaue the leading of the squadron on the right hand: to the end that they should encounter the *Gepidi*, which were a mightie people. And he tooke to himselfe the leading of the left wing, taking with him MEROBEVS King of the French, with his people, and the Burgonians, whose King with the greatest part of his forces were slaine in an encounter which happened the night before this battaile. With these troupes he placed himselfe against the Ostrogothes, which made the right wing of the enemies, chaunging it in this manner, for that hee imagined, that if the Visigothes which were of his side, should haue been placed against the Gothes which were of the other side (for that they were countrie men, and neighbours) they would not haue charged with such furie as he desired. In this order these two mightie armies marched the one against the other, with incredible courage and assured confidence, the one to overthrow the other. And so there began betweene them the most cruell and the most bloudie battaile that euer was. For although it may be said, that in other batailles there hath been so great a concourse of men that they could not well be numbred; but yet that they were such men as were these which fought herein, or that it was so obstinate and cruelly fought with the slaughter of so many men and effusion of so much blood as this was, I doe not remember that I euer read. For therein fought the flower (for valour and courage) of almost all the nations of the world: As the Romanes, the Scythians, the Hunnes, the Gothes, the French, the Germanes, the Spaniards, the Gaules, the Burgonians, and of each of these a very great number: So as in my iudgement, this may bee canonized for the greatest and most fierce battaile that euer was. The first attempt was to get a little hill betweene the two armies, which either of the two generalls thought requisite to be taken, thereby to haue the aduantage of the other. ATTILA sent certaine troupes to take that hill, but to that effect, thither was alreadie come THORISMVND, THEODORICVS his sonne with his people, which were Gothes and Spaniards; so as these heere by this his and all the rest presently gaue the charge, and the slaughter, the cries, and the sound of the blowes with swords and launces, was such, that it seemed that the firmament had rent in funder; so as no man could doe any other but fight. And they all fought with such furie, that there was not any aduantage scene from noone till night, for so long it endured. What particular exploits were therein performed, cannot certainly be knowne (for the historiographers, which treat thereof) affirme that among so great a multitude of people it could not be scene nor iudged how things passed; for euery one applied himselfe to strike, and to kill, and there was not any squadron or troupe that stode still, or to looke on. But it is certaine, and they all affirme the same, that a little brooke which ranne where this cruell battaile was fought, grew so high with the blood of those which were slaine, as it vied to doe after some great raine had fallen. And the streames of blood were so great, that they carried the dead bodies downe the valley. This ought not to be held for incredible, seeing that the number of the slaine was so great, that all authors agree that it exceeded the number of one hundred and fourescore thou-

How Ecivs  
marshalled his  
troupes.

A battaile  
fought be-  
tweene Ecivs  
and Attila, the  
most cruell that  
euer was  
fought in the  
world.

A strange sight.

Theodoricus  
King of the  
Goths slaine.

A great victorie  
obtained by  
Ecivs against  
Attila.

land men; and they all lay dead in a small circuit of ground. For in this fight there was no retraite, nor running away, but all died fighting. In this manner in the heate and furie of the fight, the night came vpon them, and parted them, but with great and apparant aduantage of ECIVS his side; for ATTILA his troupes began to giue ground, notwithstanding that he vsed all possible meanes that they should haue maintained the fight. And THEODORICVS King of the Gothes and of *Spaine*, charging too far in amongst his enemies, was slaine. Some say that his horse fell with him, and so he was troden to death by his owne men, and that his sonne THORISMUND incurring the like daunger, was rescued by his people. ATTILA perceiuing the defect and weaknes which was in his people, in the best order that he could retired to his fort or sconce, which he had made of his carts and wagons, and therein fortified himselfe that night, with those which repaired to him from the battaile (for some were fled other waies) there expecting the next daies fortune. ECIVS went vp and downe the fields, as the greatest Lord thereof, gathering his people together and setting them in order, to the end that their disorder should not encourage the enemy: for by reason of the multitude of people, and the darknes of the night it could not certainly be said, who had the victorie; and so they passed that night without any certaine knowledge whether THEODORICVS were aliue or dead. The next morning by the breake of day the victorie was apparant and manifest: for ATTILA durst not come forth of his campe; and so ECIVS and his souldiers had the spoile of the field and were Lords thereof. The armies were so neere together, that notwithstanding that ATTILA held himselfe for ouerthrowne, yet he neither durst neither could retire, wherefore he resolved to fortifie his campe and to defend himselfe therein. And as THORISMUND found his father dead in the field, he with his Gothes and Spaniards was so extreamely enraged, that he purposed to haue assaulted ATTILA in his campe, to reuenge the death of his father, by his destruction. For all writers affirme that he might haue done it, if ECIVS would haue consented thereto, and haue giuen him such aide as he might haue done. And they also write, that ATTILA was in such despaire, when he vnderstood that they ment to assault him, seeing the small forces he had to defend him, that he resolved rather to kill himselfe then to come into his enemies hands. But the wife and valiant captaine ECIVS, knowing both the ambition and the power of THORISMUND, THEODORICVS his sonne, and how mightie the Gothes were, was in great doubt, that they hauing wholly defeated ATTILA and his armie, would haue conuerted their armes against the Romanes, which would haue been ill able to haue defended themselves against them: and that therefore it was most profitable (the time considered) to giue ATTILA meanes to escape, to the end that the Gothes and French-men should not be freed from the feare of him. And to that end without discovering his conceite, he counselled THORISMUND, that setting all other matters aside, he should goe to take possession of his kingdome of *Spaine*, before that the Alanes, the Sueuians or any other nations should cause any alteration therein, or rebell against him. And that before this, he should not attempt any other enterprise, for it was vncertaine whether he should be able to bring his purpose to effect or no. THORISMUND deeming this to be the counsell of a father, and a friend (as in deede it was profitable for him) accepted his aduise, and without any delay presently departed towards his countries; as well those which he held in *France* as those in *Spaine*. And ECIVS for the consideration afore said forbore to assault ATTILAES campe, and so he and

and the kings which were with him had meanes to escape, and abandoned what in *France* he possessed. But the counsell of this great Captaine (although that to this effect it seemed profitable) afterwards fell out cleane contrarie: for it was the cause of his owne death, and of great hurt (as hereafter shall be declared) to the Romane Empire.

ATTILA being in this manner departed out of *France*, by long iourneies as a man overcome, went with his armie into *Hungarie*, and the countries there adiacent, of which he was in peaceable possession; where relieuing his people, he rested certaine daies. From whence (they say) the Hungarians are descended, forming their name from the Hunnes and another nation called *Catti* or *Gatti*; and so they were called *Hungary*, and *Pannonia* is now called *Hungaria*; although that neither in *Hungary*, neither in other prouinces are obserued the limits and bounds which in ancient times they held. For as there haue been great chaunges and alterations in the names; so haue there been likewise as great in their limits and confines. But seeing this concerneth me not, without producing any example this shall suffice for an aduertisement to the reader. ECIVS hauing obtained so great a victorie, leauing all that which in *France* the Romanes enioyed, and ATTILA had possessed, and the French and Burgonians in amitie and friends; hee came to *Rome*, where the Emperour VALENTINIAN expected the issue of the battaile. This victorie freed all *Italy* from feare, and purchased to ECIVS the greatest honour possible. He entring *Rome* with great solemnitie and incredible ioy of all sorts of people: within few daies after (as the most of the authors which I follow doe write) VALENTINIAN began to suspect, that he had a determination to haue made himselfe Emperour, and that he had intelligence with ATTILA. The suspicion growing (as he said) for that ECIVS after the battaile did not thoroughly bring ATTILA to confusion. And as EVTROPIVS particularly relateth, VALENTINIAN was so highly incensed against ECIVS by MAXIMVS a gentleman of *Rome*, that he made him to be slaine. Which (they say) MAXIMVS did to the end to be reuenged of VALENTINIAN (as afterwards he was) for rauishing his wife; which iniurie he displeased, and made no shew to vnderstand, vntill that hee had opportunitee to effect that which afterwards he put in execution, which was to kill the Emperour; which he neuer durst to attempt so long as ECIVS liued. ECIVS being slaine at this time (although that PAVLVS DIACONVS seeme to be of opinion that it was afterwards) with him ended the whole force and power of the West Empire, which PROXIMVS a discreet and noble Romane gentleman gaue VALENTINIAN well to vnderstand. Who being demaunded by the Emperour, (as PROCOPIVS writeth) whether hee had not followed the best and most profitable counsell, by putting ECIVS to death, answered: Whether the Emperour hath put ECIVS to death with reason or without reason, I dare not determine: but this I dare affirme, that by killing him, thou hast with thy owne left hand cut off thy right. And truly he was a true prophet, as the historie hereafter will make manifest.

While as these things passed in the Westerne parts, the Emperour MARTIANVS reigned in great prosperitie in *Gracia* and the East: for he was a very wiseman and a louer of peace; and so he maintained and preferred the same with the Persians and other nations, without losing any iot of his confines: but rather in all treaties which he had with them, had euer the aduantage and got ground. And sent aide and men of warre to serue VALENTINIAN in the warres with ATTILA: as afore said: so as MARTIAN liued in prosperitie and well beloued. But returning

Ecivs had in  
suspition by  
Valentinian.

The death of  
Ecivs.

The saying of  
Proximus to  
the Emperour  
Valentinian.

ning to our Westerne historie (thus it went) so soone as ATTILA vnderstood that ECIVS was dead (the feare of whom made him to containe himselfe within *Hungarie* and *Germanie*) he resolued without any delay, setting all other matters apart, to come against *Italy*, which onely in peace and entier, held for VALENTINIAN. And comming downe with a very mightie armie, with some of those kings before named, which after that he was driuen out of *France* he had ioyned with him, he descended with great furie, taking by the way all the cities and countries as he passed, putting all to fire and sword. And in this manner he entred poore *Italy* through the prouince of the Venetians now called *Friuli*, robbing and spoiling all places: where there came against him a Captaine sent by VALENTINIAN with a great and mightie armie, with which ATTILA fought a very cruell battaile: but the imperiall generall and armie were both ouerthrowne, with great losse and slaughter of men; and so ATTILA marching forwards, tooke many cities, which put all *Italy* in such feare, that the inhabitants in no part thereof held themselves in safetie from the power and rage of ATTILA. And this his comming and the feare of him was the cause of the originall of the mightie and famous citie of *Venice*, which in those daies begun to be builded (according to the most part of the best Historiographers) by people which flying from the rage and persecution of ATTILA, reduced themselves to dwell in certaine little Ilands, with their wiues, children, and goods, where that citie now standeth, imagining that there they might liue in safetie: and there fortifying themselves in the best manner that they could, for ATTILA his armie did consist of landmen only, and afterwards they resolued to continue there, notwithstanding that the feare was past, and began to set orders in their government and iustice. And hauing happie successe, they grew in proceesse of time to such greatnes, that they in a manner became absolute Lords of the sea, and gat many Ilands, kingdomes and noble cities, and are vntill these our daies the honour & credit of all *Italy*, and preserue their libertie inuiolate, calling their citie *Venetia*, after the name of the prouince from whence they came, which was the maine land vpon the shore side neere to *Venice*: which for that it appertaineth not to my historie, I will passe ouer with silence, referring the reader to BLONDVS and SABELLICVS, and other authors which treat thereof at large. ATTILA hauing taken all the countrey behind him, besieged the citie of *Aquileia*, which at that time was of great power, whereinto besides the inhabitants, and such as were borne therein entred many Romanes, and others of the Emperours souldiers which escaped from the battaile wherein their generall was ouerthrowne, and they so valiantlie defended the same, that ATTILA besieged it three yeeres, and could not take it, holding it for a great dishonor to raise his siege before he had it, in which time he did much harme in all the countrey round about with his men of warre, and there were many conflicts and slaughters betweene the besiegers and the besieged.

During the time of this long siege, GENSERICVS king of the Vandales made himselfe peaceable Lord of all *Africa*. And the French with MEROBEVS their king grew mightie in *France*, and enlarged their dominion, and the Burgonians in the countrey now called *Burgundie* did the like. And the Gothes, Alanes, and Sueuians in like manner in *Spaine*, and in such part of *France* as is afore said. And the Emperour VALENTINIAN neuer came to relieue *Aquileia*, and as little did MARTIANVS the Emperour of *Constantinople*, either through cowardize, retchlesnes, ill government, or want of power sufficient for such an enterprise, standing in feare of ATTILA and his power, who at the end of three yeeres that he had held

Attila his  
comming  
into Italy.  
Forum Iulij.

The beginning  
of the citie of  
Venice.

Some are of  
opinion that  
it is called Ve-  
netia of these  
words Venite  
qua, used by  
those which  
were first  
there to induce  
others which  
were on land  
to come thi-  
ther.

The siege of  
Aquileia.

held the same besieged (resolutely assaulting it vpon a day with his whole power, without any intermission, withdrawing such as were wearie and tired, and setting others in their places) he tooke it by force of armes; and after that he had sacked it, and put all those to the sword which he found therein, he made it to be cast to the ground, without leauing any one house or building that might be inhabited, it hauing bin one of the richest and most noble cities of that time: for *Aquileia*, and *Rauenna*, after *Rome*, were the most principall in that age. ATTILA hauing thus like a sauage barbarian destroyed *Aquileia*, marched forwards with great expedition, and within very few daies tooke many excellent cities and townes; among which were *Mantua*, *Brescia*, *Cremona*, *Bergamo*, and all their confines. The like he did by *Milan* and *Paui*, and other neighbor townes: and went to the citie of *Rauenna*, which for that the Emperours held their courts therein, was the most excellent and famous citie in all *Italy*, which yeilded to him without any assault. From thence he marched into *Tuscane*, with a determination to haue made no stay vntill he came to *Rome*; and wholie to haue destroyed the same, and so in speeches he gaue it out. At that time LEO the first of that name was Pope, who at the request of the Emperour VALENTINIAN, accompanied with many Senators, went to ATTILA, intreating him for pities sake to spare *Rome*, and not to destroy that citie, which intreatie he made with such discretion and wisdom, and it pleased God to giue such efficacie to his speeches, that notwithstanding that ATTILA was the most cruell and inexorable Prince in the world; yet the Popes supplication did so much preuaile with him, that he not only gaue ouer his journey to *Rome*, but determined to depart out of *Italy*, and to returne to his auncient seate in *Hungary*, requiring first a great summe of money to be leuiued vpon the citie for a signe and acknowledgement of Soueraigntie. And the state of *Rome* was now come to this point, that they durst not denie any thing that ATTILA required, and they held it for a very great good hap, that ATTILA would forbear to put his cruell determination in execution. Some Authors write (whether true or false I will not maintaine) that all men wondring at this sodaine alteration of ATTILA his purposes, and some of his fauourites asking him the cause thereof, he answered, that he durst not denie the Popes demand: for whilst he stood talking with him, he thought that he perceiued two old men standing behind him with vnsheathed swords in their hands, threatening to kill him if he performed not what he required, and that he therefore durst do no other, which was held for a miracle. After this agreement ATTILA returned into *Hungarie*, wherein he was held for the greatest and most mightie Prince of the world, and was so much feared, that MARTIANVS the Emperour of *Constantinople* sent to sue for peace with him, and therewith sent him presents and money to obtaine the same. And he to the contrarie sent to the Emperour VALENTINIAN, requiring him to send him his sister HONORIA for his wife, threatening, that if he sent her not, he would againe returne into *Italy*, and destroy *Rome*. Whereto VALENTINIAN agreed by the consent of his sister, for she by meanes of an Eunuch had written and receiued letters to and from him, procuring him to require her to wife whatsoever happened, which she did for that her brother constrained her to liue a maid, lockt vp to her disgrace, and to the dishonor of the Emperour her brother: and he fearing ATTILAS displeasure, sent him his sister, according to his request, and he tooke her to wife, together with others, which as a barbarian he held. This his marriage was the cause of his death: for he holding a royall feast, and bankets at his wedding, dranke and ate that day so much,

*Aquileia* taken  
and razed by  
Attila.

Cities taken  
in Italy by  
Attila.

A great mi-  
racle, if true.

Attila had  
Valentinians  
sister to wife.

The death  
of Attila.

The end of the  
Empire in the  
V<sup>th</sup> c<sup>t</sup>.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Valentinian.

Anno Domini.  
456.

much, that waxing drowfie, and being ouercome with sleepe, he laid him downe, musing or groueling vpon his face, and nature being oppressed with what he had eaten and drunken, such abundance of blood gushed out at his nose, and with such vehemencie, that in the space of an houre he was choked therewith, and so he ended, shedding his owne blood, which had made streames and riuers of humane blood, and had slaine a greater number of men, and vsed greater crueltie, then any King or Captaine that euer was before him. The death of ATTILA gaue libertie to some Kings and Nations which were vnder him, and had serued him in all his warres, and there ensued great warres betwene them and his sonnes. But the Empire could neuer recover the prouinces and countries which it had lost in *Germany*, in *France*, in *Spaine*, in *England*, and in *Africa*; although that in *France* and *Spaine* it held some part: and so it so much declined and fell to so meane estate, that from henceforth we shall write of the Emperours and such accidents as happened in *Italy*, as additions annexed to the Empire of the East, principallie naming the Emperours of *Constantinople*, wherein consisted the strength and power of the auncient Empire. For after fise or sixe Emperours, and some of them tyrants (as we will shortly declare) AVGVSTVLVS being the last of them; for the space of three hundred and thirtie yeeres the westerne Empire was wholie lost, and that which in *Italy* remained was subiect to the Emperours of *Constantinople*, which ruled the same by their gouernors (called Exarchi) (vntill the time of Pope LEO the third, in which time through the negligence and basenes of the Greeke Emperours, the Imperiall seate was transported to the West, as when time commeth we will specifie. The next yeere after the death of ATTILA, the Emperour VALENTINIAN was slaine in *Rome*, by the secret practise and treason (as it was afterwards knowne) of MAXIMVS: and he which executed this murder was a valiant souldier, which had serued the excellent Captaine ECIVS, whose name was TRANSILA, who did it in reuenge of the death of his Captaine. And so ended VALENTINIAN after that he had raigned thirtie yeeres; fise and twentie in the companie of his father in lawe THEODOSIVS the lesser, and fise with MARTIANVS the Emperour of *Constantinople*, who by reason of his death remained sole Emperour, which happened in the yeere of our Lord (after the most writers) foure hundred fixe and fiftie. He left not any sonne that might succede him, but two daughters by his wife

EVDOKIA.

THE



THE LIFE OF MARTIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME,  
AND FOVRE AND FIFTITH  
ROMANE EMPEROVR.



Resently vpon the death of the Emperour VALENTINIAN in *Rome*, as PROCOPIVS, PAVLVVS DIACONVS and some others doe write, MAXIMVS for that he was a Romane citizen, of high parentage, noblie descended, and of great authoritie in the citie, presently vsurped the name of Emperour; and was possessed of *Rome* and of all *Italy* also. And the better to assure his tyrannie, he vsed such meanes, that (more by constraint, then for any good will) he married with EVDOKIA, which had been VALENTINIANS wife, and daughter to the Emperour THEODOSIVS the lesser. To whom after that he had her in his power, thinking thereby the better to winne her loue, he discovered and confessed that he had caused her husband to be slaine: with this addition, that he did it languishing for the loue of her, which did nothing assuage her discontentment, but rather so much incensed her, that she resolved to be reuenged on him by any meanes howsoeuer. And imagining that from *Constantinople*, or from the Emperour MARTIANVS, she should not haue any redresse, she secretly wrote to GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, who then raigned in *Africa*, very effectualle recommending her vnto him, and earnestlie intreating him to set her at libertie, and to deliuer her from the power of MAXIMVS, who was a tyrant and a traitor. GENSERICVS to take the benefit of the time, and in hope to make himselfe

Maximus  
vsurped the  
name of Em-  
perour.

M m

Lord

Lord of *Italy*, or at least to rob it and to haue the spoile thereof, employing his whole power, raised the greatestt armie that he was able, and vsing all possible expedition sailed into *Italy*, so mightie, that the authors affirme, that he brought with him three hundred thousand men in his armie: against whose power MAXIMVS was neither able, neither durst to make any resistance, notwithstanding that he attempted so farre as he could: wherefore being altogether hopelesse and in despair, he resolved to flye, and to abandon *Rome*, but by the way he was slaine by a Romane Capitaine called VRSVS. When GENSERICVS arrived in the coast of *Italy*, there was so great feare in *Rome*, that all the principall citizens thereof abandoned the citie: wherefore Pope LEO seeing the calamitie likely to fall vpon it, resolved to hazard his life for the same, and knowing how great crueltie GENSERICVS had vsed against the Bishops in *Africa*, as an heretike (for he was an Arrian) before that he came to *Rome*, he went forth to meete him, and in great humilitie intreated him for the honour of Christ to mitigate his furie, and to content himselfe with the pray and wealth of *Rome*, without spoiling and sacking the Churches and Temples. But this cruell king forbore not to march to *Rome*, and with his whole armie to enter it, and robbed and spoiled without any difference aswell the sacred, as the prophane. And being in *Rome* busied herewith the space of foureteene daies, he departed from thence, carying away with him infinite wealth, and rich prisoners; and so *Rome* being the head of the world, and Queene of all Nations, was spoiled, dishonored, and sacked by the Vandales, hauing already at another time bin spoiled by the Gothes, as aboue is expressed: a wonderfull example, to induce a man to make little account of the power and riches of this world. And leauing the citie thus destroyed (notwithstanding that at the intreatie of Pope LEO he commaunded that no edifice or buildings should be set on fire, neither any man to be slaine or tortured) he led with him from *Rome* the Emperesse EUDOXIA, and her two daughters which she had by VALENTINIAN, which he afterwards caried with him into *Africa*. After that GENSERICVS departed from *Rome*, he did the like in many other cities in the marches thereof, as he had done therein, and destroying the citie of *Capua*, for that it made some resistance, he went to *Naples*, and besieged it, thinking to haue woon it by assault. But the inhabitants so manfullie defended it, that he was driuen to raise his siege, and so returned into *Africa*, loden with the spoiles and wealth of *Italy*, where he married one of the Emperour VALENTINIANS daughters, which he brought with him from *Rome* to his sonne TRASIMUNDVS, who succeeded him in his estate. This befell in the sixth yeere of the raigne of MARTIANVS, being the next yeere after the death of VALENTINIANVS. GENSERICVS with his armie hauing left *Rome*, and being departed out of *Italy*, the principall Senators and Romane Gentlemen which through want of forces and of an Emperour, had abandoned the citie, presentlie returned, and by common consent chose for Emperour of *Rome*, *Italy* and *Sicilie*, (for now in a manner all the rest of the state was vsurped) an auncient noble Romane Gentleman, both for age and bloud, of the order and dignitie of Senator, whose name was AVITVS: which when the Emperour MARTIANVS vnderstood, as a gentle and religious Prince, he was very glad thereof, and allowed and ratified his election, in hope of better order to be taken in the gouernement, and so it seemed that there was good hope to haue preserued the Empire in that state wherein it then was. But all was marred through the death of MARTIANVS, who was poisoned in *Constantinople*, by the practice and deuice of ARDABURIUS, and his father ASPAR, which were his

Genesericus came into Italy with 300000. men.

The death of Maximus.

Rome sacked by Genesericus.

The Emperesse Eudoxia, and her two daughters caried into Africa.

Auitus chosen Emperour by the Romanes.

Martianus poisoned in Constantinople.

Captaines, which happened in the yeere of our Lord foure hundred, nine and fiftie, he hauing raigned seauen yeeres. This MARTIANVS was a vertuous and a iust Prince, and preserued and enlarged the East Empire.

## THE LIFE OF LEO THE FIRST, BEING THE FIVE AND FIFTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR, AND OF THOSE WHICH IN HIS TIME tooke vpon them the name of Emperours.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**W**hen Martianus was dead, some which had bin the causes thereof sought to haue vsurped the Empire, wherein failing to effect their desires, they made Leo Emperour, being a Greeke borne, who in the beginning of his Empire bare himselfe so valourously, that there was not anyemie so hardie, as to make warre against him. But in the West Empire many tyrants arose, and many Emperours, which for that they liued not long, were the cause of great mutations and commotions: and the Vandales aduentured to come into *Italy*, against which Leo sent a good and a wortheie flecte, vnder the conduct of a Capitaine called Basiliscus, who encountering them, overthrew them. In the meane time Leo in *Constantinople* was driuen to fight against some which sought to haue vsurped, which being overcome and slaine, he had much to do to rescue *Rome*, which was sacked and spoiled by many vnder the name of Emperours, which for that they liued not long, or were deposed from that dignitie by others which were more mightie then they, were the causes of very great troubles in the Westerne Empire, in the midst of which tumults ensued the death of the Emperour Leo in *Constantinople*, when he had raigned seauenteene yeeres.

**R**esentlie so soone as MARTIANVS the Emperour of *Constantinople* was dead (whose death was greatly bewailed) the principall men therein began to consult about the choosing of a new Emperour, and ASPAR who wrought the last Emperours death, sought to haue bin his successor, but he prevailed not, forasmuch as he was of the sect of the Arrians: for as the Catholike

tholike Christians were of the stronger side, they would not consent to his election. But seeing that he could not obtaine the Empire for himselfe, he bare a great sway in the election of another, which was an excellent man both in peace and warre, which was a Tribune, whose name was LEO, a Greeke borne, and the first that euer was Emperour of the Greeke nation, and as most authors write, was borne in the citie of *Bessica*. But ASPAR first made this bargain with him, that when as he should afterwards be in full possession of the Empire, he should then make his sonne ARDABVRIVS CÆSAR, although it followed not so. This being concluded, LEO was chosen and obeyed for Emperour, and gouerning the Empire in good order and with good successe, in the beginning thereof he wan great credit and reputation, so as neither *Africa*, *Asia*, nor *Persia* durst stirre against him; but in the West in *Italy* and in *Sicilia*, there were great alterations, and many were Emperours, more in name, then in power or authoritie comparable to the Auncient. And that old and mightie king GENSERICVS neuer desisted from infesting *Italy*, comming himselfe in person, and sending his fleets to rob and spoile the country: so that (as EVTROPIVS relateth) he destroyed and laid wholie wast many cities, and in the end became sole and absolute Lord of all *Sicilia*. In the first yeere of the raigne of LEO died in *Rome* AVITVS, which (as we said) raigned therein: and the Romane armie being then neere to *Rauenna*, chose and nominated for Emperour a good man of warre, whose name was MAIORANVS, whereto the Emperour LEO gaue his consent. This MAIORANVS was a good Prince, and an excellent Captaine, for the time that he raigned: for he tooke great care, and vsed great diligence in defence of *Italy* against the Vandales, and GENSERICVS their King; and to that purpose raised a great armie, and remained for the most part of his time vpon the sea side, to the end to be the better able to send reliefe and succour where most neede required. And this prospering well with him, and seeing himselfe mightie and strong in men and munition, he resolved to haue sailed into *Africa*, in hope, and with intent to haue reconquered the same; but he could not accomplish that good worke: for death surprized him, when he had raigned three yeeres and od moneths. Some say, that he died of a disease: and others say, that the same armie that chose him, slue him. In place of MAIORANVS rose vp another Emperour, which was a principall man, called SEVERIANVS, who besides the ordinarie warres against the Vandales, was yet troubled with another against the Alanes: which with GEORGE their King departing from *Spaine*, where they had of long time inhabited together with the Gothes, resolved to come into *Italy*, thinking to haue conquered the same, and to haue made themselues Lords of certaine places in *Lumbarby*: against which SEVERIANVS commaunded an armie to be leuied, and made a valiant man whose name was RITHINER generall thereof, who was by linage a Goth, but now made a citizen of *Rome*, and receiued into the degree and dignitie of a Romane Gentleman. And the King of the Alanes comming with the Romane Generall neere to the citie of *Bergamo*, to a battaile, which of either partie was very cruell, in the end the Alanes were ouerthrowne, and their King was slaine therein. After this victorie and other matters which happened of lesse account, SEVERIANVS died in *Rome*, when he had ruled the Empire in *Italy* almost foure yeeres, and in his place was chosen a very excellent man of war, sent thither by the Emperour LEO, to succour and protect *Italy* against the Vandales, who was called ANTHEMIVS, and was sonne in lawe to the late Emperour MARTIANVS, LEO his predecessor. And there presentlie arose against ANTHE-

The death of  
Avitus.

The death of  
Maioranus  
chosen Empe-  
rour.

Seuerianus  
chosen Empe-  
rour.

The death of  
Seuerianus.

Anthemius  
chosen Empe-  
rour.

MIVS (intituling himselfe Emperour) a Captaine whose name was GERVANDVS, who was Prefect and gouernour of the prouince of *Narbone*, which was all that in *France* remained subiect to the Empire. But ANTHEMIVS speedily sent his Capitaines against him; and being by them taken, hee was condemned to perpetuall exile, and ANTHEMIVS established in his place a friend of his which was a good Captaine, called BELIMER, to gouerne the countrie of *Gallia Narbonensis*. This rebellion was scarcely ended, when in *Rome* another principall man arose and would also haue rebelled, whose name was PATRICIVS: but ANTHEMIVS pacified that matter, with as great facilitie as the rest.

Geruandus  
was called Em-  
perour.

Whilest that there were such alterations, and Emperours died in this manner in *Italy*; the Emperour LEO gouerned *Grecia* and the East very valorously and in peace. But the old and valiant GENSERICVS King of the Vandales in *Africa*, seeing the alterations and troubles which daily happened in *Italy*, throughly resolved with himselfe to invade it and to make himselfe Lord thereof; which was a thing that he long desired, as a man which had tasted the sweetnes of the wealth and riches of *Rome*. Whereupon hee mustred vp his valiant Vandales, and the countrie inhabitants of *Africa* and other nations; and armed and rigged the mightiest armie and Naue that he euer before had leuied. Whereof when LEO was aduertised, and knowing that ANTHEMIVS had not power sufficient to defend himselfe against GENSERICVS; and that if ANTHEMIVS sped ill, his estate was not assured (at the least *Slauonia*, and those countries which bordred vpon *Italy*) he therefore resolved to employ his whole power against GENSERICVS, in defence of ANTHEMIVS; who of his side made all the prouision of men and armes that possibly he was able, for the defence of *Italy*: and had rigged vp an excellent fleet for the Sea. When LEO had prepared and armed his armie and fleet, hee made one BASILISCVS a great man in his countrie, Generall thereof, who was his brother in law, being brother to his wife the Emperesse, and was also brother in law to ANTHEMIVS: for ANTHEMIVS had married his sister. BASILISCVS with his great fleet departing from *Grecia*, safely arriued in *Italy*; and ioyning with the fleet which ANTHEMIVS had prepared, they went in quest of GENSERICVS, who with no lesse a fleet was come vpon the same coast. These two Nauies being come within sight the one of the other, and GENSERICVS knowing his enemies men of warre to be farre more readie and expert in Sea seruices then his were, would gladly haue auoided the fight; but he was so soundly charged by BASILISCVS, that he could not chuse but come to blowes: and as the battaile was fearefully begun, so was it cowardly maintained. And he seeing his disadvantage, would haue gone out of the fleet, whilest as the ships were fighting one with another, and did attempt to haue done so: which the rest of his fleet perceiving, they all presently turned their backs, and hee was apparantly ouerthrowne, and lost many of his ships and much people; and so very shamefully fled into *Africa*. Whom BASILISCVS pursued, and tooke land but two hundred and fourescore furlongs from *Carthage*, and (as PROCOPIVS reporteth) if he had presently gone thither he had easily taken the same. And GENSERICVS being without forces (as he then was) he might haue taken all that prouince: for already in the other side towards the East, another Captain whom LEO had sent thither, whose name was HERACLIVS, had taken the citie of *Tripoli*, and other townes: but through ignorance, or as some say, BASILISCVS being corrupted with a great summe of money by GENSERICVS, he forswore the warres, and was content to retire his armie into *Sicilia*, and there to recouer what GENSERICVS possessed. Whilest

Genfericus  
King of the  
Vandales came  
againe into  
*Italy*.

Genfericus  
ouerthrowne  
in a battaile by  
Sea.

as the Emperour LEO his Captaines and souldiers performed these seruices, himselfe was not idle in *Constantinople*: for ASPAR and his sonne ARDAVRIVS had raised great insurrections therein. And as they were chiefe in making him Emperour; so were they of great power and authoritie in his Court, and in the government of the Empire: besides that, both the father and the sonne had euer been principall men, and were very mightie. This ASPAR perceiuing that BASILISCVS the Emperours General prospered wel in al his actions, began to feare to fall from that dignitie which he then enioyed; imagining that the Emperour being out of feare of GENSRICVS, would make small account of him: and to the end to auoide this, he determined whilest as BASILISCVS was in the warres, to importune and vrge him to nominate and make his sonne ARDAVRIVS, CÆSAR, according to his former promise when he was chosen Emperour; which he had hitherto deferred, by entertaining them with some apparant reasons. But now ASPAR (as a mightie man) so audaciously importuned him to hold his word, that taking hold of the Imperiall robe which the Emperour then ware, he said, LEO thou oughtest to performe what thou hast promised me: for hee that weareth this robe ought not to lie. Whereunto the Emperour answered: And much lesse ought he to endure that any man vse violence or force him. ASPAR perceiuing the Emperours determination, resolved to make his sonne CÆSAR by force of armes, and accounting himself of sufficient power thereto, gaue him the name of CÆSAR: and leuying such forces as hee was able, the warre began betweene him and the Emperour. Some say that LEO nominated him CÆSAR, and that the Catholike Christians would not yeeld thereto: for that ASPAR and his sonne ARDAVRIVS were both Arrian heretikes: whereof ensued great tumults. But howsoeuer the matter went, it is certaine that they tooke armes against their Soueraigne, and that their men of warre fought one partie against other. Wherefore in great haste LEO sent to recall his Generall BASILISCVS from *Sicilia*, to the end that with his armie and fleet he should come to his aide: but before that he could come, the Emperour was in great daunger, and likely to haue been vtterly lost and ouerthrowne. But being come with his armie, notwithstanding that there were many skirmishes within the citie of *Constantinople*, and that in apparance it seemed that the matter went in a manner at euen hand (for ASPAR and his sonne were excellent men of warre, very rich and of great power) yet in the end LEO his partie preuailed, and the two tyrants were taken and put to death by the Emperours commaundement: and so was hee freed from this daunger and seruitude. But there presently ensued other troubles with the Ostrogothes, which had accompanied ATTILA in his warres. For BALEMIR and THEODOMIR Kings of those Gothes, with all their whole power, after many battailes fought betweene them and the sonnes of ATTILA (which I write not for that it appertaineth not to our historie) resolved to make warre in the East Empire: and beginning in *Slauonia*, they put the Emperour LEO to great care and trouble. But he as a wise Prince and a louer of peace (seeing that there was no other remedie) gaue to them *Hungarie* and *Austrich*, and taking hostages and great assurance of them, concluded a peace; which at that time was very necessarie and profitable for the Empire, although nothing honourable. He also graunted vnto them *Seruaia*, *Misia*, and *Walachia*.

In this meane season, after the ouerthrow of GENSRICVS, the Emperour ANTHEMIVS liued in peace in *Italy*. But as there is no stabilitie in humane estates, and that in the time of chiefest prosperitie, there happen the greatest disasters and calamities;

Speeches uttered by Aspar to the Emperour LEO, with his answer.

Aspar made Cæsar by his father Arda-  
burius, by force

Aspar and his sonne Arda-  
burius slayne by the commaundement of the Emperour LEO.

lamities; RITHINER, who (as we said) ouerthrew the Alanes and slew their King neere to the citie of *Bergamo*, being growne proud and vainglorious, by reason of that so famous a victorie, forgetting the fauours and rewards which ANTHEMIVS had bestowed vpon him: first in marrying him to his owne daughter; and then making him gouernour generall of *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lombardy*, resolved to rise and rebell against his father in law, and Soueraigne Lord; in either of which he was bound to haue been a faithfull and loyall seruant. And to that end resolved to come with the greatest force that he was able, against the Emperour ANTHEMIVS: whereupon all *Italy* was in armes, either for the one partie or for the other. But Pope EPIPHANIVS vsed the meanes to bring them to a peace, which hee caused to be confirmed vpon certaine conditions, and with exceeding great othes. But the wicked RITHINER (within a little while after) brake all, and with his armie came to the walles of *Rome*, making warre against all such as tooke part with the Emperour. ANTHEMIVS was then vnfurnished of any sufficient armie to take the field, and therefore contenting himselfe to defend the citie, suffred it to be besieged, expecting the succours which came to him out of *France*. For BALEMIR (whom as we haue said, he had made Gouernour of *Gallia Narbonensis*) vnderstanding in what distresse he was (as a loyall and gratefull seruant) determined to come with the greatest power that he was able to leuie, to relieue his soueraigne Lord and to raise the siege. And the Emperour LEO vnderstanding what past in *Italy*, and knowing how small meanes and power ANTHEMIVS had to defend himselfe, and being enformed also of the treason of RITHINER, he with all speede sent into *Italy* a Captaine whose name was OLIBRIVS, with a good armie against him: with authoritie, when hee should see time fit for it, to take the name of Emperour. Which when ANTHEMIVS vnderstood, thinking by this meane to be freed from the siege, wherewith the citie was distressed, hee agreed that the other should be called Emperour, and willingly allowed his name and title. But before that OLIBRIVS could come, BALEMIR arriued with such succours as he brought with him out of *France*: and seeking to enter *Rome*, and to ioine with ANTHEMIVS, RITHINER got betweene him and the citie, in such manner, that whether BALEMIR would or would not, they came to blowes, and there was betweene them a cruell battaile, wherein the loyall Captaine (through the secret iudgement of God) was slaine by the traitor. Whereupon the people of *Rome* being out of hope of this succour (and as OLIBRIVS which came from *Constantinople* was in *Rauenna*, so farre from *Rome*) they so cowardly fainted, that RITHINER entred the citie by force, and being in possession thereof, put his Lord and father in law the Emperour to death, and sacked the whole citie, excepting two streetes wherein he was lodged. And so this was the third time that *Rome* endured famine and much trouble in defending it selfe, and violence and spoile after it was taken. So as, as it hath been seene, and hereafter it shall often appeare, this world knoweth not how to giue any good thing, but to the end againe to take away the same; neither knoweth how to aduance, but to the end to pull downe. *Rome* had commaunded and subdued the whole world, and had raigned ouer all the habitable knowne nations of the earth; it had tamed and depriued great kings and Common-wealths of their kingdomes and dominions, and had enriched it selfe with the spoiles and wealth of (in a manner) all the nations and cities of the world. Neuerthelesse, through the diuine prouidence of God, in proesse of time it was taken and spoiled by the same people and nations which it had subdued, and brought vnder her yoke. And the people of all those nations came to *Rome*,

Rithiner rebelled against the Emperour Anthemius in Italy.

Balemir ouerthrowne and slaine by Rithiner.

Rome taken and sacked the third time by Rithiner, wherein the Emperour Anthemius was slaine.

tooke the same, and made boote and spoile thereof, as if they had come to fet home, and to haue that restored to them which in former time was taken from their auncestours, which the reader shall plainly perceiue by that which is already written, and shall be written hereafter: which will shew how often *Rome* hath been entred and taken by force of armes, and how often it hath been sacked and spoiled, and indured such like other defaistes and calamities.

Rithiner made  
Emperour of  
Rome, and his  
death.

Olibrius made  
Emperour, and  
his death.

Glizerius  
made Empe-  
rour, and de-  
posed.

Orestes being  
sent by the  
Emperour  
Nepos with  
an armie into  
France, made  
his sonne to be  
called Empe-  
rour.

But to returne to our historie, RITHINER being maister and commaunder of *Rome*, and of the rest of *Italy*, with power and name of Emperour (excepting *Rauenna*, and the marches thereof, which was defended by OLIBRIUS) three moneths only enioyed this foueraightie: after which, he was ouertaken with an extreme sicknes whereof he died, in terrible paine. And so soone as he was dead, OLIBRIUS was proclaimed Emperour in *Rome*, who then was in *Rauenna*, and comming thither and giuing but the signes and shew of an excellent good gouernour, within foure moneths he died of his naturall death. And as *Rome* had lost her power and authoritie; so had the Emperours thereof little health, and short life. For who so shall make a computation thereof, shall finde, that whilest that LEO reigned in the East, there were, and ruled in *Italy* (by good and bad titles, one and other) sixe or seauen Emperours. Presentlie after the deceale of OLIBRIUS, the Senate of *Rome* considering the losses and tyrannies past, would haue vsed their authoritie in choosing an Emperour by voices, and by generall consent, with good aduise and consideration; but they could not bring their purpose to effect: for being ouerwayed by GVANDIBARVS (a Captaine who then was in *Rauenna*) they made choise of one GLIZERIVS a Senator of *Rome*, which was in *Rauenna* with him. But his Empire lasted but awhile: for the Emperour LEO vnderstanding that his election was by force, sent against him a Captaine called NEPOS, with the title and name of Emperour, who being assisted by the Romanes which against their wils had sworne obedience to GLIZERIVS, deposed him, and made him against his will to take Monastickall orders, and gaue him a Bishoprick; but he tooke the Empire to himselfe, which was the occasion of many commotions and troubles in *Italy*. For GVANDIBARVS which had aduanced GLIZERIVS, tooke his suppression for a great disgrace and an indignitie done to himselfe: wherefore he leuied an armie, to the end to haue restored him. But Pope EPIPHANIVS vsed such diligence, and tooke such paines in the matter (of whom we said that he made the peace betweene BALEMIR and ANTHEMIVS, although it continued not long) that he made a stay thereof, establishing peace betweene them; so as they laid downe their weapons, and for that time NEPOS remained in peace in *Rome*. But as he liued in that estate, he was aduertised that HENRY King of the Gothes, who then reigned in *Tholouse* in *France*, and in the greatest part of *Spaine*, made warres vpon those countries which were subiect to the Romanes, and had taken certaine townes; so as it was feared that he would haue proceeded further: NEPOS to shew his power, leuied a very good armie against him, and making one ORESTES a priuate friend of his generall thereof, commanded him to take his way towards *France*. But ORESTES departing with very great forces, tooke no care for going that iourney according to his commission, which had bin more for his honour; but rather so soone as he came to *Rauenna* (hauing first founded the good will of his armie so farforth as he thought expedient) made his sonne to be called Emperour, whose name was AVGVSTVS, whom the Romanes called AVGVSTVLVS (for that name they gaue him when he was a child) and so he is called by all Historians. And hauing brought

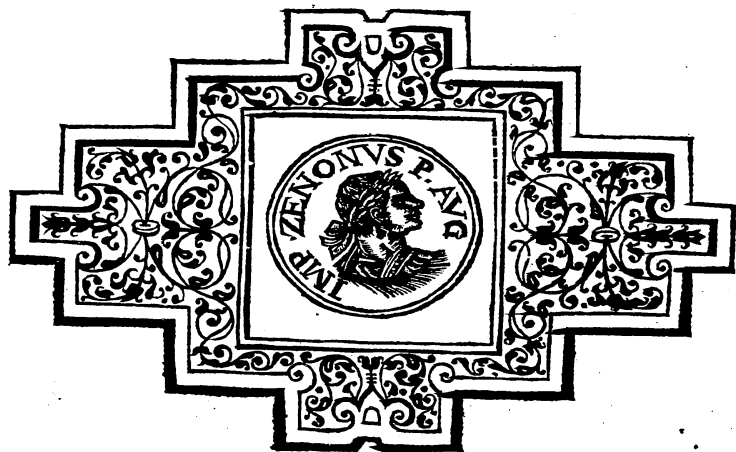
brought this to effect, he resolved to returne to *Rome* against NEPOS; who as he had employed all his men of warre and whole power in that armie, was not of force able to stay his comming, neither to make any defence or resistance against him: wherefore he abandoned *Rome*, and the hope to be any longer Emperour, hauing bin so but alittle while, and fled into *Dalmatia*, which was vnder the iurisdiction of the Emperour LEO; and so AVGVSTVLVS continued in *Rome* in possession, and with the name and title of Emperour. Whilest the affaires of *Italy* stood in this estate, the Emperour LEO died in the citie of *Constantinople*, hauing reigned (as writeth PAVLVVS DIACONVS) seauenteene yeeres with great valour and honour, as an excellent Prince, in the yeere of our Lord foure hundred, threescore and sixteene, who left not behind him any sonne to inherit, but two daughters, the one called ARIADNE, and the other LEONCIA; the one was married to ZENO who afterwards was Emperour, and the other to MARTIANVS sonne of ANTHEMIVS, who (as we haue said) had bin Emperour of *Italy*: yet some say, that ARIADNE which was wife to ZENO, was not his daughter, but his sister, and that he instituted a sonne of hers before his death for Emperour and his successor. His death was condoled by all, and many lamented the same with teares.

The Emperour  
Nepos abandon-  
ing Rome, fled  
into Dalmatia.  
Augustulus  
made Empe-  
rour.  
The death of  
the Emperour  
Leo in Con-  
stantinople.  
Anno Domini.  
476.

The Emperour LEO being dead in *Constantinople*, and AVGVSTVLVS reigning in *Rome*, the generall estate of all the prouinces which were wont to be in subiection to the Empire, stood in this manner. The Gothes with their King called by some EVRIGVS, and by other HENRICVS, held *Tholouse*, and that part of *France* which bordereth vpon *Spaine*, and the greatest part of *Spaine* it selfe. The Sueuians in *Gallicia*, and in part of the kingdome of *Leon*, held warres with the Gothes, and to the Empire remained some hauen townes in the coast of *Arragon*, *Carthagena*, and *Tarragona*, and some others also. The Alanes which remained in *Spaine*, dwelt together with the Gothes in a part of *Spaine* towards *Italy*, and after the names of these two nations, that prouince was called *Gotalonia*, which now through corruption of speech is called *Catalunia*. In *France* reigned the French, in *Paris* and in all the countries round about it, and in other countries, with all that which we now call *Flaunders* & *Picardie*, whose king was called HEDERICQUE. The Burgonians held the two *Burgundies*, and the Empire held no more but *Narbonne*, and some land thereto neere adioining, which continued but alittle while in the Emperours iurisdiction. In *England* reigned the English Saxons, and in *Scotland* the Picts and Scots. In *Hungarie*, *Austrich*, and *Missia*, *Serua*, and *Walachia*, the Ostrogothes, with their King TODOMIR, and his sonne THEODORICVS, by permission of the Emperour LEO, bare the sway. In *Africa* were the Vandales, and their very old King GENSERICVS, many times spoken of, who died within alittle while after, and his sonne HONORICVS succeeded him. The most of the prouinces of *Germany* were vsurped by the successors of the Hunnes, called Heruli, Turigi, and others which came thither with ATTILA; and betweene all these nations and countries and their Kings were great warres, each of them coueting to enlarge his territorie and dominion. All the Easterne prouinces were in peace subiect to the Empire, and to the Easterne Emperour, who then was LEO, Nephew of that LEO, of whom we but now discoursed.



# THE LIFE OF LEO, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND SIXE AND FIFTITH ROMANE Emperour. And of his father ZENO.



## THE ARGVMENT.

**H**e Emperour Leo being dead, his nephew whose name was also Leo, tooke possession of the Empire, to whom it seemed a matter vnrreasonable, that his father whose name was Zeno, should liue as a priuate man, and be an Emperour: wherefore he renounced the Empire vnto him and crowned him with his owne hand, and within short space after died. Zeno being then made Emperour, the widow Emp. being much displeased that he should enioy so great a dignitie, procured Basiliscus a Captaine of his owne, to rebell against him; who making himselfe Emperour, compelled Zeno to flic into Isauria in Asia: but he continued not long in that miserie, for Basiliscus being hated for his pride, behaued himselfe so, that Zeno was restored to the Empire. Whilest as he liued in the East in peace, the Westerne Empire and Rome were so turmoiled, that Orestes father to the Emperour Augustulus was taken prisoner in Pavia, and there slaine. And Augustulus (for feare) left the Imperiall ensignes, the Empire and Rome to the discretion of Odoacer, which was afterwards bereaued him by Theodoricus King of the Ostrogothes. And Zeno hauing been somewhat troubled with warres in the East, and hauing obtained victorie against two ty-

rants,

tants, which were Aspar and his sonne Ardaburius, which rose against him, died of an ordinarie death in Constantinople, when he had reigned sixteene yeeres.



**I**Am of opinion that the reader hath sufficiently vnderstood, in what state the Empire remained, at what time as the Emperour LEO died in Constantinople: wherefore I hold it needlesse to make any repetition thereof. I say then, that so soone as LEO departed out of this life, his nephew without any contradiction was acknowledged and obeyed for Emperour, whose name was LEO also, as was his. For as I said, his grandfather had chosen and so appointed him to be, before his death, and so he held the Empire the space of certaine moneths, at the end of which he did a thing which seemeth strange, and maketh me much to wonder. Which was, that of his owne accord and voluntarie free will (holding it a hard case, that the father should be subiect and inferiour to the sonne) he renounced the Empire, and gaue it to his father ZENO, and he himselfe crowned him, and presently did him homage. For fathers in their life time to giue to their children their kingdomes and dignities, it is a thing that we haue scene, and often read of; and it seemeth that there is reason to induce them thereto: but seldome hath any man euer heard, that the sonne would dispossesse himselfe of a kingdome or Empire to giue it to his father. For it hath rather happened to the contrarie, that the sonne hath bereaued the father thereof by force in his life time; yea and sometimes hath wished and practised his fathers death, to the end to be his heire, and to succcede him. Therefore I say, that this accident is very strange, and the reuerence and obedience of this sonne much to be noted.

Leo refused the Empire, and gaue it to his father Zeno.

Well, the matter passed in this manner, that ZENO was crowned and obeyed for Emperour in Constantinople, and his sonne LEO remained in such estate as before. To the contrarie hereof in Italy, ORESTES made his sonne AVGVSTVLVS Emperour, without desiring or procuring it for himselfe. LEO hauing renounced the Empire and giuen the same to his father (as IORNANDES and other authors say) died within few daies after. But PAVLVVS DIACONVS reporteth it after another manner: for he saith that the father sought his sonnes death, from which he was deliuered by making himselfe a Priest, and so liued certaine yeeres. But howsoeuer it was, there is no more mention made of LEO, and his father ZENO began to rule the Empire. And going in progresse to visit the same, being in Chalcedonia, the widow Emperesse his wiues mother, which remained in Constantinople, repining to see ZENO Emperour, whom her husband LEO neuer accounted worthie of the Empire (as IORDANVS writeth) induced her brother BASILISCVS, who (as we said) ouerthrew GENSERICVS in a battaile at sea) to take vpon him the name of Emperour. And as by reason of that victorie and the affinitie which he had with the late Emperour LEO, he was very mightie and highly esteemed, so was hee both able and willing to make himselfe Emperour, and for such was receiued; and they sware obedience vnto him in Constantinople. Which so soone as ZENO vnderstood (whether it were through basenesse of minde, or to auoide the warres and the effusion of blood which would haue ensued) he tooke no care to make any head against him, but retired himselfe into Isauria, which is a very strong and guardable prouince in Asia the lesse, where hee assured himselfe to liue in securitie. Whereof BASILISCVS waxing proud, and infinitely ioyfull, and

Basiliscus made himselfe Emperour againe; Zeno in Constantinople.

Marcus made  
Cesar by his fa-  
ther Basiliscus.

Basiliscus the  
tyrant dispos-  
sessed, taken  
prisoner and  
banished, died  
in exile, toge-  
ther with his  
sonne and  
sister.

Augustulus  
made peace  
with Genseri-  
cus King of the  
Vandales in  
Africa.  
Augustulus  
Emperour in  
Rome.

Odoacer king  
of the Heruli  
came into  
Italy.

Orestes father  
to Augustulus  
marcheth a-  
gainst Odo-  
acer.

Ticinum,  
Pavia.

Orestes taken  
and slaine by  
Odoacer.

and holding himselfe now safe and past all daunger, made his sonne MARCVS, CÆSAR. But his pride and ioy continued but a little while: for as he was infected with the Nestorian heresie, so hee began to persecute and afflict the Church and Catholike Christians; by meanes whereof (as IORDANVS and PROCOPIVS re- count) he grew so hatefull, and was so abhorred by all sorts of people, that those Captaines which he sent against ZENO, returned against himselfe, and by the generall consent of all men ZENO was restored, and reestablished in the Empire; and hee with his sonne MARCVS and VERINA his sister, were taken prisoners, and being banished died in exile. In this manner remained ZENO mightie and in peace, hauing bin dispossessed of the Empire the space of eightene moneths: where we will leaue him, and returne to speake of AVGVSTVLVS the Emperour of the West, or to say better of Italy.

Whilest these things passed in the East, we told you how that ORESTES had exalted his sonne, and made him Emperour against NEPOS, who held his Empire in Rome, and as NEPOS had abandoned Italy, and AVGVSTVLVS remained therein, and seeing that in Italy no man durst oppose himselfe against him; by the aduice and counsell of his father hee made peace, and entred into league with GENSERICVS King of the Vandales in Africa, who was now growne old and worne out with bearing armes in the warres, and euen at deaths doore. By reason of which league, hee held himselfe to be in great securitie: for of ZENO hee made no account, seeing the discord betweene him and BASILISCVS. But his trouble and ruine sprang from whence he least mistrusted it; for the Heruli and the Turingi, a people of which we haue made mention, and which had serued in the warres vnder ATILA the mightie King of the Hunnes, and which in that time inhabited along the riuers side of Danubius, in the furthest confines of Hungary; tooke for their Captaine a man of their own nation called ODOACER, with a determination to come into Italy, and to make a conquest thereof; seeing that no man had any right thereto, but he who was of greatest power, and could giue most blowes for it. And it was the will and pleasure of God, that as Italy had sent Captaines to the conquest of all parts and nations of the world, so should Captaines and men of warre come from all parts and nations of the earth, to make a conquest thereof. Leauing apart other accidents which by the way befell ODOACER, he being approached to the borders of Italy, ORESTES the father of AVGVSTVLVS sallied forth to encounter him, with an excellent armie which the father and sonne (hauing intelligence of his comming) had leuiued. The two armies being come within sight the one of the other, both Generals would haue fought; but certaine companies of ORESTES his souldiers went ouer to ODOACER; which when he perceiued (reposing no firme confidence in the rest which remained) hee retired in the best order that hee could towards Ticinum, which is now called Pavia, a citie in Lombardie: and ODOACER pursued him. But ORESTES hauing no sufficient armie to take the fields to fight with him, suffred himselfe to be besieged in that citie. And notwithstanding that he did as much as was possible for his defence, yet the assaults giuen were so terrible, that the citie was entred by force, after that he had defended it many daies, and ORESTES was taken therein; vpon whom, and the souldiers which were with him, ODOACERs souldiers executed extreme crueltie. And from thence ORESTES was carried prisoner to Placencia, where by ODOACERs commaundement he was put to death. After that ODOACER had obtained this victorie (as AVGVSTVLVS his Empire had but a weake foundation, and lesse equitie of his side) all things went against him, and prospered.

prospered with hisemie: and so with small difficultie, and as little resistance, ODOACER tooke all the cities of Italy, and presentlie proclaimed himselfe Lord and King thereof. When AVGVSTVLVS vnderstood that all the townes and people tooke part with ODOACER, he departed from Rauenna, where he then kept his court, to go to Rome; but by the way before he came thither, being out of hope, he voluntarilie put away his robes and Imperiall ensignes, and abandoning Rome, fled, contenting himselfe with the hope of sauing his life, when he had reigned two yeeres a peaceable Emperour: and so he afterwards ended his life in pouertie and sorrow (as it is to be presumed) for the Historiographers make no more mention of him. Rome being abandoned by AVGVSTVLVS, ODOACER without any resistance possessed himselfe of all Italy, which he enioyed foureteene yeeres in great prosperitie, after which we will tell you who were Lords thereof. And so in this AVGVSTVLVS ended the Empire and dominion of Rome, which afterwards had no Emperour for the space of three hundred and thirtie yeeres. This happened in the yeere one thousand, two hundred, nine and twentie after the building of Rome, and in the five hundred, nine and twentieth after that IULIVS CÆSAR made himselfe tyrant and Lord thereof, and in the yeere foure hundred seauen and seauentie after the birth of our Sauour Christ.

In these times (as say PAVLVVS DIACONVS, and BLONDVS) there arose a noble man in England, by linage a Romane, descended from those which in auncient time had dwelled in that Island, whose name was AMBROSIVS, who joining with the Britons the auncient inhabitants of that countrey, against the Angles, fought many battailes with them, but in the end he was ouerthrowne and slaine. Whereupon many of those Britons resolu'd to abandon that Island, and in barks and ships (such as they could get) embarked themselves, and sailed ouer into that coast of France, which for that cause is now called Britanny, where in those dayes dwelled a people called Veneti, Cenomanni, & others: where, sometimes by leaue, and with the good will of the inhabitants, and sometimes without it, they inhabited, and possessed themselves of that countrey, and haue continued there euer since, with so good successe, that the name thereof, and their language continueth therein vntill this day, and is one of the best Prouinces of all France: wherein haue been mightie Princes, but by meanes of fundrie alterations, the French king is now Lord thereof.

After this, the Emperour ZENO reigned in Constantinople, and ODOACER in Italy, some yeeres peaceable; so as there happened not any thing in the Empire worth the writing: but in the end fortune turned her wheele in such manner, that ODOACER iustlie lost all that which he had wrongfullie gotten, and one tyrant was bereaued of what he had taken from another tyrant, which happened in such manner as we will set downe. THEODORICVS sonne of THEODOMIR King of the Ostrogothes, who in the time of the Emperour LEO the first had lien in hostage in Constantinople, when his father and vnclie made peace with the same LEO, when it was granted vnto them to inhabit Austrich, Hungary, and Misia. At this time his father THEODOMIR being dead, THEODORICVS succeeded him in the kingdome: whereof when the Emperour ZENO was aduertised, he sent Ambassadors to him, giuing him to vnderstand, that he was very glad of his succession, and therewith requested him to come to his court, for the great desire he had to see him, and to do him honour: which THEODORICVS gladlie per- formed, remembering the honour and good entertainment which in former time he had receiued in Constantinople. Whither when he came (besides that he

N n

was

Augustulus a-  
bandoned  
Rome to Odo-  
acer.

Odoacer made  
himselfe Lord  
of all Italie.

Anno 1229.  
after the  
building of  
Rome.

Anno 529.  
after that  
Iulius Caesar  
made himselfe  
monarch of the  
Romane Em-  
pire.  
Anno dom.  
477.

The Britons a-  
bandoned Eng-  
land and went  
ouer into Bri-  
tannie in  
France.

Theodoricus  
King of the  
Gothes came to  
the Emperour  
Zeno his court.

was very solemnly receiued, at his first comming) he was afterwards very honorable entertained by the Emperour ZENO, who gaue him ensignes of armes, and other honors and dignities, assigning to his people pay, and perpetuall pensions, and so was THEODORICVS well beloued and esteemed by the Emperour and his whole court. And liuing in this manner with great contentment, for a certaine space, his people which came with him, and those which remained behind also in his countrey, being accustomed to the warres, and to rob and spoile, and now grieued with liuing idle in peace, continuallie perswaded him (that imitating those from which he was descended) he should seeke to make some Conquest, and not to spend his life in banketting and feasting: but principally they counselled him to sue to the Emperour, to giue him leaue to make a Conquest of *Italy*, which ODOACER had taken and vsurped; and they told him so many things thereof, that in the end he resolued to follow their counsell; and awaiting time and place conuenient, hee made a faire speech to the Emperour, intreating him to graunt him what is before said, which Bishop IORNANDES writeth at large in his booke of the originall, and actes of the Gothes. When ZENO had heard his discourse, and vnderstood his meaning, he was very sory for it: for he desired euer to haue had him neere to himselfe, and not to haue suffred him to haue departed, as well for the loue which he bare him, as for the feare and doubt which he euer had of the Gothes. But seeing his determination, after counsell taken with the Senate, he was of opinion that he might well graunt him (as he requested) the conquest of *Italy*, considering that the Empire had lost it, and that it was now in the power of ODOACER: wherefore it were better that a King which was a friend and a confederate should possesse the same, then another: and if he did not accomplish his conquest, yet it was a meanes to weaken both their forces, of which the Empire stood in feare, hauing been oftentimes molested by them. When the Emperour had made this graunt, and confirmed the same by publike instruments, THEODORICVS tooke his leaue, and went into *Hungary*, and into *Missia*, where his people inhabited: where he gathered together the best and most choise men of warre that he was able for this enterprise, and began to march forwards with his armie; and by the way was hindred, and encountered by certaine Kings and barbarous people which were the remnant of ATTILA his troupes: so as by that time that he came into *Italy*, he was well trained in the warres, and his souldiers were accustomed to overcome. ODOACER, who some daies before was aduertised of his comming, had leuiued a very great armie, and had assembled together the people of that countrey, and had perswaded them to aid him, to defend them. When THEODORICVS was arrived in *Italy*, he encamped himselfe by a riuer side called *Sonzu*, neere to the ruines of old *Aquileia*, to rest and refresh his people in those fertill fields. And so soone as ODOACER knew of his comming, as he lay in wait for him in those Marches, he drew so neere with his armie, that in short space they came to a battaile, which THEODORICVS with great courage offred, and ODOACER refused not: for it seemed that both the commanders desired the same, which was one of the most cruell and bloudie that hath been seene, for the commanders and souldiers of either side were very valiant, and the one fought to win a kingdome, fame and honor; and the other fought to preferue all these. The fight lasted a great part of the day, and after great slaughter, and effusion of much bloud of either side, THEODORICVS obtained the victorie, and ODOACER was faine to flye when he had done all that was possible for him to haue maintained the fight. And although

Theodoricus made sute to the Emperour to giue him leaue to conquer *Italy* from Odoacer.

Theodoricus entred *Italy*, and Odoacer went to encounter him.

A battaile betwene Odoacer and Theodoricus. Odoacer was ouerthrowne by Theodoricus.

though that ODOACER lost this iourney, yet he lost neither courage, nor hope to defend himselfe, but gathering together the remainder of those which escaped from the battaile, he raised new forces, and againe taking the field neere to the citie of *Verona*, returned to fight with THEODORICVS, who followed him thither; and the two Kings came the second time to the battaile, which was no lesse cruell then the first. For this was the last of ODOACER his hope, but he was againe ouerthrowne: for those supplies which came to his aid forooke him, and he lost great part of his armie fighting, and afterwards in his flight passing the riuer *Po*, many of his people were drowned. In this flight ODOACER neuer stayed vntill he came to *Rome*, where he thought to haue gathered new head, and there to haue resisted his enemies; but there they would not receiue him: for seeing that he had been twise ouerthrowne, they had no hope or confidence in him, but sought to gratifie THEODORICVS, so as the citie was in armes: wherefore ODOACER returned, and with the best forces that he was able put himselfe into *Rauenna*; and THEODORICVS for that time forbore to pursue him, and went to *Milan* and tooke it, and other cities in that quarter: whereupon, many cities in *Italy* sent to him to yeeld their obedience, and many companies of souldiers came to serue him in his warres. And in the meane season ODOACER fortified himselfe with armes, men, and victuals, thinking at the least to haue been able to defend himselfe in *Rauenna*, which at that time (after *Rome*) was the principall citie of all *Italy*. And THEODORICVS being in a readines to besiege it, there followed so sodeine an alteration, that he neither could, neither durst to abide before it: for by the procurement of one of ODOACERs Captaines, who was either a president or admirall of some part of *Italy*, many Captaines, townes, and people againe tooke part with ODOACER, and they grew to so great a number, that THEODORICVS was in such feare, that he put himselfe into the citie of *Paui*, and many daies passed before that he againe drew his armie into the fields, so as neither ODOACER came to seeke him, neither he ODOACER. Within few moneths after this, they made frontier warres, and THEODORICVS recouering forces, committed his Mother and Sisters to the keeping of EPIPHANIVS Bishop of *Paui*, and went to *Rauenna* (wherein ODOACER lay) and laid siege thereto: but ODOACER so manfullie defended the same, that in three yeeres space (for so long the siege lasted) he not only made head against THEODORICVS, but made so many sallies vpon him, and gaue him so many alarmes, that he neuer suffred his armie to rest. But in the end wanting victuals, and out of hope of any reliefe, hauing first tried all meanes, both to offend and defend, and seeing that it auailed not, he resolued to yeeld to THEODORICVS, vpon condition that he should giue him assurance of his life, with promise to allow him some place in *Italy*, wherein he might liue; which promise was ill perfourmed: for he commaunded both him and his sonne to be slaine: and so ended the life and raigne of ODOACER, which cannot iustlie be tearmed, cowardlie.

ODOACER being dead, the people of his armie called Heruli, which escaped from the battaile, were entertained by THEODORICVS, and hee gaue them pay, and in short space made himselfe Lord of all *Italy*, without finding any resistance; and went afterwards to *Rome*, where hee was receiued with great ioy and solemnitie, as well for the fame and good report which they had heard of him, as for that he was sent thither by the Emperour ZENO. And this moreouer did greatly helpe him to get the good will of the citie; that at his very first comming thither, he caused a great quantitie of wheat to be distributed amongst the citizens, wher-

Odoacer ouercome the second time by Theodoricus.

Warres in *Italy* betwene Odoacer and Theodoricus.

Theodoricus besieged Odoacer in *Rauenna*.

Odoacer slaine by the commandement of Theodoricus.

Theodoricus  
went to Rome  
and made him-  
self Lord there-  
of and of all  
Italy.

The alliance  
and league  
made by Theo-  
doricus.

What befell  
the Emperor  
Zeno in Con-  
stantinople.

The trecherie  
of Yllos against  
the Emperesse  
Ariadne.

By what means  
the Emperesse  
was delivered  
from death.

of they then stood in great want: And so he remained Lord of *Rome*, and of all *Italy*, calling himselfe king thereof, as *ODACER* had done, thirteene yeeres before. This *THEODORICVS* was a very vertuous, a very iust, & a most excellent Prince and gouernour, and made himselfe very mightie, and much both beloued and feared: and aboue all, was very wise and circumspect in preferuing his estate. And to the end to make himselfe the more mightie, he procured alliance with al the kings then in *Europe*: for he presently treated a mariage with *ANDEFREDA* the French Kings daughter, which hee solemnized with great feasting and triumph. And of his owne three daughters, one hee married to *SIGISMVND* King of the *Burgonians*; and another to *ALARICVS* King of the *Visigothes*, and of *Spain*; and his third daughter called *AMALASIVNTHA*, he married to a Prince of *Germany* called *EVTHARICVS*; and his sister *ALMAFREDA* hee married to *HONORICVS* King of the *Vandales* and of *Africa*, who was *GENSERICVS* his heire and successor. So that with all the Princes neere vnto *Italy*, hee made some affinitie and band of friendship, and held that kingdome, which he with such honour had conquered, with no lesse honour, the space of thirtie yeeres after.

Whilest these things passed in *Italy*, *ZENO* the Emperour of *Constantinople* and of the East, had had somewhat to doe with the *Bulgarians*, which euer since the death of *ATTILA* had dwelled in *Germany*: and had made an incursion into the prouince of *Thracia*, and had done much harme in that countie: but they quickly returned to their habitation. In *Constantinople* also happened a great fire, which burnt a great part of that citie. There befell vnto *ZENO* also another very great disaster, comploted by a fauourite of his, who was steward of his palace, whose name was *YLLOS*, which was thus: This *YLLOS* made the Emperour beleue, (though vniustly) that his wife the Emperesse, whose name was *ARIADNE*, daughter of the Emperour *LEO*, liued dishonestly; and so *ZENO* being deluded, commaunded her secretly to be slaine. And he to whom the charge of the execution was committed, reuealed the secret to a young gentlewoman of the Emperesse chamber; who presently aduertised her Ladie thereof. And she at the very instant without any delay, fled from the palace in the cloiest manner that she could, leauing her in her chamber, which had aduertised her thereof, and went to the house of *ACACIUS* then Bishop of *Constantinople*. The Emperour the next day assuring himselfe that his commandement had been fulfilled, clad himselfe in mourning attire, faining that his wife had died naturally. But presently came to him the Bishop, who with great authoritie seuerely reprehended his lightnes and hastie resolutions; aduertising him of his wiues innocencie; and that that where-with she was accused was vntue. Finally, he handled the matter so well, that hee perswaded him the truth, and reconciled him to his wife, and made a perfect peace betweene them. But the Emperesse *ARIADNE*, after that she vnderstood that it was *YLLOS* which had accused her (as a woman) would be reuenged, and commaunded a certaine man, whom she held fit for that purpose, to kill him; who the better to bring his purpose to effect, lay in waite for him, and purposing to haue stricken him vpon the head, his blow failed, and it happened vnto him as to *S.PETER*: for missing his head, he smote off one of his eares, and so hee escaped. And daring not to remaine in the Emperour *ZENO* his Court, he resolved to commit a greater treason then the former; which was to goe into *Asia*, and there to rise and rebell, with great part of the East: which hee might easily doe, for hee was very cunning and of great account; and *ZENO* for his conditions was in those parts very ill beloued. But he speedily sent a good armie against him, vnder the

the leading of a Captaine called *LEONCIUS*: but this *YLLOS* vsed such meanes and perswasions to *LEONCIUS*, that hee did the like, and so of one tyrant there arose two, which made themselves Lords of a great part of *Asia* the lesse. But within few daies after, the Imperiall armie which had conspired with them, after that the souldiers were grown rich by spoile & bootie, repenting their misdeeds, and to the end to obtaine pardon, vpon a day mutined and slew them both, and brought their heads to *Constantinople*. And so was *ZENO* deliuered from this trouble and commotion, and liued the rest of his time in rest and peace: notwithstanding that hee put certaine principall Noblemen to death without any iust cause. All these things being past, in the seuenteenth yeere of his raigne *ZENO* died of a naturall sicknes in *Constantinople*. It is written of him that he was exceedingly ill fauoured and deformed, and of a lothsome aspect and gesture. He is not reckoned among the good Emperours; and it is also said of him, that he would sometimes be drunke. He died in the yeere of our Lord foure hundred, fourescore and fourteene.

*Leoncius con-  
spired with  
Yllos, and both  
were slaine by  
their souldiers.*

*The death of  
Zeno.*

*Anno Dom.  
494.*

## THE LIFE OF ANASTASIUS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND SEVEN AND FIFTITH ROMANE EMPEROR.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**Z**ENO being dead, *Anastasius* was chosen, who was greatly fauoured by the Emperesse, to whom she was married at the end of fortie daies after the obsequies of her dead husband. This man finding all things in peace, in the beginning of his raigne did many good deedes: but he suddenly altered his condition, and being spotted with the herese of *Eutiches*, or *Euticiens*, which made a quaternitie of the *Trinitie*, he began to grow hateful to God and men; and many countries rebelled against him. Against which

putting himselfe in order to fight (although that he overcame many of the rebels) neuertheless he was once brought to such an extremitie, that he was driven shamefully to buy his peace with money; and afterwards the Persians rising against him, gaue him much to doe in sundrie battailes, but finally he made a truce with them, and during the time of the truce, was slaine by a thunderbolt from heauen.



Anastasi-  
us chosen Empe-  
rour.

ENO had not any sonne that might succeed him in the Empire: wherefore after his death some of the most principall Lords procured themselves to be chosen; among which was this ANASTASIVS, who although that he were not of any noble linage, yet he was a man of great reputation, and well beloued. By reason whereof, and also for that he was in great fauour with the widow Emperesse, he was chosen Emperor, with the aide and assistance of an Eunuch called VRBICIVS, which was of great authoritie in the Court. And ARIADNE did not onely procure his election aforesaid, but within fortie daies after the obsequies of her dead husband were solemnized, and his bodie intombed, she married with the new Emperour: and by this meane obtained ANASTASIVS the Empire. In the beginning whereof, without any contradiction, but with the generall contentment of all men he was obeyed: and he not only found the Empire in peace, but there was peace also in *Italy*, *France*, *Spaine*, *Germanie*, and in *Africa*; they gouerning those kingdoms as their owne, which were successors to them which first vsurped and tooke them from the Empire; notwithstanding that shortly after there arose great warres betwene them. And THEODORICVS who was called King of *Italy*, chose the citie of *Rauenna* for his royall seate; which was by him enobled with sumptuous buildings: and in his absence he commanded the like to be made in *Rome*, and did much good through all *Italy*, directing all things like a good and an excellent Prince; in so much that the people praised God for him, and held themselves for happie, in that they had so good a man for their Lord and gouernour.

But returning to our new Emperour; so soone as he was crowned, he commaunded by a publike decree that all such debts as were due to his chamber of accounts, or as we say, his exchequer, vntill that day, should be pardoned, and not be recouered from the debtors; which amounted to a very great summe. He began also to giue offices and places of charge to such persons as were of worth, and sufficient for them, and not for money (as the custome was) by reason of later wants. By meanes whereof and of other apparant signes of a good prince, in the beginning of his raigne, he became very well beloued. But this lasted but a little while: for he was infected with the heresie of EVTICHES; who held an abominable opinion of the person of CHRIST. And for as much as nothing can be of any assurance, or acceptable without faith; this Emperour began to grow secretly hateful to God, and publickly odious to men; and so although that he died old, yet he died an euill death: And in his life was neuer free from tyrants which rebelled; and other warres and troubles. The first which rebelled, were the people of *Isauria* (a very valiant nation in *Asia* the lesse) the occasion whereof was, for that he tooke from them, that pay which his predecessor ZENO had promised, and giuen them, when he subdued the tyrant ILOS, who (as we said) falsly defamed the Emperesse. This people making choise of a valiant and expert warrior, whose name was LILINGVS for their capitaine; made cruell warres vpon the lands of the Empire, for the space of fixe yeeres. In which time,

The heresie of  
Eutiches.

Lilingus rebel-  
led in Isauria  
against Ana-  
stasius.

betwene the fouldiers of ANASTASIVS and of LILINGVS, there happened some battailes, and many conflicts and skirmishes, vntill that LILINGVS dying, the Isaurians being scattered, and lost through want of a capitaine, were cruelly punished, and many citties were destroyed, and laid wast, as relateth IORDANVS the Bishop: who although briefly, yet he expresth the greatest part of that historie. There arose also against ANASTASIVS, another capitaine in *Cilicia*, at the same instant, called ATHEMIDORVS, but he was soone brought to ruine. In *Slauonia* and *Dalmatia*, rebelled two mightie men and very rich, called SABIANVS and MVNDO: and neere to *Adrianople* another, whose name was POMPEY: and within the citie of *Constantinople*, were certaine tumults and riots committed, wherein many men were slaine. By reason of all which rebellions, ANASTASIVS was much perplexed; and being in great feare, came to some compositions (little to his honor) and lost sundrie townes. After that hee was deliuered from this trouble, he had another ciuill warre, which was of great importance and long continuance, against a valiant warrior, a Scythian borne; but trained and brought vp in the warres of the Romanes, and in the Emperours house, and court: and was high constable, or commander of his men of warre, and was called VATILIANVS; who either of ambition and desire to be absolute, or for some displeasure or discontentment (which the historiographers write not) arose against ANASTASIVS; and with threescore thousand men, which he leuied, of Hunnes, and other nations, began cruell warre against him, both by sea and land; so as sometimes he came within three miles of the imperiall citie of *Constantinople*. Against whom the Emperour raised a great armie, and made his nephew HIPATIAS generall thereof; who before that he could come to fight any battaile, by a wile was taken prisoner by the Hunnes, and deliuered into the power of VATILIANVS: After which, the Emperours other captaines were ouerthrowne; so as the warre continued fixe yeeres, and in the end thereof, the Emperour bought his peace of VATILIANVS, for a great summe of money which he gaue him, and by this meane was deliuered from the perill, although not from the disgrace and dishonor, of buying peace. In this warre (as writeth ZONARAS) called IOHANNES MONACHVS (as relateth IOHANNES CUSPINIANVS) ANASTASIVS was greatly holpen by the skill and industrie of PROCLVS, an excellent philosopher and Mathematician, who was most skilfull in inuenting instruments, engines and stratagems. Amongst other matters, they report one thing of him, which seemeth incredible, which I durst neither affirme, nor deny, but will recite it for a wonder, let the reader belieue what he listeth; yet I say that the secrets of nature are so great, that we ought not to hold all for impossible which we cannot comprehend how it may be brought to passe. That which I say, these authors write for certaine, and that it was so; which was, that in the manner, as we now see certaine glasses, which being set in the sunne, with the reflexion of the beames thereof will set tow or flax on fire, and such like other dry stuffe neere at hand: so did this PROCLVS make a very great many of these glasses, which wrought effect with such force, that being set vpon the high turrets of the walles and bulwarks, they set on fire and burnt whole fleets of shippes in the harbours, with all the people that were in them; and in like manner any other engines, that were erected against the walles, wheresoeuer they were (if where the sunne-beames might reuerberate from those glasses) wherewith the enemy was greatly annoyed, which was done in the same manner as we now see tow set on fire. Whilst these things passed in the Empire of *Constantinople*, there were great wars

Athemidorus,  
Sabianus,  
Mundo, and  
Pompey ty-  
rants.

Hipatias made  
generall against  
Vatilianus.

Proclus an ex-  
cellent philoso-  
pher.

A wonderfull  
burning glasses!

betweene the Kings of *France*, and of *Spaine*, and THEODORICVS King of *Italie*, which for that they are long to recite, and nothing to my purpose, I premit.

*Cauidas king of Persia.*

*Warres with the Persians.*

*Anastasiuſ his Generals againſt the king of Persia. Ariouindus, Patricius, Celer, and Hipatias.*

But returning to our Emperour, who seemed now to be at somerest, being freed from the warres with VATILIANVS; there happened another warre with the Persians, which was of as great importance, and no lesse perillous, the cause whereof was this. At that time in *Persia* reigned a King both mightie and valorous, whose name was CAVADAS; who by reason of warres and other expences, stood in neede of a summe of money, therewith to pay a certaine King which was his neighbour to whom he was indebted: which by ambassade he requested the Emperour ANASTASIUS to lend him, as to a friend and confederate (as he then was). But ANASTASIUS taking counsell vpon the matter, was aduised not to graunt it, for that it was a meane with his owne money to ioyne in league of amitie and friendship, those which were the ancient enemies of the Empire: and that therefore the best course was to take away the meane from the Persian, to be able to make payment; to the end that they might make warre one against another, and so waste and consume themselves. And in this manner it was concluded, in the best sort that might be, to excuse the matter, without granting what the King requested. The King of *Persia* hauing receiued this answer, was so extremely enraged therewith, that he resolved to make warre against the Romane Empire: and putting his determination in execution, leuying a great armie, and making great preparation for the warres, hee personally entred the limits and confines thereof, and made cruell warres therein, and incamped himselfe before the citie of *Amida*, which was then a great and a famous citie in the prouince of *Mesopotamia*, as writeth PROCOPIVS; before which were many conflicts: but in the end the Persian took it, and held the same for some space after. As he lay before this citie, ANASTASIUS raised the greatest and best armie that euer hee had done before; which he diuided into foure parts, and sent the same vnder the commaund of foure Generals, against CAVADAS: whose names were ARIOVINDVS, who then was Pretor in the East; and CELER, the Captaine of the Emperours guard; and another was called PATRICIUS borne in *Phrygia*; and the fourth was called HIPATIAS, who was the Emperours nephew, as is before said. And with these went other great men: as IUSTINVS who afterwards was Emperour, and some other noble and expert men in the warres.

These armies marched by severall waies, and directed not their course to relieue *Amida*; but to make warre in sundrie parts of CAVADAS his kingdome. And he being aduertised of their comming, went to meete with ARIOVINDVS; who behaved himselfe so cowardly, who daring not to fight, retired very shamefully, and left his campe full of many rich things, and of great value, which were taken by the Persians, which had them in chace, and pursued the Imperiall armie. The other two Generals, to wit, PATRICIUS and HIPATIAS, ioyning their forces together, being neere the enemy, began the warre, without any certaine knowledge where the King was, after the retreat, or rather flight of ARIOVINDVS; and they by chauce met with eight hundred horse of his, the King being but a little behind them, with a very mightie armie: which putting themselves in order for their defence, were all slaine and torne in peeces, without any newes learned of them by the Romanes: and they hauing no sight of CAVADAS his troupes, pitched their tents vpon a riuers side; the currant whereof ranne directly that way as CAVADAS came, and so they began to victuall and refresh themselves,

themselves of their wearie iourney; and went into the water, and did fetch water from the said riuer. And as CAVADAS and his Captaines saw the water come downe troubled, bringing therewith other things which seemed to be lately throwne into it, they suspected as it was, and CAVADAS in all haste commanded his armie to march, in order readie to fight. Which came so suddenly vpon the Imperialists, that before they could range themselves in order, they were broken and overthrowne: and the most part of all these retchlesse Captaines were slaine, except some which escaped by flight. And without question if at this time the Hunnes had not come downe out of *Scythia Asiatice*, and with great power had not made warre vpon the Persians, which diuerted CAVADAS his thoughts into other parts, and made him returne into his countrey, to take order for the defence thereof, he had after this overthrow done great harme in the Empire. But he vpon this occasion retiring himselfe, there came in good time the fourth Captaine called CELER, with his Imperiall armie, who began in better order and more aduisedly to follow the warres: and gathered together those troupes which ARIOVINDVS had left (for he himself was commanded by ANASTASIUS to come to *Constantinople*) and ioyning with PATRICIUS the Captaine which escaped, they besieged the citie of *Amida*, which the Persians had taken; and after a long siege, they gat it by a wile. And this most cruell warre continuing two yeeres, with great slaughter and dammage to either side; and the Persians being much distressed by the Hunnes, and other nations which with them entred their countries, a truce was concluded with the Empire for seven yeeres. Afterwards, the time of the truce being expired, ANASTASIUS commaunded a citie to be builded in *Mesopotamia*, which he called after his owne name, *Anastasia*: wherewith the Persians were much displeased. But they were so oppressed by the Hunnes, that they durst not breake with the Emperour, and so the peace lasted so long as ANASTASIUS liued, wherewith he was well content: for in the warres hee had lost both many men and much reputation; and being (as we said) infected with the heresie of EVRICHES, reigned in great trouble. And in the end when hee least thought thereof, when he had reigned seven and twentie yeeres, a Thunderbolt fell from the heauens which slew him, in the yeare of our Lord, five hundred and nineteene, without leauing any sonne that might succede him.

*Cauidas his victorie against Anastasiuſ his Captaines.*

*A truce with the Persians for seven yeeres.*

*The death of the Emperour Anastasiuſ, slaine by a thunderbolt.*

THE



THE LIFE OF IVSTINVS,  
THE FIRST OF THAT NAME,  
AND EIGHT AND FIFTITH RO-  
MANE EMPEROVR.



FTER ANASTASIUS, IVSTINVS EVROPALATES succe-  
ded in the Empire. And truly it is a wonderfull matter to  
consider and vnderstand, from how base estate and from  
how poore a beginning he mounted to so high a dignitie;  
and of the waies and meanes whereby he attained thereto.  
Which for an example of the strange aduentures and va-  
riable accidents in this life, I hold worthie to be declared  
in such sort, as it happened. This IVSTINVS was borne in

Thracia (yet some say, that he was of *Slaunonia*, or *Dalmatia*) of poore and simple pa-  
rentage; so as from his infancie hee was bred vp in keeping of beasts. But as it  
pleased God in his secret iudgement, to ordaine him to raigne and rule, to some  
good end; he inspired him to leaue that base kind of life: so as at the age of seuen-  
teene yeeres he went to the warres, with a determination to continue in the ex-  
ercise of armes. And he prooued so worthie a souldier, that within short space he  
purchased the name of Valiant, and fought oftentimes with great dexteritie and  
courage, with his enemies in single combats man to man; and in all occasions  
made good proofe of his person. Wherefore within short time he was made a  
Captaine; and within a while after an Earle; which (as is already said) at that time  
was, and still is, a great dignitie. In that estate was he when ANASTASIUS died,  
being now well growne in yeeres: And as presently after his decease, the Lords  
began

The parentage  
and course of  
life of Justinus  
before he was  
Emperour.

began to consult of whom they should make Emperour; a great Courtier named  
AMANTIVS which was an Eunuch, and had been the Emperours Steward, and  
was now the best monied man of his time, sought by all meanes to make a great  
and mightie man, called THEOCRETIANVS, who was his great friend, Empe-  
rour. And for as much as the armie and men of warre bare greatest sway in the  
election (for now nothing was done in such order as it behoued, but by force and  
for benefit) he therefore determined to buy the good wils of the Captaines and  
men of warre. And to this effect, he purposed first to winne IVSTINVS, and to vse  
him for a meane to perswade the rest, and conferred with him concerning the  
same: And comming to a composition, he gaue him a great summe of money, to  
the end that he should diuide the same amongst the Captaines and men of warre  
where he thought good; conditionally that THEOCRETIANVS might be cho-  
sen Emperour. When IVSTINVS had gotten this money into his fingers, he for-  
got to deale for THEOCRETIANVS, but secretly sought to buy their good wils  
for himself; and carried the matter so cunningly, that when AMANTIVS thought  
that the souldiers would haue made his friend Emperour, hee found that they had  
nominated, & would haue IVSTINVS. And in this manner they presently sware  
to him fidelitie and obedience, by the generall consent of both the Senate and  
the Armie. For besides what is already said, he was well beloued and held for a  
vertuous man and a good Christian. AMANTIVS seeing himselfe deluded, al-  
though for the present he could not refuse to yeeld him obedience; yet shortly  
after he practised the death of the new Emperour, and conspired with THEOCRE-  
TIANVS, who pretended to haue been chosen Emperour; and with another called  
ANDREAS, and with MISSAHAE, and ARDAEVRIVS, all which were of the  
Emperours chamber, to the end they should kill him, so soone as any oportunitie  
thereto were offered. But it pleased God that their treason was discovered, and  
being prooued, IVSTINVS commaunded, AMANTIVS, ANDREAS, and THEO-  
CRETIANVS to be slaine; and the rest to be perpetually banished. And to the  
end the better to assure himselfe in the Empire, he vsed a meane that VATILIA-  
NVS, which rebelled against ANASTASIUS, came to his Court, whom hee made  
ordinary Consul, and Master, and Generall of all his men of warre, and bestowed  
great gifts and honours vpon him. But with all this, he (as ingratefull and a tra-  
itor) within few daies after, practised with some others, against the life and estate  
of IVSTINVS; which being discovered, he was vpon a day slaine in his palace,  
together with PAVLVS, and CELERIANVS, which were confederates and com-  
plices with him in his treason. IVSTINVS being deliuered from this danger, and  
seeing himself in peace in the Empire, being a good Christian, and knowing how  
farr the Arrian heresie had extended it selfe ouer the world, resolved to vse there-  
in all the remedie that possibly he could: whereto he was likewise perswaded by  
Pope HORMISDA, who from Rome sent GERMANVS Bishop of Capra, to confer  
with him of matters concerning the faith. Whereupon IVSTINVS sent his de-  
crees through all the East, commaunding that no man should be accepted into  
the Church for Bishop, or Priest, that should be of the sect of ARRIVS. At what  
time IVSTINVS did this good deede, TRASIMVND King of the Vandales died in  
*Africa*, who was an Arrian heretike, and his sonne ELDERICVS possessed his  
kingdome, whom hee had by the Emperour VALENTINIANS daughter. This  
man following his faithfull mother, and not his hereticall father, so soone as hee  
was established in the kingdome, recalled from exile all the Catholike Bishops  
which his father had banished (as is aboue said) and reformed all the Churches.

Amantius  
sought to get  
the Empire for  
his friend  
Theocretianus.  
The meanes  
whereby Justi-  
nus got the  
Empire.

The treason  
and death of  
Vatilius.

Justinus the  
Emperour perse-  
cuted the Ar-  
rians.

But

But the Emperour and this King hauing done so good a deede, **THEODORICVS** which ruled in *Italy*, being of great power, and for that he was (as the most of the *Gothes* were) an *Arrian* heretike, was therewith much displeased; and determined, if the Emperour did not reuoke his decree, to vse through all his dominion, al manner of crueltie against the *Catholikes*. But first he constrained **POPE IOHN**, who succeeded **FORMISDA**, to goe to *Constantinople*, and with him **THEODORVS**, and **AGAPETVS** (men which had been *Consuls*) to treat with the Emperour, to the end that hee presently should restore those *Arrian* Bishops which hee had depofed; otherwife that in his dominions he would put to the sword, all such as did not beleue as he did. **POPE IOHN** and the other Ambassadors being arrived at *Constantinople*, were very honourably receiued; and the Pope with teares intreated the Emperour to be pleased, notwithstanding that his sute was vniust; yet to auoide the excessiue crueltie which was expected, for the present, to permit the *Arrian* Bishops to be restored. The Emperour to eschew this crueltie, granted his request: and so the wicked Bishops were restored to their Churches; and the Emperour did **POPE IOHN** great honour, and those which came with him. In the meane time, whilst they were in *Constantinople*, **THEODORICVS** king of *Italy*, made **SIMACHVS**, and **BOETIVS SEVERINVS** to be slaine, which had bin *Consuls*, and which were very noble and excellent personages, very deuout Christians, and excellently learned in all Arts. And not herewith contented, hauing been vntill then a good and iust Prince; but now hauing **POPE IOHN** and the other Ambassadors which came with him from *Constantinople* in suspition, by reason of the great honour done vnto them by the Emperour, he commaunded them to be apprehended and cast in prison; wherein they all three of hunger and cruell vsage died. After which crueltie, it pleased God that within ninetie daies he died suddenly, leauing a nephew of his called **ATHALARICVS** for his heire: for he had not any sonne. And for as much as his nephew was but eight yeeres old, his mother tooke vpon her the gouernment of the kingdome, as a woman which was very wise and valorous.

Returning to **IVSTINVS** the Emperour, I say, that it grieved him much what **THEODORICVS** had done; but he was not of power able to redresse the same: for besides the wants and necessities wherewith he was oppressed, the *Persians* made warres against him; which were a people of all others most feared by the *Romanes*. But for the small time that he liued, he had good successe in those wars, and his Captaines obtained some victories; **SCITA** and **BELISARIVS** being his Generals. Of which two, **BELISARIVS** (which then was very young) proved afterwards to be one of the best Captaines in the world, and which conquered more countries, and obtained more victories, then any other man in his time: as we will hereafter briefly declare. And **IVSTINVS** liuing in this prosperitie, seeing himselfe old, and without any sonne to succede him, resolved to make **IVSTINIANVS**, who was his nephew and his sisters sonne, **CÆSAR**, and to adopt and nominate him for his successor; and so presently made him his companion in the Empire. And within foure moneths after, falling sicke, he died in the citie of *Constantinople*, when he had reigned eleuen yeeres, or (as some authors write) but nine. I finde little more written of him, then by me is rehearsed. He died in the yeere of our Lord, six hundred, nine and twentie; and as some say, eight and twentie.

THE

*Theodoricus King of the Gothes defended the Arrians.*

*The crueltie of Theodoricus, and his death.*

*The death of the Emperour Justin.*  
Anno Dom.  
529.



## THE LIFE OF IVSTINIANVS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND NINE AND FIFTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**A**fter *Iustinus*, without any contradiction, succeeded *Iustinianus*, who amongst his first attempts, made that against the *Persians*, under the leading of *Belisarius*; which with variable fortune of the warres, in the end he overcame: Yet he made peace with them afterwards. After this, there ensued a ciuill warre in *Constantinople*, wherein *Iustinianus* was likely to haue sped but ill; but by meanes of *Belisarius*, he was freed thereof; notwithstanding that there died therein many thousands of people; which being ended, he returned to make a conquest of *Africa*, which of long time had been vsurped by the *Vandales*; and getting it, he came againe to *Constantinople*, where *Iustinianus* prepared him a triumph. But it was not long before the Emperour sent him into *Italie* against the *Gothes*, where after many changes of fortune, and treaties of peace, and of truce, hauing taken the citie of *Naples* (wherein as it seemed consisted the principall hope of the *Gothes*) he took his way towards *Rome*, wherein he peaceably entred, and defended the same, with great valour, against *Vitiges* King of the *Gothes*; whom *Belisarius* at last took prisoner. After this victorie *Iustinianus* recalled *Belisarius*, to employ him against the *Persians*, which was the occasion that *Italie* againe fell into the hands of the *Gothes*, particularly *Rome*, which by *Totila* was burnt and destroyed: and that for no other defect, but for that it could not be relieved by *Belisarius*, who then was sicke. Who so soone as he had recovered his health, took it againe from the Barbarians. And returning againe to *Constantinople*,

the state of Italie was very happily governed by Narses an Eunuch. In which time Iustinian having applied himselfe to reforme and abridge the lawes; when he had reigned nine and thirtie yeeres, departed out of this life, no lesse replenished with yeeres then full of glorie.



After the death of IVSTINVS, IVSTINIANVS was without any contradiction received and obeyed for Emperor; being of the age of foure and fortie yeeres. He was a mightie and a good prince, and such a one, as might wel be compared with the best in auncient time, for his good government, both in peace and warre. The warres and conquests which happened in his time (which was little lesse then fortie yeeres) were so many, & so noble, that I cannot expresse the same as I would, and as they deserue; following my accustomed breuitie. I will therefore write as I may, notwithstanding that the length of the time, and the varietie of accidents, will compell me to exceede my prefixed limits.

So soone as IVSTINIANVS saw himselfe confirmed in the Empire, he rested not contented to conceiue that which he enherited from his vncl; but (bearing the minde and hauing the witte and discretion of an auncient and good Emperour) began to desire, and therewith to practise, to enlarge the Empire, and to reduce the same (if it were possible) to the auncient maiestie and dignitie thereof. The first occasion of warres that was offered, was against the Persians; which in the time of his predecessors, had broken and violated the peace, and had inuaded the bounds of the Romane Empire, and vsurped certaine countries and prouinces thereof, in so much (as PROCOPIVS writeth) that for the space of fiftie yeeres before the raigne of IVSTINIAN, in all the warres the Imperialists commonly had the worst, and all conclusions of peace were made to the aduantage of the Persians.

The cause of this warre betweene the Emperour IVSTINIAN, and CAVADAS king of the Persians, was in truth the emulation and hatred which these two Empires, and the Lords thereof had of auncient time borne, and still did beare the one against the other, which was continually nourished and increased, as by that which we haue written may plainly be perceiued. But the occasion and principall cause was this, IVSTINIANVS so soone as he was Emperour, sent BELISARIVS, a most excellent Captaine, into those frontiers, with direction, in a certaine principall citie, which was in the borders of Persia, to build the strongest and most inexpugnable castle that could be deuised; for that citie was one of the entrie and passages of greatest importance: which order BELISARIVS presentlie put in execution. Whereof when CAVADAS was aduertised, he was highlie offended, and presentlie sent thither Captaines and men of warre, to require BELISARIVS to giue ouer the worke, which if he would not do, that then they should throw downe what he had builded. These men being come to the place where this castle was a building, there passed many words, and some deeds betweene them: and forasmuch as the builders were not of force sufficient to make resistance against the Persians, the Emperour sent thither two captaines, brothers, with some companies of souldiers. These being there arriued, and the Imperialists perseuering in their building, and the Persians in hindring the same, they came to fight a battaile; wherein the Imperialists being fewer in number, were by the Persians broken and ouerthrowne, and many were slaine, others were carried away captiues, and the building was laid leuell with the earth. When IVSTINIAN vnderstood of this ouerthrow, he presentlie made BELISARIVS Generall of all his forces

The beginning  
of the warres  
betweene the  
Emperor Iustinian  
and the  
Persians.

forces in the East; who as a wife and valiant man, with all expedition raised a very mightie armie; and taking to him another Captaine called HERMOGENE (whom the Emperor with a good supplie had sent vnto him) he tooke his way towards the citie of Duras, in Mesopotamia, which at that time was the frontier of the Persians; where began a cruell warre betweene the one and the other nation. But as IVSTINIAN, to employ and spend his time in recouering some other of those prouinces, which the Empire had lost, desired peace with the Persians, he sent an Ambassadour whose name was RVFINVS, to CAVADAS King of Persia, to treat of a peace (if vpon honourable conditions it might be concluded). This Ambassadour being come into the borders where the King was, before that hee was to come to his Court, certaine motions were made of peace, and as they treated thereof, the Imperiall Generals were giuen to vnderstand, that the Persian armie came to seeke them, and was within halfe a daies iourney, and had for Generall thereof, a great man called PEROSAS, who was a Mirranes, which was the name of a Magistrate, of great dignitie and authoritie in Persia. Whereupon BELISARIVS set his troupes in order, and the two Campes came to lodge very neere the one to the other; and so they continued the space of two or three daies, ranging themselues euery day in order of battell, either partie expecting when the other should charge. Vpon one of those daies, certaine Archers of the one and other side began a skirmish, whereupon the squadrons moued and brake the one vpon the other, and fought in such manner, that it was a very cruell and a very bloudie battaile, and lasted vntill neere night: wherein the Romanes in the right wing had the worse, and the better in the left; and euery Captaine did his best to obtaine the victorie: but in the end the Romanes preuailed, and made great slaughter of their enemies; and PEROSAS the Mirranes escaped by flight.

BELISARIVS hauing obtained this notable victorie, within few daies after recouered some places in Mesopotamia, which the Persians had vsurped; wherein also passed sundrie doubtfull conflicts and encounters. In the kingdome of Armenia, wherein the Persians held many places, SITTA being Generall, and DOROTHEVS Pretor; the warres were made with the like good fortune, and the Imperiall armie obtaining victorie, recouered the most part of what was lost. The warres standing on these termes, and kindled euery where, RVFINVS (who we said went Ambassadour to the King of Persia) vpon safe conduct came to his Court, and had many treaties and discourses with him; but no peace could be concluded: and CAVADAS determining to prosecute the warres a new, to the end to be satisfied for the losses which his people had receiued; by the counsell of ALAMANDER, a valiant old Captaine of his (who in times past had gotten many victories against the Romanes) he made EZARETHA Generall of his armie, a man both valiant and of great experience, and a Persian borne. With whom BELISARIVS, together with SITTA the other Generall, after some encounters, came to a battaile, which was one of the most cruell and the greatest of all that happened in those warres.

This battaile was fought neere to the riuer Euphrates, and much against the opinion of BELISARIVS, who knowing that the enemy had the aduantage, would not haue fought: but his troupes against his will, prepared themselves thereto. Whereupon he seeing their determination, marshalled and encouraged them against the Persians, which were already in order. And the fight began with so great furie and obstinacie of both sides, that for the greatest part of the day, it appeared not whether partie should haue the victorie, vntill such time as the Imperialists

Belisarius  
made Generall  
against the Persians.

Perosaz Generall  
for the  
King of Persia.

A battaile  
with the Persians,  
wherein  
Belisarius had  
the victorie.

Sittas Generall  
for Iustinian in  
Armenia,  
ouercame the  
Persians.

Alamander.

Ezarethas Generall  
of the  
Persians.

A cruell battaile.

perialists being vnable any longer to endure the labour and toile thereof, for they were fasting, being Easter euen (Christians of our age may see how inuolubly fasting daies were obserued in those times) they disbanded, and began to scatter. Whereupon the Persian horsemen charged BELISARIVS his horse troupes with such force, that the Romanes brake, and began to flie, and the like did the other squadrons of foote. Which when BELISARIVS perceiued, after that he had vsed all meanes to stay them, and to haue renewed the fight, and could not preuaile, he alighted from his horse, and placed himselfe in a squadron of foote-men, which kept together whole and vnbroken, and encouraging them with his presence, they all resolu'd rather to die, then to be ouerthrowne. And EZARETHA and the Persians, which followed the chace of those which fled, seeing that squadron to remaine whole, returned with great furie, thinking easily to haue had the execution of them: but they failed of their purpose, for they kept themselves so close together that they could not be broken, and fought so valiantly, that they did the Persians more harme, then they receiued from them. And so vntill night held their ground, and kept themselves in such order, that EZARETHA and his people were faine to leaue them. But they had the ransacking of their Tents, and so returned to their Campe. And BELISARIVS in very good order withdrew himselfe to a little Iland, which the riuer *Euphrates* maketh in that place, whither the greatest part of his people which fled, were already retired. And there the next day he againe set himselfe in order, and gathered together his souldiers: but the Persians holding themselves for victorious had the spoile of the field. After this journey EZARETHA remoued his Campe to another quarter; for there hee had receiued greater losse then BELISARIVS; in so much that CAUADAS King of *Persia* vnderstanding what number of men were lost in that battaile, held not himselfe content, nor for well serued in that victorie. And dying within few daies after, his sonne COSROES succeeded him in his kingdome, with whom, after many ambassades and treaties, a peace was concluded; and BELISARIVS reconquered other countries, which other nations held in the East. And so much honored and victorious, being sent for, by the Emperor IVSTINIAN for the warres in *Africa*, SITTA remaining Generall, he came to *Constantinople*, where he was receiued in triumph with great solemnitie.

Cauadas King of Persia dying, his sonne Cosroes succeeded.

A great tumult in Constantinople.

Ipatus rebelled in Constantinople, and was slaine by Iustinian.

This being past, within few daies after there followed so great an vprore and tumult in the citie of *Constantinople*, that it was likely to haue gone ill with IVSTINIANVS: for this hurly burly in the beginning, growing from the factions of the common people, came to that point that IPATIVS and POMPEY brethren, the most principall men of that citie, with the fauour of the people which tooke their part, they being the Emperor ANASTATIVS his sisters sonnes, arose against IVSTINIAN; and IPATIVS took the Ensignes and name of Emperor, and in such manner warred within the citie, that thirtie thousand persons were slaine therein. But in the end the said IPATIVS was taken and slaine, and IVSTINIANS troupes remained victorious: wherein BELISARIVS did him especiall seruice aboue all others. And afterwards punishing such as were offenders, confisking their goods, the conspiracies and troubles were all appeased, and IVSTINIAN liued more in peace, and in better estimation then euer before. But soone after followed the warres of *Africa*, the occasion whereof grew through the dissension betweene GENSERICVS his nephewes, the first King of the Vandales that euer reigned in *Africa*, which was after this manner: YLDERICVS one of the nephewes of GENSERICVS succeeding in that kingdom, in contention and in despite of ano-

ther

The occasion of the conquest of Africa against GILIMER king thereof.

Belisarius went to the warres of Africa.

Belisarius being arrived in Africa, King GILIMER came against him.

Amata brother to GILIMER.

A battaile wherein King GILIMER was ouerthrowne.

ther which was his cosin germane, and nephew also of the said GENSERICVS whose name was GILIMER, both which pretended to haue title to the kingdome; vpon what occasion for breuitie I will omit. This YLDERICVS grew to be so retchlesse and negligent, that GILIMER who was both wise and valiant, tooke him prisoner, and against all reason made himselfe King and Lord of all *Africa*: vnder this title, that the other was vncapable and insufficient for the gouernment. Wherewith the Emperor IVSTINIAN was very much displeased: for before that he was Emperour, hee held friendship with YLDERICVS, which was now deprived of his kingdome. Whereupon (after that hee had required GILIMER by his Ambassadors to render the kingdome to his cosin YLDERICVS, (which he refusing to performe) he resolu'd to make a conquest of the kingdome of *Africa*; and rigged vp a mightie Naue, and sent the noble Generall BELISARIVS vpon that seruice; and to that effect commaunded a great armie to be leuiued, with which BELISARIVS imbarkeing himselfe, accompanied with many excellent Captaines in five hundred saile of shippes, and fourescore and twelue gallies, he began his voiage towards *Africa*. Wherein a great man borne in that countie, whose name was PRUDENTIVS, was risen against GILIMER, in the citie of *Tripoli*, in the behalfe of the Emperor IVSTINIAN; and another Captaine in *Sardinia*, whose name was GODAS, had done the like. So that when BELISARIVS arrived in *Africa*, he found some which tooke his part; and hauing landed his armie nere vnto a citie called *Tittimuth*, marching along the Sea coast he tooke his way towards *Carthage*; and his Naue did the like by Sea. When the tyrant King GILIMER vnderstood of the comming of BELISARIVS; with the armie which he had in readines he departed from that citie wherein he first intituled himselfe King, and sent commaundement to his brother called AMATA, whom he left in *Carthage* for the guard of the citie, and of YLDERICVS the deposed King, that he should presently kill him, and such other prisoners as were in his power; and that then with his whole force he should fallie out and take the field against BELISARIVS; and at a certaine time appointed should fight with him; for that he at that same instant would charge him in the arreregard. And he sent another Captaine all the day long to trouble him on one side, and to tire his people with continuall alarmes. To be brieft, there passed many things in that iourney worthie to be noted, and comming nere to the citie of *Carthage*, AMATA beginning to fight at such time as his brother had appointed, was slaine by BELISARIVS his Vauntguard: And GILIMER without hauing any intelligence thereof, with his troupes so resolutely charged in the Arreregard, that the Imperialists began to retire in such manner, that if GILIMER had not made an Alt, PROCOPIVS affirmeth that it was euident, that he had that day had the victorie. But when it was told him that his brother was dead, he caused his troupes to stand. And BELISARIVS his souldiers vnderstanding of the good successe of their Auantguard, which was farre before them, being by him animated and encouraged, returned to fight, with such furie, that GILIMER was wholly ouerthrowne and scattered, and many of his people slaine, and hee by flight saued his life; and his souldiers which escaped from the battaile, straggled into diuers parts; vpon which greater execution had been done, if night had not ouertaken them. The next day after this battaile, BELISARIVS marched with his armie towards the citie of *Carthage*, where he arrived that same day in the evening, and found no resistance, for they opened their ports, and made great lights to haue receiued him: but hee would not by night come into an enemies citie, leauing it vntill the next day,

O o 3 and

Belisarius entered Carthage with victorie.

King Gilimer escaped from the battaile.

Zazon brother to King Gilimer came to his aide with succour.

The second battaile and victorie obtained by Belisarius against Gilimer.

The Vandales held Africa nintie fixe yeeres.

and then entred with great quietnes, without any robberie or murder committed by any of his people, for so had hee commaunded: For his authoritie and reputation was such, that no man durst doe to the contrarie. The Vandales which were in *Carthage*, withdrew themselves to the temples, and churches; and *BELISARIUS* granting them their liues, commaunded them to come forth, vpon his word, which hee held inuiolably; possessing himselfe of that citie, commaunded the walles thereof to be repaired, which were in many places decayed, which was the occasion why *GILIMER* did not draw himselfe thither. *BELISARIUS* being thus in *Carthage*, sent in post a principall capitaine called *SALOMON* to the Emperour *IVSTINIAN*, to giue him to vnderstand of all what had passed. And *GILIMER* which escaped from the battaile, recovered certaine fields of *Getulia*, called *Bulla*, which are foure daies march from *Carthage*: where (as a man no way dismayed) he gathered together his troupes which were scattered, and leuied other new; and also sent in great hast, to recall his brother *ZAZON*, who then was in *Sardinia*, whither hee had sent him against *GODAS*, which (as we said) was risen in that Iland against *GILIMER*, whom *ZAZON* had ouerthrowne and slaine, and recovered the Ile. But *ZAZON* seeing the message from his brother left all, and came with his forces to ioine with him. *GILIMER* after that his brother was come, hauing recovered a sufficient armie, tooke his way towards *Carthage*, to besiege *BELISARIUS* therein, or to giue him battaile, if he would come forth and fight: but *BELISARIUS* for certaine daies, would not take the field, vntill that he had throughly repaired the walles of the citie, and taken order for the rest. Which being done, he tooke the field with his armie, drawing very neere to *GILIMER*; who attended his coming. The next day, the one armie hauing sight of the other, either of the commanders set his people in order; and the fight, on either side began with such furie, that in the first charge, *ZAZON*, *GILIMER*'s brother was slaine, and certaine other principall men of the Vandales; which stroke such a feare amongst them, that they began to faint: and *BELISARIUS* charging with his Squadron, they turned their backs and fled to their campe, which they had very well fortified; and *GILIMER* vnable to stay them, did the like. *BELISARIUS* gathering together his forces, both of foote and horse, the very same day in the euening, made towards *GILIMER*'s campe, with intent to haue assaulted it, and to haue accomplished his victorie. When King *GILIMER* saw his battailions come, knowing that there he was not able to defend himselfe, with some few seruants which followed him, he fled: and *BELISARIUS* with little resistance, by reason of the Kings absence, gat their campe, his souldiers putting to the sword all those which they therein found able to beare armes, tooke all the women and children captiues; and in the campe they found an infinit quantitie of gold, siluer, money and iewels: Which (as *PROCOPIUS* affirmeth) was one of the greatest and richest spoiles that euer was seene or taken. For the Vandales hauing no place of refuge which they accounted safe, carried their gold, siluer, money, and all their treasure with them: So as within one houre they lost all that they had stolne, and gotten together in *Africa*, in fourescore and fiftene yeeres. For so long had they been in possession thereof.

The next day, *BELISARIUS*, to let slip no occasion, dispatched an excellent capitaine called *IOHN*, with a good troupe of horse to pursue *GILIMER*, he himselfe purposing to doe the like; and leauing good order in all things in *Carthage*, and a sufficient garrison therein, he followed with some the most pickt men

of

of his armie. King *GILIMER* riding without any stay, rested himselfe in certaine inexpugnable mountaines and rockes in the prouince of *Numidia*, called *Papua*, inhabited by a people called *Maurusij*, which were great friends to the Vandales. But before that he came thither it mist but a little, that he had not been taken by *IOHN*, and he escaped out of his hands when he was very neere vnto him. But it was his ill hap that one of his souldiers shot at a bird, and missing it, flew his capitaine, who being shot through the throte, fell downe dead; and by that meane had *GILIMER* oportunitie to escape, and to take the rockes and mountaines, where he had not staid long, but *BELISARIUS* came. But forasmuch as it seemed a long peece of worke to take those rockes, wherein *GILIMER* was, by force of armes; he left one *PHARAS* a capitaine, with sufficient forces to encompass *GILIMER* round about; so as by no meanes he could escape. And he with the rest of the troupes returned to *Carthage*, and in his going and coming, tooke many townes; and much people with great ioy and contentment came to doe him seruice, glad to see themselves deliuered from so great seruitude, and so restored to the libertie of the Empire. And being come to *Carthage*, for the full accomplishment of his victorie, he sent a capitaine to take the Ile of *Sardinia*, and sent other captaines into *Mauritania*, and so into diuers parts, in all which he had most happie successe: for the Vandales in all places (for the most part) were ill beloued. So as in little more then fower monethes, *BELISARIUS* reconquered all *Africa*, after that the Empire had lost the same the space of fower score and sixteene yeeres. And truly it was a wonderfull thing: for all that people were *Arrian* heretikes, and for such the same *IVSTINIAN* recordeth them, in his booke *de officio pretoris*: wherein although that he saith, that there were one hundred and fiftie yeeres expired after that *Africa* was lost, it doth not therefore gainsay the nintie and sixe, as I haue reported: For that was written nine yeeres afterwards, and he speaketh according to the day of the making of that law. But the truth is, that they possessed *Africa* but nintie fixe yeeres. *PHARAS* which remained behinde, to besiege King *GILIMER*, begirt him in on euery side, in such manner, that *GILIMER* seeing no other remedie, after many letters which past betweene them, yeelded himselfe vpon securitie of his life: which assurance *BELISARIUS* sent vnto him; and to certaine his kinsmen which were with him. And *PHARAS* so soone as he had him in his possession, came with him to *Carthage* to *BELISARIUS*, who receiued and entertained him very honorablie. And so accomplished the great *BELISARIUS*'s his victories and enterprises, which truly was a marueilous matter and worthie of great consideration, if we call to minde the valour and power of those Vandales, and the great victories which they obtained against the Romanes, of which we haue touched some. *BELISARIUS* presently sent to giue the Emperour *IVSTINIAN* to vnderstand of the successe and issue of the warres, and to entreate him to giue him leaue to make his repaire vnto him, and to bring *GILIMER* with him. Whereto *IVSTINIAN* answered, that he should doe therein what best pleased him, either to continue in the government of *Africa*, or to repaire to him at his pleasure. But *BELISARIUS* to cleere himselfe of certaine whispering mutterings, vniuently raised against him, chose rather to goe to *Constantinople*, and left *SALOMON* before named for generall and gouernor of *Africa*, with good part of his armie; who afterwards had warres with the *Maurusij*, which rebelled, and he subdued, although with great daunger and trouble.

*BELISARIUS* followed his journey, leading with him the King and many of his

The flight and pursuit of King Gilimer.

Gilimer besieged by Pharas.

Belisarius conquered all Africa in little more then fower monethes, which had been held by the Vandales nintie sixe yeeres.

Gilimer brought prisoner to Belisarius.

Belisarius left Salomon gouernor of Africa.

Belisarius his  
triumph,

his kindred, men and women prisoners, with infinite jewels, treasure and riches, which was the greatest and best part of all that the Vandales had robbed and stolne from *Rome, Spaine, Africa*, and other prouinces, in almost a hundred yeeres before. And being come to *Constantinople*, the Emperour commaunded him to be receiued in triumph, with all the ceremonies and solemnities, which the Roman Consuls in old time, and the Emperours afterwards, triumphed in *Rome*.

The historie of IVSTINIAN of force must be longer then that of many other Emperours, as well for that he reigned a long time, as also for that the accidents which happened in that time, were great and notable, and the feates of armes done in that time, noble and excellent: wherefore it shall not be well done to leaue to speake thereof. And I doe also know, and (as I think) haue said, that the readers take pleasure in reading of great battailes, straunge aduentures, conquests of countries, and alterations of kingdomes and estates: wherefore the histories of peaceable Princes, and of happie times, without warres and disasters, are nothing like so pleasing, as are those which treat of slaughters, ruines of estates, alterations of kingdomes, notable victories, insurrections, factions, tumults, rebellions, and finally great accidents whether good or euill: for which cause the bookes of lies and fables are read, and doe commonly please: for that they kill and teare in peeces thousands of men, batter cities, and saue things in a manner impossible. Herein I following the aduice of HORACE, haue determined to take care as well to please, as to profit the reader (when I may) with the truth; relating sometimes the great deedes of armes, without concealing the examples of peace also, and the good conditions and customes of the peaceable and gentle Princes, reproouing and condemning vice and sinne, by detesting and abhorring those which vsed and committed the same. For therefore principally histories are written, and are to be read; to the end that reading vile matters and wicked actions, the readers may eschew them, and follow those which are good and vertuous. And by the variable aduentures and accidents they may be aduised, and frame the rule of their liues according to such things as may befall them.

To what end  
histories are to  
be read.

But returning to our purpose, BELISARIVS rested not long in *Constantinople*, before that IVSTINIAN gaue him the charge of the warres, and conquest of *Italy*, and *Sicilie*, against the Gothes, and THEODATVS who at that time was Lord thereof: which enterprise was held to be of no lesse importance and perill, then that of *Africa*; and the successe thereof shewed it afterwards to be farre greater, in regard of the great battailes and slaughters which followed therein. The originall and beginning of this warre summarily was such, as in the end of the life of the Emperour IVSTIN was by vs related. For the great and redoubted King THEODORICVS being dead; his nephew ATHALARICVS (for that he had no sonne) succeeded him in the kingdome of *Italy*, being of the age of eight yeeres. Wherefore his mother AMALASVNTA had the gouernment of the kingdome, which began to rule with infinit wisdome, and to bring vp her sonne in vertuous exercises, and in the studie of learning and good letters. But it was not long before that contentions and factions arose betweene her and her sonnes kindred; and particularly the malice and enuie grew betweene her and THEODATVS, cousin germane to ATHALARICVS. Whereupon she seeing her self oppressed, gaue the charge of the bringing vp of her son to certaine principall men of them, and leauing him in *Rome*, she came to *Rauenna*, where she still had great authoritie in the gouernment. And the enmitie encreasing betweene her and THEODATVS, who was a man of great power, and openly had made himselfe Lord of the prouince

Theodatus  
uncle to At-  
laricus procu-  
red the king-  
dome of Italy  
for him selfe.

uince of *Tuscane*; either of them, to wit, AMALASVNTA and THEODATVS sought the friendship and assistance of the Emperour IVSTINIAN, and promised to giue him entrance into *Italy*. As matters stood in this point, the young King ATHALARICVS died, wherewith AMALASVNTA was greatly troubled, and very hartely sorrie, for that she was a widow enuied, and ill beloued of the most principall men of the Gothes. And afterwards studying with her selfe what course was best to be taken, she resolved to come to an agreement with THEODATVS, and to make him King of *Italy*, perswading her self that he for so great a benefit, could not chuse but be her faithfull friend: and that she should still hold the authoritie, and he the name and title of King. She hauing resolved hereupon, procured certaine treaties, and a meeting to be had: where, after long discourse and great promises, bound with solempne othes, made by the one and other partie, she proclaimed him King of *Italy*; and hee ioyning his power with her forces (which were greater then his) without difficultie obtained the kingdome, and all men obeyed him. But this deuice prooued ill with AMALASVNTA: neither was it any sound course for her; for so soone as THEODATVS saw himselfe an absolute Lord, and in possession, he began to rule; little to her liking, and within few daies commaunded her to be apprehended, and in the end to be put to death, like an ingratefull and wicked Christian. IVSTINIAN being aduertised hereof, was highly displeased (for he tooke part with AMALASVNTA) and detesting so vile a fact, holding this for a good occasion, through the desire which he had to recover *Italy* to the Empire, he resolved suddenly to make open warre against THEODATVS, in hope to make a conquest thereof by armes, which before he sought by wiles and secret practises. And to that effect he chose BELISARIVS for General of his armie, who then came triumphing and victorious from *Africa*. IVSTINIAN at that time had an Ambassadour in *Italy*, called PETER, who went thither to treat of peace between AMALASVNTA & THEODATVS, with whō THEODATVS took great paine to come to some conditions of peace, for he greatly feared the power of IVSTINIAN: and whilest that he was busie hereabouts, BELISARIVS arriued with a Nauie and an armie in *Sicilia*, for that he held it expedient first to take that Iland, and suddenly landing his men, he presently took the citie of *Catania*, & within few daies after marched towards *Sarragossa*, and with the like fortune entred and took the same, and did the like by many other townes and cities. And then he marched to *Palermo*, where hee found greater force and resistance, for it defended it selfe certaine daies, and many men were slaine of both parties: but those which were within it fearing their destruction, yeelded themselues to BELISARIVS; and so did all the rest of the Iland. Such was his expedition and good hap in the warres. And for as much as he (for his fame) was greatly feared, THEODATVS seeing what was happened in *Sicilia*, standing in feare of him, treated with this Ambassadour PETER concerning certaine conditions of peace; wherein he renounced his right to *Sicilia*: and that in *Italy* in all decrees and proclamations that should be made, IVSTINIAN should be first named, and that euery yeere THEODATVS should send him a crowne of gold, in token of subiection, and other things which PROCOPIVS setteth downe at large. And PETER being departed with this message, feare so much encreased in THEODATVS, that hee sent vpon the way to recall the Ambassadour which he had sent with PETER, whose name was RVSTICVS; and making him to sweare, that hee should not reueale his determination, vntill that he came into the presence of the Emperour, and saw whether he would accept of the first offer, or no; and if that he did not, that then he should offer the whole

Theodatus ap-  
prehended A-  
malasvnta, and  
caused her to  
be slaine.

Belisarius took  
*Sicilia*.

Theodatus of-  
forced to render  
the kingdom  
of Italy into the  
hands of Iusti-  
nian.

whole kingdome of *Italie* to IVSTINIAN, vpon condition, that he should giue him some lands and possessions in *Gracia* or else where, where he might liue. And to that effect he wrote a notable letter to the Emperour, with his owne hand. When IVSTINIAN had heard and vnderstood the first offer made by THEODATVS, as he was a valorous prince, and of an haucie stomacke, he would not accept thereof: whereupon the Ambassadors discouered the second, wherein he offered him *Italie*, wherewith he was exceedingly glad, and wrote a gracious letter to THEODATVS, and therewith sent Ambassadors to establish the agreement, and to commaund BELISARIVS that making an end in *Sicilia*, he should passe ouer into *Italie*, and possesse himselfe of the forces thereof, which was not so concluded. For in the meane time that these Ambassadors went and came, THEODATVS his captaines had obtained a notable victorie, and had slaine M VNDVS, and his sonne MAVRICIVS, which were IVSTINIANS captaines in *Slauonia*, and had defeated the Imperiall armie. By reason of his victorie THEODATVS grew so proud, that hee not onely refused to accomplish what he had offered, but faining himselfe much displeased with some speeches vsed to him by IVSTINIANS Ambassadors, caused them to be apprehended. This also encreased his presumption: for at that instant BELISARIVS was gone out of *Sicilia* into *Africa* to rescue SALOMON, whom he had left there. For a Captaine called ESTORZAS, mutined with the greatest part of the armie, and making himselfe Lord of the countrie, did put to death the Iudges and gouernors thereof. But BELISARIVS arriuing in *Africa*, tooke such order that within very few daies he ouercame them in battaile, and vsed extreme punishment in the countrie: and so leauing all in peace and quiet, returned into *Italie*, where he found the affaires of *Italie*, in such state as before said. At this time (as PROCOPIVS writeth) there was seene so prodigious a sight in the sunne, as the like hath neuer been heard of, which was, that the greatest part of one whole yeere the sunne gaue so little light, that it was but equall with or little more then the light of the moone, the skie being cleere and without clowdes, or any other thing to shadow the same. And so without any apparant occasion, it was obscured all that time; which, as it was afterwards deemed, was the occasion of the famine and want of graine, which generally ensued through all the world, and did prognosticate the warres and effusion of blood, which afterwards followed in *Italie*.

The sunne gaue  
very little light  
for the space of  
almost a whole  
yeere.

IVSTINIAN seeing the inconstancie of THEODATVS aforesaid, and being greatly displeased with the death of his captaines in *Dalmacia*, and the imprisonment of his Ambassadors in *Italie*, with great wisdom and the minde and desire of a worthie prince, prouiding for both occasions, sent into *Dalmacia* and *Slauonia* for his generall, a valiant captaine whose name was CONSTANTIVS, who recovered much of that which was lost, and renewed the warre in that part. And as for the affaires of *Italie*, he commaunded BELISARIVS speedely to enter it, with the greatest power that he could. Who with his accustomed expedition and courage, left, in the fortresses and strong holds of *Sicilia*, such garrisons as he thought good, and transported his armie into *Italie* at the streight of *Messina*, and began to seise on the places and townes neere the sea side, without finding any armie to hinder him, and so he conquered all the coast to the citie of *Naples*, wherein THEODATVS had put a great garrison of the Gothes, which valiantly defended the same. Where passed many conflicts, and the besieged sent secretly to craue reliefe, but in vaine, for in the end they were taken by force of armes, and the souldiers had great spoile, and made great slaughter of the Gothes. But BE-

LISARIVS

Belisarius came  
with great  
power into Italy.

LISARIVS the next day assembling his armie tooke such order with the souldiers, that they set all the inhabitants of the citie at libertie, and restored to them the greatest part of the goods which were taken from them, contenting themselves with the spoile of their enemies onely, sparing the citizens; to which they protested the cause of their comming to haue been to set them at libertie. Great was the feare which the taking of *Naples* strake into the Gothes; for they held it for impregnable. Wherefore all the principall men and captaines of them, seeing the small prouision that THEODATVS made, and assuring them that BELISARIVS would not continue long in *Naples*, before that he would come to *Rome*, one of them inuiting another, they met at a place neere vnto it, and after long debating and consultation vpon the matter, they chose a wise and valiant captaine for their King, whose name was VITIGES, to the end that he should presently take order for the leuying of men of warre, and the defence of the countrie against BELISARIVS. Which when THEODATVS vnderstoode, who then was in *Rome*, deeming himselfe there to be in no securitie, he fled thence towards *Rauenna*, but he was ouertaken vpon the way by a captaine called OPTARES, whom VITIGES sent to pursue him; and so was slaine by his commandement, when he had reigned three yeeres King of *Italie*. THEODATVS being dead, VITIGES called a counsell, and being of opinion that he had not power sufficient to attend BELISARIVS in *Rome*, neither to fall forth to fight with him in the fields, resolved therefore to goe to *Rauenna*, and there raising sufficient forces, thence to returne to giue him battaile. And he was the rather induced thereto for that he stood in doubt of the French, which had declared themselves for the Emperour. And being thus resolved, he left for gouernour of *Rome* a captaine whose name was BADERES, with fower thousand mercinarie souldiers in garrison, and encouraging the citizens to defend themselves, he tooke his way towards *Rauenna*. BELISARIVS leauing a good garde and garrison in *Naples*, marched with his armie towards *Rome*; where the inhabitants knowing of his comming, resolved that they would not stand vpon their defence, but opened the portes and let him in, and they so agreed together, that the Gothes could not let it, but held it for their best course to be gone. And it so happened, that in one selfesame day, and at one instant, BELISARIVS entred at one port, and they sallied out at another. Who after that he had made a most excellent speech to the Senate, and encouraged them to embrace their libertie, presently applied himselfe to repaire the wallies and euery where to fortifie the citie; bringing in victuals and prouision from all parts. For all the countrie round about was at commandement. In the meane while, the new King VITIGES, who was neither idle, nor a coward, left nothing vndone that might encrease his power against BELISARIVS. First he concluded a peace with the King of *France*, to the end that he should not be his aduerfariie, and gaue him those lands which THEODORICVS held in *France*, thereby to be the better assured of his friendship: and sending for his ordinarie captaines and souldiers which he vsually held in *France*, he commaunded them to come and ioine with him. And from *Germanie* and other parts he procured all the aide that he possibly could. Finally, he vsed such meanes, that he raised in *Rauenna*, and the marches thereof, one hundred and fiftie thousand men, of foote and horse; very good souldiers, and the most of them very well armed. With this armie he began to march towards *Rome*, wherein BELISARIVS was; but not with any such force as might suffice to take the field, or to fight with so great an enemy. Whereupon King VITIGES (nothing doubting

The Gothes dis-  
contented with  
Theodatus  
chose Viti-  
ges for their King.

Theodatus  
slaine by the  
commandement  
of Viti-  
ges.

Belisarius en-  
tered Rome.

Vitiges leuied  
an armie of  
150000 men  
of foote and  
horse.

doubting of the victorie) grew so proud, that he not onely tooke care that BELISARIUS should not flie and abandon *Italie*, but by the way he euer asked, whether BELISARIUS were fled or no: and reioyced infinitely when it was told him that he fortified himselfe in *Rome*; and that it seemed, that he meant there to abide his comming. But the valorous BELISARIUS was farre from that which VITIGES supposed, for he was resolu'd rather to die, then to abandon what he had gotten. But seeing his small power, in respect of his aduersarie, hee sent to BLESSVS and CONSTANTIANVS, capitaines which he had sent into the marches, that they should presently returne to *Rome* with their troupes, where he was with his, and had fortified and furnished the citie; with a resolution to defend the same, and to stoppe the enemy, if he purposed to goe forwards, to recouer what he had gotten in *Campania*, *Pulia*, and *Calabria*. But VITIGES held on his way directly towards *Rome*, imagining that it could not be held: and at his arrival there happened so great and so notable an accident, that although I know it will somewhat detain me, yet I will describe it. BELISARIUS at a bridge ouer the riuer *Tiber*, about a mile from *Rome* where VITIGES should passe, had caused two very strong towers to bee builded, and placed therein a very good guard to entertaine the enemy; but VITIGES being come with his armie, those which had the garde at the bridge, one night were in such feare, that without any fight they presently gaue vp the place; and the same night VITIGES began to passe ouer a great part of his armie. The next morning, BELISARIUS suspecting no such matter, sallied forth of *Rome* with a thousand choise horse, and came towards the bridge, to the end to chuse a fit place to lodge his people, for the defence and stopping of the passage; but being come somewhat neere vnto it, he suddenly met with VITIGES his men at armes, who that night had passed the riuer by the bridge: wherewith BELISARIUS was so much despited (imagining that those which guarded the bridge had been lost) that with lesse discretion then he ought, hee began to fight with VITIGES his people; with so great rage and furie, that there followed a cruell fight, so as VITIGES his vauntguard retired to the battailion, wherein he himselfe was; whence he charged with so great a troupe of Gothes, that BELISARIUS his companie was held for lost, and he in his owne person did wonders, slaying and wounding many of his enemies, and charged so farre in amongst them, that all authors which write thereof affirme, that he discharged the part of an excellent man at armes, but not of a good and discreet generall. For he put his person in such daunger, that he was held for dead, and so it was presently reported in *Rome* by some of his people which fled. He being in this distresse, wherein he lost many of his friends and seruants, being vnable any longer to maintaine the fight, his people began to retire a maine gallop, and he did the like, after that they had slaine a thousand of the Gothes. And many of VITIGES his horsemen pursued them, euen to the very gates of *Rome*, which were shut, and those which held the guard there, would not open them, for feare with them to let in the enemy. And for that with the noise and callings, they knew not BELISARIUS by his voice, whom they accounted for dead, he hauing fought the greatest part of the day was driuen to leane to the wall, and raunging his souldiers into a squadron, made head against the enemy; and so continued fighting without any meate or sustenance, vntill it was night, in the which he did a valorous, though a dangerous and desperate exploit, which was, that he charged the Gothes with such furie, that they all beleeu'd (through the darkness of the night) that great troupes had sallied forth of the citie; and in this

Vitiges march-  
ed towards  
Rome against  
Belisarius.

A strange en-  
counter.

A desperat at-  
tempt.

doubt they began to retire towards their campe, BELISARIUS still charging them in the arriereguard, vntill that he found a free place, and then returned; and comming to the port, was knowne and receiued into the citie with his people, although by many, fewer in number then they sallied. And so he escaped this perillous conflict, with a great number of arrowes sticking in his horse and armour, and had some blowes and cuttes with the sword, but none of them touch'd his flesh, which was held for a wonder, by those which saw in how great daunger he had been.

The next day VITIGES arriued, and ouerranne the fields of *Rome*, and being vnable to besiege the citie round on euery side, by reason of the greatnes thereof, he diuiding his armie, besieged it with fixe campes; and forasmuch as it would be too long to recite the conflicts which passed in that siege, they were so great and strange, I will leaue them all. Onely let this suffice to know, that it was one of the most terrible and bloudie sieges that euer was before any citie; for it continued one whole yeere and nine daies, and the first seauen monethes of that time, VITIGES and his Gothes, which were most valiant men, neuer ceased to batter and assault the citie on all parts; where they did, and receiued much hurt. And BELISARIUS and his people neuer suffered their aduersaries to rest, neither forbore to sallie forth and to fight with them in the fields, so as in skirmishes and sallies (writers affirme) that they slew about fortie thousand of the Gothes; in which time he did maruailes in armes, as well for valour and hardinesse, as for wifedome and policie, as an excellent capitaine. The Emperour IVSTINIAN was not carelesse of this siege, but sent reliefe and succor both of men and munition to BELISARIUS; and so sent him certaine capitaines and companies of horse and foote, with corne and other victuales, which without great trouble and daunger could not come to *Rome*. But this was not so sufficient, but that in *Rome* they endured extreme famine. Yet that notwithstanding, he carried the matter so wise and valiantly, that VITIGES seeing himselfe and his armie tired, and weakened, sought to take a truce with him, which was concluded for three monethes: but it continued not so long, for VITIGES through the cunning and treacherie of some, demaunded to haue leaue to come in, and to see the citie, within the time of the truce: whereupon the warres againe began. And BELISARIUS sent commaundement to a capitaine of his called IOHN, who was Marshall of his armie, that he should make cruell warres in the marches of *Rauenna*, whither he had sent him with about two thousand horse, and certaine other souldiers before the time of the truce, imagining that he harrying that quarter, VITIGES would rise from before *Rome*. And so the said capitaine sped so well in his enterprise, that he tooke the citie of *Arimino*, and other places. And VITIGES standing in feare to lose *Rauenna*, raised his siege from before *Rome*, and returned to defend the rest. But in his retreat BELISARIUS charged him so soundly in the arriereguard, that he slew a great number of his people. And so with shame, dishonor, and diminution of his power, VITIGES returned to the countrie of *Rauenna*, and very resolutely besieged the citie *Arimino*, wherein this capitaine IOHN was. And BELISARIUS to auoide losse of time, leuying such forces as he could get, staid not any longer, but whilest he went to *Naples*, and fortified that citie, and then hee presently tooke his way towards *Rauenna*, and so the warres were renewed in diuers parts of *Italie*. And to BELISARIUS came a capitaine, sent by IVSTINIAN, whose name was NARSES, who was an Eunuch, with a great number of souldiers. This NARSES afterwards was Generall and an excellent

Rome terribly  
besieged and  
assaulted by  
the Gothes.

Vitiges be-  
sieged Rome.

Rome hardly  
besieged.

Vitiges tooke  
truce with Be-  
lisarius for  
three moneths.

Vitiges raised  
his siege from  
before Rome.

Narces sent by  
the Emperour  
to the aide of  
Belisarius.

man, with which and those which he had already, BELISARIVS relieved IOHN, which was besieged in *Arimino*; and with some losse of men constrained VITIGES to raise his siege. Before and after which, in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lombardy*, *Milan*, *Bergamo*, *Nouarra* and other cities tooke part with BELISARIVS, whither he sent some Captaines, and there followed great conflicts and battailes, as well with the Gothes, as with THEODORICVS King of *France*, who came with a determination to haue made himselfe Lord of that countrie, while as they were busied in these warres. And BELISARIVS, after many great adventures, fought a battaile with VITIGES, who had leuied his whole power to that effect. And to vse breuitie, BELISARIVS getting the victorie, VITIGES flying to *Rauenna*, was therein encompassed and besieged; which siege lasted many daies, and there were many treaties of the one and the other side, so farre forth as to offer to make BELISARIVS king of *Italy*. But he continuing his siege, and the citie being taken, VITIGES was deliuered into his power; with whom in a manner all *Italy* came vnder his obedience. The affaires of *Italy* standing in this estate, by the commandement of IVSTINIAN, BELISARIVS was to depart from *Italy* (which he ought not to haue done) for the Emperour meant to employ his person in his warres against the Persians, leauing *Italy* in subiection: although that afterwards through his absence there followed great alterations and insurrections. For although that IOHN, and BESA, and VITALIS, all valiant and principal men, remained for Commanders and gouernors in his place; yet there was no comparison betweene them and him, for he was a most excellent and singular Captaine. The great Captaine BELISARIVS departed then from *Italy*, carrying with him King VITIGES, and the Queene his wife, with many of his kindred, and other principall men of the Gothes, prisoners; and was receiued into *Constantinople* with exceeding honour, and much gladnes. And was so beloued and esteemed, that all men, both inhabitants and strangers, went to see him, as a wonder of the world; extolling his vertues and noble acts: which for the breuitie of my stile I am not able to expresse. This was also a great helpe thereto, in that he was a man of a most pleasing countenance, tall of stature, of an excellent constitution, noble of condition, gentle, courteous, and endued with many other heroically vertues.

A battaile:  
Belisarius vi-  
ctor.

Belisarius took  
King Vitiges  
prisoner.  
Belisarius left  
Italy by the  
Emperours com-  
mandement.

Belisarius car-  
ried king Viti-  
ges and his  
wife prisoners  
to Constanti-  
nople.

Ydibaldus was  
chosen by the  
Goths for  
king of Italy,  
and after him  
Araricus.

Totila made  
King.

Cosroes king of  
Persia made  
warre in the  
Empire.

Within few daies after that BELISARIVS was gone out of *Italy*, some cities rose and rebelled, and chose YDIBALDVVS for their King, a valorous captaine and of great authoritie amongst the Gothes, who began to grow mightie by meanes of the euill gouernment, and the powlings and extortion vsed by the Emperours Captaines in the countrie. And he leuying an armie (which vntill then he durst not doe) presumed to fight with VITALIS, and ouerthrew him in battaile, and began to be feared by the Imperialists. But because that he slew a nephew of VITIGES, one of his guard slew him, when he had raigne little more then one yeere. And in his place was chosen ARARICVS (whom PAVLVVS DIACONVS and IORDANVS called ARARIVS) who was also slaine within fife moneths. And then they chose for their King TOTILA, who wrought the miserie and destruction of *Rome*, as I will presently tell you, so soone as we haue declared how and vpon what occasion BELISARIVS was drawne out of *Italy*, by the Emperour IVSTINIAN, which before wee spake not of: which passed in this manner. COSROES King of *Persia*, seeing that BELISARIVS (whom he principally feared) was busied in the warres of *Italy*, sought some occasions, whether fained, or iust, to make warre in the lands of the Empire; and entring some prouinces, tooke certaine Imperiall cities. Whereupon IVSTINIAN, who very circumspectly prouided

ded for all parts, and besides the ordinarie garrisons, sent an armie into the East, and for Generall thereof a valiant gentleman named SITAS, who in a battaile was ouerthrowne and slaine. And IVSTINIAN sent another called BVCEVA, very rare man at armes, and also a nephew of his called GERMANVS, and other Captaines and souldiers; so as the warre was very cruell and bloudie betweene COSROES and them, which I haue not time to relate. But the Imperialists could not make sufficient resistance against the Persians, and so COSROES entred farre into the Empire; and leauing *Mesopotamia* on the right hand, marched towards *Siria* and *Cilicia*, and by assault tooke many noble cities. Wherefore IVSTINIAN holding no man sufficient for that warre but BELISARIVS, sent for him out of *Italy*, at what time as he had brought it all vnder subiection, excepting some few Holds and Castles in *Lombardy*: wherein the Gothes had fortified themselues. BELISARIVS leauing *Italy*, and arriuing at *Constantinople*, within few daies after was sent into the East, against COSROES the mightie King of *Persia*: And with his comming the Imperialists tooke heart, and hee reuiued the warre with such discretion and courage, that there was a present alteration in all things: and hauing obtained some victories against certaine of COSROES his Captaines (for he himselfe durst not fight with him) he recovered much of that which was vsurped. By reason whereof the affaires of the East went daily from well to better, through the presence and good gouernment of BELISARIVS. But in the meane season, which were two yeeres, the estate of *Italy* waxed worse: for as we said, TOTILA being made King of the Gothes, with so great courage and in so good order followed the warres, that hauing ouerthrowne and slaine some of the Emperour IVSTINIANS Captaines, the Gothes wanne such reputation, that all the townes therein tooke part with them, excepting such as were held by garrisons. And TOTILA marched through all *Italy*, without finding any resistance, and besieged the great citie of *Naples*: and after many exploites both by sea and land, he tooke the same, and many others in that quarter; and prospered so well in his enterprises, that it seemed that in short space he would (without speedie redresse) make himselfe Lord of the whole. Which when IVSTINIAN perceiued, grieuing more for *Italy*, then for all the rest, he commaunded BELISARIVS, that leauing the affaires of the East in the best order that he could, he should make his repaire vnto him; and he as a seruant accustomed to obey, did so. Leauing his people in the East, and comming to *Constantinople*, without any stay was sent by the Emperour into *Italy*; whither he went with so great haste, that he could not leade with him aboute fiftie thousand men: for it was thought that hee should haue found sufficient forces there; and was made to beleue that the Emperours partie was not brought to so great extremitie as it was. But he found all quite contrarie, in so much that it did partly seeme that his comming did more harme then good: for being wished for, and expected by his friends, and feared by his enemies, seeing him come with so small forces, the one dismaied, and the other tooke courage: and so in the beginning his enterprise was very doubtfull and tedious. And he putting himselfe into *Rauenna*, to the end to fortifie and defend the same, within few daies tooke such order, that notwithstanding that he could not keepe the field and beard the enemy (for that he was too mightie for him) yet the Gothes neuerthelesse did rather lose then get. Wherewith TOTILA being much displeased, and desirous to make warres to the vttermost, assembled all his whole power, and sent Captaines and companies to *Rauenna* against BELISARIVS. And he with his whole armie went to *Rome*, which was so slenderly prouided for, with either men or munition, that

Captaines sent  
against the Per-  
sians, Sitas,  
Bucen, and  
Germanus.

The Persians  
tooke many ci-  
ties in the Em-  
pire.

Belisarius sent  
against the  
Persians.

Totila his good  
success in Italy

Belisarius by  
the Emperours  
commande-  
ment returned  
into Italy.

Totila besieged  
Rome.

it seemed it could not long be defended. **BELISARVS** vnderstanding hereof, and remembering with how much trouble and extremitie he had defended that citie in former time, and seeing that he had not forces to keepe the field, neither could put himselfe into it by land, was very heauie and sorrowfull, and wrote an earnest letter to the Emperour **IVSTINIAN**, desiring him to send him men and money; resolving to put himselfe into *Rome* by sea from *Rauenna*, where he then was. And passing ouer into *Dalmatia*, and thence to *Durazzo*, he found captain **IOHN**, whom **IVSTINIAN** had sent with a good armie, wherewith he was of opinion to be able to fight with **TOTILA**. But the reliefe of *Rome* hee deemed to be provided for, with greater expedition then could be made with that armie: for if **TOTILA** should take it, he feared that all *Italy* would reuolt. Wherefore he resolved to goe thither by sea, and to put himselfe into *Rome* by the riuer *Tiber*: for the citie called the port, in the mouth of *Tiber*, held for the Emperour; and *Ostia* on the other side of the riuer held for the *Goths*: and that Captaine **IOHN** should crosse the Sea with his armie, and comming into *Calabria*, should march by land, to vnset and relieue him. This being thus concluded, **BELISARVS** sailed, and arriued at the port in the mouth of *Tiber*; and hauing no sufficient power to march by land, by reason of **TOTILA** his great armie, hee speedily rigged a great number of Barks and Fregates, which hee fraughted with men and munition, and so passed vp the riuer. And notwithstanding that **TOTILA** had in the narrowest place of that riuer stopped his passage, with chaines, and a bridge, and two Castles at the ends of the bridge, guarded with a great number of souldiers by this meanes to stop his passage; yet **BELISARVS** followed his course vp the riuer, and comming to the bridge, he and his people in such sort charged those which guarded the same, that they brake and scattered them and passed through; and *Rome* had been presently relieved, and euery thing had had good successe, had there not befallen a strange mishap, which troubled and marred all. **BELISARVS** had left his wife and familie (which hee loued so much that in his other warres he euer carried her with him) in the port before named, at the entrie of the riuer, with a garrison which held the fort, and a good Captain whose name was **ISAAZ**, with expresse commaundement that he should not sallie forth without the walles, but should keepe the fortresse. But **ISAAZ** hearing the newes of **BELISARVS** his victorie, and being desirous to doe some notable exploit of himselfe, sallied out of the towne with his garrison, to charge **TOTILA** his souldiers, which lay there against him: and although that at the first he disordred them and made them retire, yet in the end he was ouerthrowne by them and taken prisoner. Whereof **BELISARVS** was presently aduertised by some which fled, and the report went (without any author) that the towne was taken, and that his wife was in the enemies hands. Which when he vnderstood, he was so grieved and enraged, that without expecting any further newes, he returned downe the riuer, with a determination either to die, or to set his wife at libertie; imagining that if hee sped well, he might speedily returne to the rescue of *Rome*. But being come to the port, he found the place at his deuotion, and that his wife was well and at libertie, although the Captaine were lost. Whereupon hee tooke greater displeasure to see himselfe thus deluded, then at his first euill newes; and the same night after his arriuall at the port, through the extreme anger and griefe which he had taken, or some other vnknowne occasion, he was so extremely taken with a feuer, that he fell downe for dead, and his disease daily encreasing, he was oftentimes at the point of death. And in this meane time, which was for the space of many

*Belisarius passed up the riuer Tiber, with a determination to relieue Rome.*

*A great misfortune which befall Belisarius.*

many daies, **TOTILA** did so begirt the citie, that they within died absolutely of hunger, and did eate dogs, cats, rats, and other things which seemed impossible. And **TOTILA** in the end hauing the citie in his power, sent his Ambassadors to **IVSTINIAN**, offering to be his seruant and good friend, and to preserve and keepe the citie, if he would graunt him peace; if not, that then he would race it and make the most cruell warre that hee should be able. **IVSTINIAN** answered that his Generall **BELISARVS** was in *Italy*, to whom hee referred all matters therein. **TOTILA** was so enraged with this answer, that he resolved to destroy *Rome*, and did so. For he made the Capitoll to be burned, and the best part of all the citie, and the third part of the walles to be throwne downe, and commaunded the inhabitants to abandon the citie, vpon paine of death, and to goe to liue in some other part. And so he left burned, desolate, and wast, that citie which had commaunded the world, and which had been greatest, most frequented, and best peopled of all others. And marched against **IOHN**, which with the armie sent by **IVSTINIAN**, came through *Calabria*, towards *Rome*, who shewed himselfe so very a coward, that he durst not stay for him in the field, but put himselfe into *Otranto*, the furthest place of all *Calabria*. And so **TOTILA** without any resistance tooke all *Calabria*, *Abruzzo* and *Lucania*, which vntill then held for the Emperour **IVSTINIAN**.

*Totila tooke Rome.*

*Totila burnt and destroyed Rome.*

In this meane time, **BELISARVS** recovered his health, and performed one of the most desperate enterprises, that euer he had done at any time before; which was with those troupes which he had; to goe and put himselfe into *Rome*, with a determination to repaire, reedifie and to defend the same; and so he did. And so first sending his wife to *Constantinople*, he presently went to *Rome* (as desolate as it lay) and caused with all expedition, trenches to be digged, and rampers to be made, where the walles were throwne downe, and all the victualles that possibly could be gotten, to be brought thither, and made a citie of that which lay wast. And through the same hereof, many citizens, that could get to him; for the law of their countrie came, and did put themselves thereinto with him. Whereof so soone as **TOTILA** was aduertised, by long iourneies without any intermission, he returned thither againe, assuring himselfe presently to enter it and therein to take **BELISARVS**: but **BELISARVS** so valiantly defended the same, that to his great losse, **TOTILA** was driuen to raise his siege. Whereby it may be imagined, how well he would haue defended it before that it was ruinated, and he repaired it with new ports and rampiers. And in the meane season, captaine **IOHN** in *Calabria* and *Pulia* gathered the citizens of *Rome* together and sent them thither, in whose citie **BELISARVS** remained; and hauing fortified it, and left a good garrison therein, with an excellent gouernour called **CONON**; he went to ioyne with **IOHN**, and other captaines, to goe in quest of **TOTILA**, and many things passed too long to be recited. But the King of *Persia* againe making warres in the East; **IVSTINIAN** determined to send **BELISARVS** thither, although that afterwards he went not, for peace was concluded betweene them. Vpon this occasion **BELISARVS** againe went out of *Italy*, although not with so great good fortune, and victories, as at the first, yet not with no disgrace, neither with any lesse honor, for he neuer failed in any thing, to doe what behoued him, or what he was able. And so in summe went to *Constantinople*, where he remained all the rest of his life time. And after he had liued there certaine yeeres, **AGATHVS** writeth, that the Hunnes came downe into *Thracia*, euen very neere to *Constantinople*, robbing and spoiling the countrie. And **BELISARVS** being

*Belisarius entered Rome to the end to fortifie and defend the same.*

*Totila besieged Rome, and therein Belisarius.*

*Belisarius was sent for out of Italy.*

now old, was sent against them, and overthrew them in battle; and had not IVSTINIAN sent for him to returne, he had wholly destroyed them. Within few daies after that BELISARIUS was departed out of *Italy*, TOTILA returned to *Rome*, and againe besieged it, and after long time and great extremities and famine endured by the besieged, through the negligence of IOHN which should haue relieved it, and the treason of some others. The fierce barbarian againe tooke it, but the taking of it at this time was quite contrarie to the last: for now he did not any harme, but sought to repaire and repeople it, and gaue great gifts, priuiledges, and exemptions to the inhabitants, to the end they should returne to dwell therein. And afterwards tooke many other places, and passed ouer into *Sicilia*: and for that he could not easily make a conquest thereof, he left foure capitaines with many men of warre therein, and returned into *Italy*. And if NARSES a capitaine whom IVSTINIAN sent, had not come thither, he had within short space made himselfe absolute Lord of the whole land. This NARSES was a famous capitaine, valiant, and of great experience, and very priuate with the Emperor IVSTINIAN; and therefore rich, and of great authoritie; who came into *Italy* with a great armie, amassd together of sundrie nations, as Hunnes, Heruli, and other warlike people. Amongst which there came to his seruice, a people called Longobardi, which then dwelled in *Hungarie*; and he marched by land along all the coast of the *Adriaticque* sea, now called the gulf of *Venice*, vntill he came to *Rauenna*; notwithstanding that at his entrie into *Italy*, he had some encounters and conflicts with some of TOTILA's captaines, where came to ioyne with him some of those captaines and companies, which BELISARIUS had left. And staying but few daies in *Rauenna*, in very good order he tooke the field with his armie, directing his course for *Rome*. But TOTILA who was not any way a coward, attended his comming vpon the way; and presenting him battle, they fought, and in the fight TOTILA was slaine, and his people scattered and overthowne. Which victorie was the occasion that NARSES easily reconquered all *Italy*: for after this fight, he held on his iourney and besieged *Rome*. And notwithstanding that the Gothes which TOTILA left there in garrison, did defend it well, yet NARSES tooke it by assault, with great losse of the defendants. And departing from thence, he tooke all the townes and cities round about. After the death of TOTILA, the Gothes made a great man amongst them whose name was TEYAS, their King, who tooke all TOTILA's treasure which lay in *Paula*; and fought to get men and aide against NARSES, and sent to entreate reliefe of the French, which would not intermeddle in that warre. But TEYAS seeing that NARSES tooke cities and townes, without finding any man to fight with him, departed out of *Lombardie* with all the power that hee could make, and marched towards *Campania*, where NARSES staied for him; and they both lodged their armies vpon a riuer side, where after some notable skirmishes, they came to a battle, which was one of the most cruell that had been fought in all that warre. For historians report wonders wrought by this TEYAS, King of the Gothes in his owne person; but in the end being ouer borne by NARSES his people, he was by them slaine, iust at twelae of the clocke at noone, at which time he had fought about fixe howers, and yet notwithstanding his death, the battle ceased not, vntill that the darke night parted them, without apparance of any victorie of either side: and reposing themselves so well as they could that night, the next morning the Gothes in despair, and the Imperialists despited, to see that a people without a capitaine should so defend themselves, returned

Totila besieged  
and tooke  
Rome.

NarSES came  
generall into  
Italy against  
Totila.

A battle be-  
tweene NarSES  
and Totila,  
wherein Totila  
was slaine.

Teyas made  
King of the  
Gothes.

A most cruell  
bataille where-  
in Teyas was  
slaine.

turned againe to fight, without any ceassing; and the Gothes taking the benefit of the side of an hill, defended themselves. But in the end towards night they sent their Ambassadors vnto NARSES, offering to render all that they held in *Italy*, conditionally that he should giue them leaue to liue in it, without any armour or weapons. Which request NARSES graunted, for that he would not fight with a desperate kinde of people, and for the great hurt which his armie had already receiued, and so they deliuered what they possessed, and some of them continued in *Italy*, subiect to the inhabitants, in such manner that within short space the name of the Gothes was wholly extinct, rooted out and forgotten, although not presently after the victorie aforesaid: for some captaines and companies which remained in *Gallia Cisalpinga*, now called *Lombardy*, and in the prouince of *Traspadana*, now *Piemont* began to fortifie; and they crauing, and succours comming out of *France*, and *Burgundy*, the warre was renewed, which lasted well nere one whole yeere, and therein passed great batailles and slaughters: but in the end NARSES obtained both the field and the victorie, and was absolute commander of all *Italy*. And it pleased God to make him the instrument to roote out, and to extinguish the name of the Gothes and Ostrogothes in *Italy*, eightene yeeres after the beginning of this warre, and threescore and twelue, after that THEODORICVS first entred and made himselfe Lord of that countrey. But to the contrarie, the Visigothes in *Spain* grew daily more mightie, and the name of the Alanes and Sueuians vanished and was extinct, and the Gothes onely remained. At that time reigned ATHANAGILDVS in great prosperitie in *Spain*, and ruled that kingdome the space of two and twentie yeeres. These enterprises being ended, NARSES applied himselfe to the vttermost of his power to the reedifying of *Rome*: and forasmuch as it was extremely ruined and lay waste, and many of the citizens were absent, he caused the inhabitants to reduce themselves to one part thereof; and so he tooke the best order that he could, both for the gouernment of the same, and of all *Italy* also. This NARSES was a man of great iudgement, a good christian, very zealous in religion, and desirous of the good of the common-wealth, and besides all this, was one of the most excellent captaines of the world. By reason whereof hee held the gouernment of *Italy* so long as the Emperour IVSTINIAN liued; who during all the time of these great warres, made his continuall abode in *Constantinople*, prouiding men and money for the warres in all parts; as well for those in *Italy* as in the East, where he had as daungerous warres against COSROES King of *Persia*.

There happened in the time of IVSTINIAN (besides the warres and conquests before specified, and many others, which for breuitie, and for that they were of no great importance, I omit) earthquakes, famine, and other great calamities. For in his raigne the times were so variable, and there happened so strange accidents, as the like had neuer been. And hee (as I said in the beginning) was an excellent prince, and exceedingly carefull for the warres, prouiding captaines, souldiers and money, without taxing or oppressing his subiects, with incredible magnanimitie and libertie. By meanes whereof, hee preserved the Empire of the East, and reconquered the prouinces of *Africa*, wholly subuerting and expelling the Vandales out of those countries: and did the like by the Gothes in *Italy*. And concerning his gouernment in time of peace, hee was no lesse carefull; so as it seemed as though that hee had neuer applied himselfe to any thing else: for as the lawes and statutes made by other Emperours his predecessors, were so many, that a man could hardly reade them;

Traspadana,  
Piemont.

Agathius treateth of this war in a particular Booke.

NarSES drave the Gothes out of Italy.

The valour and prudence of the Emperour Iustinian.

Iustinian abridged the lawes.

and so variable and dissonant, that it seemed that many of them did contradict the one the other; he reduced them al to agreement and breuitie; drawing out of them that onely which was necessarie, and made other new. And in this manner hee abridged all the lawes of the auncient Magistrates, Iudges and Lawyers, which contained about two thousand bookes, and reduced them to fiftie, and compiled the fower bookes of the institutions, commonly called Instituta. And the lawes and decrees of all the Emperours and CÉSARS, which were dispersed abroade in very many bookes; hee reduced to twelue, called IVSTINIANS booke. And hee made another booke intituled the volume, wherein hee included three of those twelue bookes aforesaid. To bring these things to effect, hee held about him great learned men, but the principall ministers and authors thereof were, IOHN PATRICIVS, and THEOPHITVS, and DOROTHEVS, but chiefly TRIBVNIANVS; all singular Lawyers and Philosophers. Besides all this, IVSTINIAN was very curious in architecture, and builded many great and sumptuous edifices. But hee was taxed with this vice, that hee willingly gaue eare, and was a friend to backe-biters and such as spake ill of others, and was very reuengfull against such as any way offended him. He was also noted of ingratitude, and couetousnes, and that by all waies and meanes he sought to encrease his rents, and his treasure; but he afterwards spent it all frankly and liberally in the warres, and vpon his souldiers.

*Codex Iustinian.*

*Iustinian made his nephew Iustin, his companion in the Empire.*

*Iustinian died in the yeere 568.*

Being now very old and hauing no sonne, that might succede him, hee chose his nephew IVSTIN, for his companion in the Empire, which IVSTIN, was his daughters sonne. They write of him, that in his old age, hee was infected with the heresie of those, which beleued, that the flesh and bodie of CHRIST was impassible. Which heresie is to bee supposed proceeded through want of iudgement, whereof he was bereaued some daies before he died. Finally, after so many noble acts and many others, which for breuitie cannot be expressed, the good Emperour IVSTINIAN being about fower score yeeres old, left this for a better life, when hee had reigned nine and thirtie yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord, five hundred sixtie and eight, and was greatly lamented and deplored through all the whole Empire.

## THE



## THE LIFE OF IVSTIN, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THRESCORE ROMANE EMPEROR.



### THE ARGUMENT.

**V**Pon the death of Iustinian, his daughters sonne Iustin tooke possession of the Empire; who was farre unlike to his grandfather, both in condition, and in his vigilant care for the gouernment: for he left the administration thereof to his wife Sophia. He had warres with the Persians, but they were soone ended, and he particularly applied himselfe to the affaires of Italy, which for the Empire was gouerned by Narses: for Iustin in the East gaue himselfe to pleasure and sensuality. This Narses hauing to his great glorie performed many worthe enterprises, was ill rewarded by Iustin, and his wife Sophia: but the iniuries done vnto him were the occasion of so great euils, that poore Italy shall euer haue cause to be sorrie for them. For Narses calling Alboinus King of the Longobards into Italy, and afterwards desiring to haue stated them (when he could not) was the occasion of great miserie: for they made themselves Lords of the greatest part thereof, and possessed the same about two hundred yeeres. In time of which warre Iustin died of the gout, when he had reigned eleuen yeeres.

**I**t was so hard a matter to abbreviate, and in order to relate, the accidents happened in the time of the Emperour IVSTINIAN; and I was so much troubled therewith, they were so many and so notable, that I doe not onely feele my selfe eased of that burthen, and doe likewise reioyce in that I haue brought that work to an end, but am also of opinion that from hencefoorth I shall be lesse troubled: And although I be in some daunger to be deceiued therein, neuertheless

Justin obeyed  
for Emperor.

Sophia wife to  
the Emperor  
Justin.

Hormisdas King  
of the Persians.

Warre and  
peace with the  
Persians.

Narses deposed  
from his go-  
vernment of  
Italy.  
Longinus sent  
to governe  
Italy.

nevertheless I reioyce in this hope; wherein (with the grace of God) I will proceed. IVSTINIAN being dead, his daughters sonne the second IVSTIN, without any difficultie obtained the Empire: for (as wee haue said) his grandfather in his life time made him his companion, and proclaimed him his successor; his mother (as we said) was IVSTINIANS daughter. His father was a very noble man in the countrie of *Slauonia*; and hee himselfe was of a quicke and a good wit, and both apt and sufficient for any thing; but ill conditioned and vnworthie of the Empire, and proued farre vnlike his grandfather. For as PAVLVS DIACONVS writeth, he became couetous and tyrannous, a robber and a despiser of the poore, and about all, was fletcherie and negligent in matters of iustice and gouernment; and thereof left all the charge and care to his wife the Emperesse, whose name was SOPHIA, whose wit was incapable thereof, neither had she conditions or vertues deseruing the same. At his first comming to the Empire, this SOPHIA to win the loue and good will of the people, counselled IVSTIN, out of his Exchequer, to pay the debts of such poore men as were imprisoned for debt, and were vnable to make satisfaction without their vndoing. And he did so: wherefore in the beginning of his raigne he was commonly well beloued. There also happened war betweene him and HORMISDA King of *Persia*, who through the death of COSROES succeeded in that kingdom: whither was sent a Nobleman called MARTIN for General, and there passed great matters, but principally a cruel and bloudie battaile, wherein the Imperialists preuailed; and finally they returned to treat of peace; and that was confirmed, which was made in the time of the Emperour IVSTINIAN. And so the East remained in peace, and IVSTIN passed his time without care in pleasure, giuing himselfe ouer to vice and sensuality. So that of him there is no notable matter to be written, but of the affaires of *Italy*, which happened in this manner following. In the fourth yeere (as some write) of the raigne of the Emperour IVSTIN, and the tenth or twelfth of NARSES his gouernment of *Italy*, after the great victorie through his wisdom & policie by him obtained therein against the Gothes; some malicious men enuying his great honour and dignitie, and the great riches which he had gotten in former warres, reported and wrote to IVSTIN much euill of NARSES; and as in Court (as is vsual) there wanted not some that also enuid him, and were glad thereof, so they found the fauour to be heard; and IVSTIN through want of swit, and the Emperesse SOPHIA through light beleefe, were perswaded that what was told them of him was true. And so without respect or regard of the daungers and troubles wherewith he had conquered *Italy*, they resolved to depose him from his gouernment, and to send him a successor; which was one of the greatest indignities that could be done him. And it pleased God to permit so great an ingratitude to be punished. For SOPHIA was not content to embase NARSES by depriuing him of his gouernment, but she also disgraced him in speeches, saying, that she would haue him come to spinne wool amongst her women at *Constantinople*. And a principall man called LONGINVS, was presently sent to take his place and to succeed him. Which when NARSES vnderstood, his great heart could not endure so shamefull a disgrace, without extreme wrath and displeasure. Wherefore being no lesse grieved with the words vsed by SOPHIA, then with what they had done; it is written that he said; That, seeing that she meant to make him to spinne, hee promised to twist her such a web, as she should neuer be able to vntwine: which he well performed, as hereafter shall be said. And he vnderstanding that LONGINVS was arriued in *Rauenna*, durst not goe to *Constantinople*, but came from *Rome* (where

(where he then liued) to *Naples*, where he was so much beloued and honored, that he held himselfe to be there in securitie. And from thence as a man disgraced and in despaire, he by often letters and otherwise, solicited King ALBOINVS King of the Longobards, who was his friend, and had sent men to aide him in his warre against the Gothes, and at that time made his resistance in *Hungarie*, that he should come into *Italy*, and make himselfe Lord thereof; and that hee would assist him and direct him in what hee had to doe in that conquest. And ALBOINVS afterwards followed his direction. These Longobardi, as some say, were so called, for that they were long beards. Their originall and the place of their birth (as PAVLVS DIACONVS writeth of them) was in an Iland in the German sea, then called *Scandinavia*, from whence they being many, and accounting their countrie too little for them (as many other Northerly nations had done) with two Captaines, the one called AYON and the other THATON, they left their countrie, and went to seeke some place wherein they might inhabite, either by peace or warre. And these Captaines being dead, they chose one AGELMOND for their King, and afterwards had other Kings, and diuers warres at sundrie times with variable successe, against the Gothes, the Vandales, and other nations; vntill that after many yeeres they became Lords of *Hungarie*; from whence their King ALBOINVS sent men of warre (as wee said) to the aide of NARSES against the Gothes; whereof grew the occasion that he called him into *Italy*, to the end that he should make himselfe Lord thereof; and he resolved to goe thither, as well for the proffer made to him by NARSES, as for that hee had heard of the fruitfulness of that soile, not onely by common report, but also by the particular relation, made by those whom hee had sent to serue NARSES in those warres. Whilest that he mustred vp his souldiers, and made such preparation as for so great an enterprize was requisite, LONGINVS the new Captaine and gouernour of *Italy*, established a new forme and order of gouernment, which continued a long time after: which was, that comming into *Italy* he tooke the name and title of Exarch, which is as much to say, as Generall or supreme gouernour. And resting in *Rauenna*, without any care to see *Rome*, in euery citie of *Italy* he placed a gouernour called Dux: whereof (as I imagine) sprang the beginning of the title and dignitie of a Duke, which now is vsed through all the world. And so each of them gouerned a citie; and not as in former time, when euery prouince had some principall man of great authoritie for their particular Captaine or gouernour. And in *Rome* for the greater honour was placed a gouernour called Praeses, who was (as we say) a President or Lord Deputie. And so the authority of the Senate, and dignitie of the Consuls, was wholly lost and extinct, so as they were neuer after in that manner as in ancient time: for NARSES and his companion BASILVS were the last Consuls. This forme of gouernment being established, and ALBOINVS king of the Longobards being in a readines to take his iourney towards *Italy*, it followed that Pope IOHN the third, with the generall consent of all the Romane people, which infinitely loued NARSES, went from *Rome* to *Naples*, where he then was, and perswading him to returne to *Rome*, preuailed so much that he brought him with him, where he was receiued with great loue and gladnes, they pretending to protect him, and to keepe him there amongst them. Whereupon NARSES repented that euer he had called ALBOINVS, and againe wrote to him, to take no care to come into *Italy*, alleaging many difficulties. But as ALBOINVS was resolved, and knew the small force that was in *Italy*, with the gouernment of LONGINVS, and the little discretion and care of the Emperour IVSTIN, he would not be dissuaded from

The Lombards  
what people  
they were.

Exarchus the  
name of a su-  
preme gover-  
nour.

The originall  
of Dukes.

The last Ro-  
mane Consul.

The death of  
Narjes.

from his determination, but hastened his comming. Before which NARSES died in *Rome*, where he left great treasure hidden, which afterwards was found; and his bodie was carried to *Constantinople*. And at the same time died Pope IOHN which brought him from *Naples*.

Pannonia  
wherefore  
called Hunga-  
rie.

King ALBOINVS departing with a great armie of Longobards from *Hungary*, together with a great number of Saxons and other nations which hee had leuiued, and were ioyned with him, through the desire they had to dwell in *Italy*, all which might amount to the number of two hundred thousand men, with their wiues, children, and herds of cattell, and moueable goods, such as they could carrie, would not abandon *Hungarie*, but left the Hunnes, which liued in that countrie, and were the remainder of the great armie of the fierce King ATTILA (of whom heretofore we haue made much mention) to guard it. Which Hunnes, as the Longobards prospered well in *Italy*, remained owners and possessors of the land and the countrie, which after their name is now called *Hungary*, which before then was called *Pannonia*, as some say; yet some others say (as is before noted) that a certaine people called *Hungri*, came from the frozen sea, and together with them the Hunnes dwelt in *Pannonia*, and so after these two nations it was called *Hungarie*. But howsoever it was, vntill this day it is so called, and the successors of the Hunnes haue possessed it, and valiantly defended the same against the Infidels, vntill our time, that for our sinnes SOLIMAN the king of the Turks took the greatest part thereof.

The coming  
of Alboinus  
and the Longo-  
bards into  
*Italy*.

ALBOINVS passing with his armie and people towards *Italy*, came into that prouince which now is called *Frioli*, wherein he tooke many cities, and vsed no small crueltie, and much more would haue done, if hee had not been somewhat pacified by the prayers and entreaties of PAUL the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and of FELIX Bishop of *Trenigi*. But being desirous to enter further into *Italy*, and to leaue that to safe keeping which he had gotten, he left therein for gouernour and to guard the passages into those countries, a valiant Captaine which was his nephew called SISVLPHVS, and he followed his iourney: and God permitted that he found small resistance in *Italy*, for it was then afflicted with both famine and pestilence. By reason whereof LONGINOS, the gouernour and Exarch before named, was not of power to leuie any sufficient armie to fight with ALBOINVS, and therefore held himselfe in *Rauenna*, where he drew together the best men and the greatest number that he was able, with a determination to make frontier wars by fortifying the townes, and putting good garrisons in them; which he principally did in *Cesarea*, which at that time was a very noble citie, neere to *Rauenna*, whither he drew the greatest number of souldiers that he could possiblie leuie, and fortified *Patania*, and therein put a garrison, which is now called *Padoia*, and is vnder the gouernment of the Venetians. The like he did by *Cremona* and *Man-  
tua*, and in other the strongest cities, imagining that if he could hold those countries, ALBOINVS would passe no further; and if he did, he should be greatly endammaged by them in his Arrereguard. Which was no ill device, if in that prouince there had been any armie to haue made head against ALBOINVS and his forces in the field. But LONGINOS had neither heart nor power to doe so, and ALBOINVS holding it for a long piece of worke to batter and assault all those townes, tooke another course, withdrawing himselfe from them, for that hee would not be vrged and constrained to stay before any of these townes: but went and assaulted *Verona* and *Vicenza*, wherein were no garrisons, which with others yeelded without resistance. From whence passing ouer the riuer *Adda*, he tooke his

Patania,  
Padoia.

his way towards *Milan*, where the citizens (induced thereto by the perswasion of HONORATVS their Bishop) gaue vp the citie, to the end to auoide slaughter and to be sacked. After this, other places did the like: for the famine was so great, and so generall, that without any force the townes yeelded, being vnable to victuall themselves for a siege; excepting those places which were victualled by LONGINOS, amongst which in that quarter were *Pania* and *Briselli*, now called *Vercelli*, which by the said LONGINOS were sufficiently furnished with all things needfull. And ALBOINVS determined to besiege it, hauing been now fixe moneths in *Italy*, and besieged *Pania*: but it so well defended it selfe, that the siege continued three yeeres long. In the beginning of which time, perceiuing that it would be a long siege, he remaining before it with such part of his armie as hee thought sufficient, sent the rest to make warre in other parts of *Italy*, and to make a conquest thereof: and they all sped as hee desired, for they tooke many townes, cities and castles in *Italy*. And the President or gouernour of *Rome* fearing to bee besieged, and seeing the great scarcitie and famine which was in the citie, sent to desire reliefe of men and victuals to the Emperour IVSTIN, who commaunded a great quantitie of wheate to be brought from *Africa* to *Rome*, and some souldiers also. Wherewith the citie was well relieued, and the Longobards at that time came not thither, neither durst they inuade *Rauenna*, nor the cities thereunto: for they were all very well fortified and garrisoned by LONGINOS. But in other places they made themselves Lords of great part of *Italy*, in so much that between *Bologna* and *Milan* there were few places of strength, but within three yeeres war were brought vnder their subiection: and so they afterwards possessed all that prouince about two hundred yeeres, with variable fortune, as hereafter wee will touch; and by them it was called *Lombardy*, and is so still vntill this day. About the end of this time ALBOINVS tooke *Pania*, and seeing himselfe mightie, he tooke his way towards *Verona*, whither he had caused his wife the Queene ROSAMUND to come, with his treasure and wardrobe; and there holding his Court hee gaue himselfe to feasting and banketting, and was slaine by treason, by the order and consent of his wife, whose father he had slaine, and in a banquet gaue her to drink in her fathers skul: for reuenge whereof, she worthely and iustly complotted his death.

Alboinus tooke  
*Milan* and o-  
ther townes.

The warres  
of the Longo-  
bards in *Italy*.

Gallia cisalpi-  
na called *Lom-  
bardia* by the  
Longobards.

The death of  
Alboinus.

ALBOINVS dying in this manner, after many bickerings and fights, the Longobards chose for their King a great man of bloud and of worth amongst them, called CLEPHIS, or CLEVE, who prooued a most cruell Prince; and renewing the warres, committed great cruelties in those cities which held of the Empire, in the prouince of *Venetia*: for in those daies the citie of *Venice*, which in the time of ATTILA began to be inhabited, was greatly increased by those which (to escape the cruelty of the Lombards) went to dwell in those Ilands, and were now of force able to defend themselves; and this citie began to be famous & of great account, and hath continued and increased vntill this day: so as it is now one of the most noble and excellent cities in the world. At this time the Emperour IVSTIN who liued viciously, carelesse & negligent, in *Constantinople* was taken with so grieuous paine of the gowt in his feete, that hee died thereof. And some daies before his death, by the consent of his wife SOPHIA, by whom he was wholly ruled (for that he had no sonne) he made an excellent Nobleman CESAR, whose name was TIBERIVS, and hauing exhorted him very effectually to yeeld obedience vnto SOPHIA, hauing swaied the Imperiall scepter 11. yeeres, he died, in the yeere of our Lord 579: and after some, 576.

Paulus Diaconus lib. 2. c. 24.

Clephis King of  
the Lombards.

The prosperitie  
of *Venice*.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Iustin.

Anno Dom.  
579



## THE LIFE OF TIBERIVS, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND ONE ROMANE EMPEROR.



The vertues of  
Tiberius.

The treason of  
Sophia.

**S**uch were the conditions and behauiour of the Emperour **IUSTIN** in his life time, that when he was dead no man lamented or mourned for him, except his wife **SOPHIA**, who through her husbands insufficiencie gouerned and commanded al, and had a conceit to haue continued therein; meaning to haue married with **TIBERIVS**, who presently vpon the death of **IUSTIN** was created and crowned Emperour. But he, as he was a vertuous man, iust, pitifull, gentle, charitable, and endued with such other vertues, as in a good and Christian Emperour were requisite, would not haue her to wife; all whose conditions hee knew to be quite contrarie thereto; and with whom euen in the life time of **IUSTIN** (as some write) he was at some controuersie. **TIBERIVS** after that he was created **CÆSAR**, made distribution of much of the Imperiall treasure to the poore; and afterwards at his coronation named for Emperesse a great Ladie whose name was **ANASTASIA**, with whom hee was secretly married. Whereupon **SOPHIA** at the same feast practised by treason to haue had him slaine, with a determination to haue made one **IUSTINIAN**, another of **IUSTIN**'s nephewes, Emperour. But it pleased God that the good **TIBERIVS** escaped this treason, and others also which the same **SOPHIA** complotted; and his coronation was held with great solemnitie, and the treacherie of **SOPHIA** being discovered (the cra-

uing

uing mercie) he pardoned both her and **IUSTINIAN**. But many daies passed not before that she attempted the like, in a house of pleasure whither **TIBERIVS** went for his recreation. At this time he caused her to be apprehended, and despoiled of all her riches. But as he was milde and pitifull, he pardoned her her life, and gaue her maintenance, and made her to be serued with great reuerence and honour; but he tooke from her all her old seruants, and placing others to serue her by his appointment; he againe pardoned **IUSTINIAN**: for he knew that he was induced to all that he did by **SOPHIA**. And he was afterwards greatly beloued by **TIBERIVS**, and serued him faithfully, as recounteth **PAVLVS DIACONVS**.

These were the priuate and domesticall accidents which in the beginning befell **TIBERIVS**. In the generall estate of the Empire, he euer maintained iustice, and raigned valorously. And *Africa*, and all the prouinces which the Empire held in *Asia* and in *Europe* peaceably obeyed him. But the warres in *Italy* against the Lombards, and in the East against the Persians, did put him to much care and trouble. In the warres of *Persia* he had good successe, whereof we will first speake briefly. For so soone as **TIBERIVS** came to the Empire, he sent his Ambassadors to King **HORMISDA**, to confirme with him the peace in such manner as his predecessors held the same before him. But **HORMISDA** who saw himselfe rich and mightie would not accept thereof, but made warre vpon the frontiers of the Empire. And **TIBERIVS** speedily sent a mightie armie against him: but at that time they fought not, for there was a truce taken for a time, which being expired, a cruell warre began chiefly in the kingdome of *Armenia*, where the Romane Generall and armie came to a battaile with **HORMISDA**; which fight was very cruell and of long continuance. Neuerthelesse the Romanes had the victorie, and **HORMISDA** saued himselfe by flight; and therein were taken the greatest and richest spoiles and booties that euer were gotten from the Persians; all which were giuen to the men of warre, excepting the Kings treasure, and the vessels of gold and siluer for his seruice, which (**PAVLVS DIACONVS** saith) was carried to **TIBERIVS** in *Constantinople* vpon twentie Elephants, which had no other loding, with a great number of prisoners, to which the Emperor commaunded rich and gallant apparell to be giuen, and them to be set at libertie, to returne to their countrie. And in the meane time the Imperiall armie entred the countries subiect to the Persians, and burning and spoiling the same, returned with victorie. But within small time after, **HORMISDA** leuied the greatest forces that he was able, and made a very valiant and expert man of warre Generall thereof: for by reason of his last ouerthrow he made a law, that the Kings of the Persians should neuer be present in any battaile, and so he againe reuiued and renewed the warre against the Empire, to the end to recouer his lost honor. Against whom the Emperor sent for a new Generall, a valiant and wise Earle named **MAVRICE**, who afterwards was Emperour: who with the like good fortune sought to fight with the Persians; and leuying infinite numbers of souldiers of either side, they fought a great part of the day, untill that after many thousands of the one and other side were slaine, the victorie shewed it selfe to be of **MAVRICE** his side: and he recovered certaine places, and conquered others anew from the Persians: so that **HORMISDA** was constrained of necessitie to conclude some peace or truce with the Emperour. And **MAVRICE** came with victorie to *Constantinople*, where he was solemnly received by **TIBERIVS**, who married him to his owne daughter, in reward of so noble a victorie.

Whilest these things passed in the East, the affaires of *Italy* prospered not so

Qq 2

well,

Warres with  
the Persians  
and their king  
Hormisda.

A battaile  
wherein the  
Persians were  
ouerthrowne.

Maurice made  
Generall a-  
gainst the Per-  
sians.

A battaile  
wherein Mau-  
rice had the  
victorie.

The state of  
Italy against  
the Longobards

well; for CLEPHIS the new King of the Lombards made cruell warres against those townes and countries which held of the Empire, and all things happened so according to his desire, that he tooke many cities: and being desirous to repose himselfe for a while, he sent his Captaines and their companies towards Rome; and they tooke al the cities in the marches thereof, and Rome it selfe was besieged by them, and was in great daunger to haue been entred by force. So that (as the authors affirme) if CLEPHIS had liued but a little while longer, he had made himselfe Lord of Rome and Rauenna, which were the two eyes and fortresses of al Italy. But his purposes were made frustrate by death, as other Kings and captaines haue been, which haue been as great and greater then euer was he; which his death was practised by the treason of his owne people. After his decease the Lombards would neither chuse, nor haue any more Kings at that time: but there arose thirtie principall men, or to speake more properly, thirtie tyrants, which inuested themselues in thirtie of the best townes which they held in Italy. And so euery of them gouerned his towne and the territorie thereof. And each of them likewise made warres a part by himselfe, sometimes the one aiding and assisting the other against the Empire. And as the Emperour TIBERIVS was busied in making provision for his warres against the Persians, and did not sufficiently prouide for Italy, these Captaines of the Lombards had oportunitie to extend their power therein, and took many other cities, so farre as to come before Rome and Naples. In which warre they committed such cruelties, robberies and insolencies, as the like had neuer been seene. So that from Rome to the Eastwards there remained little more subiect to the Empire then the kingdome of Naples, and the citie of Rome, with some townes in the marches thereof; and the citie of Naples fell also into the hands of the Lombards: but we cannot certainly say, whether at this time, or afterwards. Yet Rauenna held for the Empire, and some other strong holds neere thereunto, which through the wisdom and foresight of LONGINOS were defended. And there also held for the Empire of either side of the riuier Po, Como, Cremona, Mantoa, Padoa, Bologna, and Vercelli; and the Lombards at this time had all the rest. And so the warre was waged of either side with great crueltie: for the Lombards as they were barbarous, and had not yet wel receiued the faith of Christ, robbed and spoiled all, as well sacred as prophane, without any difference. Where to besides what is already said, this was a great furtherance, that in the time of this hurly burly, TIBERIVS fell so extremely sicke, that hee could not applie himselfe to the gouernment of the Empire, and his infirmitie neuer left him vntill he died. Wherefore the Romanes seeing themselves oppressed by the Longobards, motioned a treatie of peace; and a truce was concluded betweene them for a certaine time. Which truce the Lombards graunted, for that the kings of France (wherein at that time reigned three brothers) being much grieued to see the Lombards growne so mightie in Italy, sent a great armie against them, which was already entred Lombardie. And they also the more willingly graunted the truce, for that the Saxons, which vntill then had aided them in their warres, had now left them and were returned. TIBERIVS being sicke in Constantinople (as we said) as a good Emperour desirous as well to prouide for the time to come, as he had done for the present and past; nominated for CÆSAR and his successor his sonne in law MAVRICE. And afterwards leaving all the Empire entier and in peace, as hee inherited the same (the state of Italy onely except) in the seuenth yeere of his raigne (although some say lesse) he died, in the yeere of our Lord five hundred, fourescore and fives; and after some others, five hundred, fourescore and nine. And his death was much

sorrowed

The death of  
Tiberius.  
Anno Dom.  
585. or 589.

sorrowed and lamented by all estates, for his great vertue and goodnes, and for that he was liberall and bountifull to all men.

## THE LIFE OF MAVRICIVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND THRESCORE AND TWO ROMANE EMPEVOVR.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**T**He Empire being come to Mauricius, sonne in law to Tiberius, he shewed himselfe to be of a very vile nature, and particularly sinned in comestonnes, notwithstanding that in martiall affaires he was very wise & politike. He sent captaines and men of warre into Italie against the Lombards, accordingly as Pope Pelagius had requested, with which after long warre in the end a truce was concluded, he afterwards brake the peace with the Persians, and the warre had this issue, that after many routes and overthrowes equally giuen and receiued, of the one side and of the other; the new King of Persia, to suppress a tyrant which rose against him, became a friend to the Emperour of Constantinople. After which peace, bending himselfe to the affaires of the West, he welded the estate with indifferent good fortune, through the valour and vertue of the Exarchi, which he sent into Italy: yet in this time God sent many plagues and scourges into the world, as inundations and overflowinges of waters, famine, and Pestilence, which happened more in Rome then in any other country. Besides which euill, it became besieged by the Lombards, and Maurice for the hatred which he bare to Gregorie (who then succeeding Pelagius, was Pope therein) would not relieue it, so as to abase the Pope, he was content to lose all Italy, which God afterwards severely punished. For his owne souldiers rebelling against him, made a primase Collonell, whose name was Phocas, Emperour, who comming towards Constantinople with an armie, made Maurice to flee, and he being unable to leuie such forces as might defend him, and being taken by the souldiers of the new tyrant, was brought backe to Constantinople, where hauing first some the

death of his wife and children, by the hands of an executioner, he had his head stricken off; all which he endured with exceeding greatnes of minde when he had reigned twentie yeeres.



Smaragdus  
came Exarch  
into Italy.

MAVRICIVS peaceably obtained the Empire, by the death of his father in law TIBERIVS, whom he nothing resembled in his vertues, for he was both vicious and contentious; yet in the affaires of the warres he was very prouident and diligent, and as he was both valiant and politike in martiall actions, so he had, and chose singular captaines for the warres of his time; which were many very great and daungerous. Whereof great part happened at one time, notwithstanding that they were in sundrie parts and provinces. Wherefore to relate that with breuitie which I haue collected, it is requisit that I write each accident a part: which I will performe in the best manner I can, so that in the end of all, we may haue so spoken, that the whole may be vnderstood. And beginning with the affaires of *Italy*, I say, that the truce made with the Lombards, was not of their part thoroughly obserued, but that daily from one citie or other, there were robberies committed, and some encounters and bickerings. Wherefore as LONGINOS was but of small power, and the Romanes were in great feare to be besieged; Pope PELAGIVS the second wrote a letter from *Rome* to GREGORIE whom he had sent to *Constantinople*, informing him of the state of *Italy*, and of the great daunger and necessitie wherein it was, and gaue him especiall charge to be an earnest tutor to the Emperor, to send reliefe and men for the wars against the Lombards; which he procured with such efficacy, that the Emperor MAVRICE (notwithstanding that he was much troubled with the warres of *Persia*, whereof we will speake hereafter) provided a new Exarch and gouernor for *Italy*, who was a good souldier and a wise man, called SMARAGDVS, with a good number of souldiers; and sent for LONGINOS to returne. SMARAGDVS came then by sea to *Rauenna*, and with him Saint GREGORIE. His comming for the same and good report which was spred of him gaue great ioy and hope to the Imperialists in *Italy*; and he presently tooke order for martiall affaires. And forasmuch as nere vnto *Rauenna*, a valiant captaine of the Lombards called FEROLDVS, held a citie called *Clasi*, and had made, and still did make, cruell warre against those of *Rauenna*; he determinad first to vse all meanes to dispossesse him thereof, and to driue him from thence. And to this effect he sent to DOCTRULA an Imperiall captaine and gouernor of the citie of *Vercelli*, that leauing a competent garrison in that citie he should come with his power to ioine with him, and he making prouision of boates and barkes, purposed for his better securitie, to passe downe the riuier *Po*, to the end that being arriued at *Aspenetico*, which is at the mouth of the riuier, he might faile from thence by sea to *Rauenna*. But FEROLDVS had intelligence hereof, and with the greatest power also that he could make; likewise with barkes came to stoppe his passage downe the riuier, where they came to blowes, and DOCTRULA by meanes of the aide which came to him from *Rauenna*, had the victorie, and FEROLDVS was ouerthrowne and fled by water to *Clasi*, which the new Exarch SMARAGDVS in the meane time had besieged and battered, so that it was readie to haue yeilded when FEROLDVS came; who for the present hindred the same, by encouraging and animating the besieged.

But so soone as they vnderstood that he was ouerthrowne by the enemy and came

camethither by flight, they resolu'd to yeeld, and did so. And SMARAGDVS entered the citie, where all the Lombards which were found therein, were put to the sword, and in like manner their gouernour FEROLDVS, in reuenge of the like cruelties committed by them.

This victorie obtained by SMARAGDVS, was so highly esteemed, that those of his partie gathering hart and courage, and their aduersaries waxing fearfull, he recouered some cities and holds, the greatest part whereof yeilded of themselves. Which the captaines of the Lombards considering, who after the death of CLEPHIS continued as tyrants and would not chuse them any King; they resolu'd to chuse one whom they all should obey, and vnder whom they might liue; for they were of opinion, that if they continued so diuided, they should be all ouerthrowne and brought to confusion; as they already began to be. And hauing resolu'd hereupon, they chose one of King CLEPHIS his sonnes, whose name was ANTHARIS, a young man of great spirit, and who had purchased greater fame in the warres then any other man of his nation; and so was much spoken of both among his friends and enemies. The name of a King, and so valiant, as was ANTHARIS, caused a great alteration in the estate; to whom all the captaines and gouernors contributed of their treasure, each of them giuing him the one halfe of what they had, for the maintenance of the warres, and his new estate. The first enterprise that he vndertooke, was against *Vercelli*, and DOCTRULA the gouernor thereof, as well for the late dishonor which he had done them, as for that, that citie at that time was of great importance; wherefore he besieged it both by water vpon the riuier *Po* with barkes, and by land with great forces which he had raised; and scaled it in such manner, that notwithstanding that DOCTRULA did all that possibly he was able to doe, being out of hope to hold the place, he came to a composition, and gaue it vp; and so came downe the riuier to *Rauenna*; and ANTHARIS made great spoile in the citie, destroying the best part thereof, and rased the walles downe to the earth, so as they were neuer after repaired or made like as in former time they had been.

Antharis chosen King of the Lombards.

ANTHARIS hauing obtained this victorie, determined to goe against FRANCILIONE, which the citie of *Como* held, and other fortresses in the lake of *Como*, and had very gallantly defended the same for the space of seuentene yeeres. But in the meane season motions were made of peace or truce, and either partie was glad to treat thereof. SMARAGDVS, for that he stood in feare of the King, who was both young and valiant, and also for that hee imagined himselfe to haue no sufficient power to make head against him, and the King being but newly come to his gouernment, holding not himselfe for thoroughly settled and confirmed, the better to establish himselfe therein, thought it best to conclude a peace, and to bring vnder some, to whom his election was nothing pleasing. All which laid together, gaue occasion that a truce was taken for a certaine time, although the Lombards neuer truly obserued the same. For that time all *Italy* remained in some rest, and in the manner of peace; and SMARAGDVS sent to *Rome* for Prefect or gouernour thereof, a noble Knight borne in *Constantinople*, whose name was GERMANVS, with whom went S. GREGORIE, and they were receiued with great ioy and solemnitie: for GREGORIE for his good life and conuersation, was generally beloued and honoured. So as with their comming, and the good hope which was conceiued of their new Exarch, they thought to haue a hand in recouering all that which the Lombards held, and had vsurped; and in the meane time, to enioy the peace in rest and prosperitie. But it followed not according to their expectation:

A truce taken with the Lombards.

Germanus gouernour of Rome.

tion: for God sent other persecutions, as you shall heare. But let vs leaue *Italy* in this truce, and briefly speake of those warres which MAVRICIVS made by his captaines in the East against the Persians, which for numbers of men, and battailes and great conflicts were farre greater then those of *Italy*: for they were waged betweene two the most mightie Monarchs which then were in the world, to wit, the King of *Persia*, and the Romane Emperour.

Philippicus General against the Persians.

A battaile wherein Philippicus had the victorie.

The shamefull flight of Philippicus.

Priscus made General against the Persians in place of Philippicus.

MAVRICIVS then sent his armies, and for Generall of them, an excellent Nobleman called PHILIPPICVS, to whom hee had married his sister. Against whom K. HORMISDA being come, engrossed his armie, & made a great man called CARDARIGA his Generall. With whom, after some notable skirmishes and encounters, PHILIPPICVS came to a maine battaile, with power against power, which lasted about tenne houres, the one charging the other, in such manner that no aduantage could be perceiued. But in the end PHILIPPICVS and his troupes gat the victorie, and slew a very great number of the Persians, and took two thousand prisoners, which he sent to the Emperour to *Constantinople*, and the rest escaped by flight, and with them their Generall CARDARIGA. PHILIPPICVS hauing obtained this notable victorie, marched forwards with his hoste, and sent a good Commaunder called HERACLIVS, with some selected troupes, with direction to pierce so farre as he might into the countries of the Persians, he promising to second him. And notwithstanding that CARDARIGA was ouerthrowne, yet was he not therefore discouraged, neither omitted to vse all the meanes and diligence which to a good Generall did belong: and so gathering together all such forces as he could, making shew that hee would reinforce his armie; with those small troupes which hee had, passing ouer certaine mountaines, in a very darke night he set vpon PHILIPPICVS his Arrierguard, wherein the feare was so great, that PHILIPPICVS, as though he had not been victorious, shamefully fled all the whole night long, with no small losse and detriment to his people: in so much that the Persians imagining their flight to haue been fained (seeing how few they were) dared not therefore follow the chace: & so rested vntill that the day light freed the one from feare, and shewed to the other the aduantage that they had lost. But HERACLIVS whom PHILIPPICVS had sent before, followed his direction with better discretion, and greater diligence: for passing ouer the riuer *Tigris*, with the fame of the late victories, he took some cities, and did much hurt, and returned towards PHILIPPICVS very rich with the pray and the spoiles of victorie. This being past, and the Romane armie being gathered againe together, the Emperour commanded PHILIPPICVS, that leauing the armie with HERACLIVS, he should make his repaire to him to *Constantinople*; and PHILIPPICVS accomplished his commandement. And in his place was sent a valorous and expert captaine called PRISCVS, who being come to the armie, shewed himselfe so proud and hautie to the Captaines and men of warre, that they mutined against him, and he was generally so ill entreated by all men, that hee was driuen to saue himselfe by flight, hauing receiued some such blowes and knockes with stones, that he was likely to haue been slaine: and they amongst themselves chose (euen against his will) GERMANVS for their General, who was a man of great account in the armie. But at that time MAVRICIVS was so oppressed with the warres against CAYANVS, and the Auares, and against the Slauians in *Slauiavia* and in *Misia*, and in other prouinces, whereof we will speake hereafter, that hee could not then punish so great an insolencie: and therefore so soone as he vnderstood thereof, he held it for most expedient to send backe PHILIPPICVS, for their gouernor and

and Generall, and that PRISCVS should returne. And besides PHILIPPICVS, hee also sent another Nobleman of great estimation, called ARISTOBVLVS, to pacifie the mutinie and rebellion of the armie, by entreatie, gifts, or otherwise in the best manner that he could, which he performed. And so PHILIPPICVS againe vnderooke his charge, and returned to warre against MARZAS a new Generall of the Persians; who with a greater armie then any of those before named, came against him. Which is an argument of the great wealth and power of the Kings of *Persia*, that being so oftentimes ouerthrowne, they still returned with as great force, and that alwaies whensoever they would haue peace, the Empire willingly graunted the same. And in the end the Emperours were well contented to defend their confines against them, and held that also for a great matter.

Philippicus restored to his charge.

These two great Captaines and armies came so neere together, that both parties desired to giue battaile, and they waged it in such manner, that it was one of the most cruell battailes in the world, and both the one and other partie fought therein with such obstinacie and stomacke, that it lasted the greatest part of the day, and the Persians were ouerthrowne; not for that they were either discouraged or ranne away, but for that they were almost all slaine. For in the *Annales of Constantinople* I finde written, that three thousand of them were taken prisoners, and two thousand escaped by flight, and that all the rest died fighting, and with them their Generall MARZAS; so as their camp was left to the Romanes, which found no man therein to make resistance. And so they passed one whole yeere in frontier warres, at the end whereof King HORMISDA commaunded a very great armie to be leuiued. And PHILIPPICVS presuming on his former victories, made no doubt to giue them battaile; and the Persians refused it not, and so they fought neere to the citie *Marticopolis*; and therein was PHILIPPICVS and the Romanes ouerthrowne, to their great losse and confusion. For which the Emperour was very sorrie, and provided a new Generall for the East, and sent for PHILIPPICVS to come to *Constantinople*, with direction to leaue the armie with HERACLIVS, of whom wee made late mention, vntill that another Generall should come, which was performed. And afterwards ROMANVS was sent, and the King of *Persia* sent another, whose name was BARAS. These two Generals being arriued with their new charges, either of them sought to winne honour against the other, and by diuers deuices they slew the one the others people, burned townes, and did the greatest harme euery where that they could, vntill at last they drew neere the one to the other, and fought in a ranged battaile, wherein BARAS and the Persians were ouerthrowne, in the fields of *Albania* in *Asia*, which is a very great prouince in the East, bordering vpon *Armenia*. HORMISDA was so sorrie for this losse, imagining that it happened through the defect of his Generall, that thereby to disgrace him he sent him a womans garment, and commaunded him presently to leaue his gouernment. Notwithstanding that he had set matters in very good order, and had gathered together his scattered armie. But hee stood in such feare of his King, that the best remedie that he could deuise, was to rebell against him; which hee might easily effect, for HORMISDA was very cruell, and therefore hated by his subiects. And after this it ensued (taking occasion from the rebellion of BARAS) that VINDOIS, a man of great power (whose brother HORMISDA kept in prison) conspired against him, with many others, which for his crueltie and couetousnes extremely hated him: and they tooke him prisoner, and made his sonne COSROES their King. But his other sonne, with his wife, they put to death, and piuckt out his eyes; and afterwards his owne sonne made him

Hormisdas King  
of the Persians  
put to death by  
his sonne Cos-  
roes.

Cosroes King of  
the Persians  
fled into the  
Empire.

Baras over-  
throwne in a  
bataille by  
Cosroes.

Noricum,  
Banaria.

Warres be-  
tweene Cayanus  
and Comencio-  
lus.

Cayanus and  
his people dri-  
uen out of  
Hungarie.

him to be slaine: and so ended the raigne and life of **HORMISDA**. But the cruel-  
tie which the sonne vsed against his father, seemed so horrible and abominable,  
that he presently fell into as great hatred and disliking of al men, as his father was  
in his life time; in so much that going to fight with **BARAS**, who as I said rebel-  
led, the greatest part of the men of warre which he led forlooke him, and went  
ouer to **BARAS**. So as **COSROES** seeing himselfe abandoned, resolved to sue to  
his enemies for reliefe, and fled into the territories of the Empire, and put himself  
into the power of **PROBUS PATRICIVS**, who had the guard of the frontiers,  
through which he passed, where he was very honourably entertained. Whereof  
when the Emperour **MAVRICIVS** was giuen to vnderstand, hee was very glad,  
and sent vnto him a very honourable Captaine whose name was **NARSES**, and a  
Bishop, a man of great authoritie and his kinsman, offering him all fauour and  
aide for the recouerie of his kingdome, and adopted and tooke him for his  
sonne.

**NARSES** who went for Generall in this action, putting the same in execution,  
commaunded all the armies and men of warre which the Empire held in *Asia*, to  
be drawne to an head: and so he and **COSROES** went to seeke **BARAS**, who with  
the courage of a valiant tyrant staied for them, and fighting was ouerthrowne,  
and by flight escaped into certaine mountaines. After this so noble victorie,  
**COSROES** reconered all his kingdomes, and he and the Emperour continued  
great friends: and so ceased the warres betwene the Empire and the Persians,  
which had continued fixe yeeres. This happened in the eight yeere of the raigne  
of the Emperour **MAVRICIVS**.

Whilest the Emperour **MAVRICE** waged these warres in the East, *Europe* conti-  
nued not in rest nor peace, for besides the miseries and calamities of *Italy* (as I will  
presently relate) the Hunnes which dwelt in *Hungarie*, & in part of *Noricum*, now  
called *Banaria* (which we but now called *Auares*) after the name of a King of theirs  
called by that name, then raigning ouer the a King called **CAYANVS**, who was both  
very proud and very valiant, and therewith very mightie, they and he concluded  
amongst themselves to make war against the Empire: which they followed with  
such resolution, that it caused no small feare: for entring through the vpper *Misia*,  
which now containeth the two prouinces of *Serua*, and *Bassina*, he found so small  
resistance, that he came into *Thracia*, now called *Grecia* or *Turkey*, for that there-  
in standeth the great citie of *Constantinople*: against whom **MAVRICE** sent an  
armie, and for generall thereof a valiant and prudent captaine whose name was  
**COMENCIOLVS**, and these two made cruell warres, and after many skirmishes  
came to a bataille, which I leaue, being too long to recite; and therein **CAYANVS**  
was ouerthrowne with great losse of his people, and so was constrained to retire.  
But within short space after, he returned againe with no lesse power then at the  
first, to warre in the marches of *Slauonia*, and **MAVRICE** sent thither his sonne  
**THEODOSIVS**, and his father in law **GERMANVS**, with other captaines; which  
had so good successe, that although they lost some iourneies, yet they not onely  
draue them out of that which they had vsurped, but also wholly rooted them out  
of all *Hungarie*. But **MAVRICE** either for feare or retchlesnes forslowd those  
warres, and losing oportunitie (which is seldome recouered) the inconueniences  
ensued, which we will describe. For a kinde of people called *Slauons*, a nation  
inhabiting farre in the North, which vntill that time had neuer been heard of,  
sent their Ambassadors to the Hunnes *Auares* (moued thereto, by the newes  
which they had heard from them), and by them offered to come to their aid, as

in

in deede they afterwards did, and ioyned with them, and did much harme in  
the lands of the Empire, and out of it, as hereafter we will recount in few words.

Let vs now returne to *Italie*, which wee left in peace and at truce with the  
*Lombards*, wherein it happened, that as neither partie concluded the peace for  
any remorse of conscience, or for the feare or loue of God or their neighbours;  
but for their owne aduantage and priuate interest, and to awaite a fitter time and  
oportunitie for the warres; (as for our sinnes it often happeneth in the world)  
and as it was not pleasing to God, neither made according to his will, so it pleased  
not him to maintaine the same: for he sent his wrath and scourge vpon *Italie*, and  
chiefly vpon *Rome*, as to a place which most needed amendment. The first was  
with raine, which fell in the monethes of September and October, for the space  
of many daies continually without ceasing, in such sort, that the water was so high,  
that the riuers and lakes of *Italie* ouerflowed and drowned an infinit number of  
people and cattell; and the riuier *Tiber* waxed so high, that all the fields which  
were not hillie and mountainous, were ouerflowne with water; so that all men  
feared that it would haue proued another generall diluge; particularly in *Rome*,  
where the riuier *Tiber* did swell so much, that in some part it was as high, and in  
some other it exceeded and ouerflowed the walles of that citie; and the water  
entred in such manner into it, that it spoiled and defaced the greatest part of the  
buildings neere to the riuier. And the flood afterwards ceasing, the fields remain-  
ed so slimie, so muddie and so soft, that they could not be tilled nor sowed; by  
reason whereof a generall famine ensued through all *Italie*. And in like manner  
through the excessiue moisture, the earth and the aire were so corrupted, that the  
plague of pestilence began, which raged in such manner, that many townes were  
left desolate, and dispeopled; and where they died least, two thirds of the peo-  
ple perished. But in the citie of *Rome* (as all writers affirme) was the greatest furie  
thereof: for in the beginning it tooke away Pope **PELAGIVS** the second, in  
whose place (against his will and perforce) was chosen Saint **GREGORIE**, who  
seeing the wrath from heauen, made many deuout prayers to God, and many  
sermons and orations to the people, exhorting them to amendment of life, and  
repentance for their sinnes, to the end that it might please his maiestie to with-  
hold his punishment from them. And in this extremitie he ordained the Letanie,  
which is to this day vsed in the Church. Finally, the Lord in his mercie tooke  
pitie of them, and the plague ceased, and the earth began to be more cheerefull  
and to change colour, and to bring forth fruite. But yet this fauour which the  
Lord bestowed vpon them, auailed not to establish any peace, or amitie amongst  
those which escaped this plague; for the *Lombards* hauing gotten supplies of  
men of warre, without any respect of the feare or loue of God (the time of the  
truce being expired) renewed the warres with greater furie then at the first. And  
forasmuch as the land had been punished with so great calamities, and lay waste,  
and dispeopled, it was an easie matter for them to doe great harme among the  
*Imperialists*. First their King **ANTHARIS** in person went against **FRANCILION**,  
which was commaunded by the citie of *Como*, with two other most strong  
fortresses in the lake of *Como*; and besieging it the space of fixe monethes, with-  
out being any longer able to defend the citie, the besieged gaue it vp, and went  
to *Rauenna*: that citie hauing valiantly defended it selfe with much honor, the  
space of twentie yeeres. The taking of this citie, did greatly enrich King **AN-  
THARIS**, for **FRANCILION** had in that time gathered together, and had in it  
much treasure: and departing from thence with great honor and wealth, he tooke  
other

The Slauons  
came to make  
warres in the  
Empire.

A wonderfull  
diluge in Rome  
and all Italy.

Italy and Rome  
plagued with  
raigne, famine  
and pestilence.

The Letanie  
ordained to be  
said in the  
Church by  
Saint Gregorie.

other places. Whereupon the Emperour MAVRICE, at the entreatie of Pope GREGORIE, and the Exarch SMARAGDVVS (which daily sollicitied him for aide and reliefe) sent to CHILDEBERT, which at that time reigned King of France, a great summe of money; to the end that he should enter *Italie* with some great power, in his behalfe; and the King of France promised to doe so, and began to put it in execution. And comming into *Italie*, the fame of his comming began to worke great effect, and some capitaines of the Lombards revolted to him. But CHILDEBERT imagining, that if the Emperour againe recovered *Italie* wholly to himselfe, he should hardly liue in safetie in France; and therefore comming to a composition with ANTHARIS, he returned into his countrey, without intermedling in other mens quarels. At his returne died ANTHARIS King of the Lombards, and the principall men of that nation falling at variance amongst themselves about chusing of a new King, at last agreed that he should be King whom THEODELINDA (which was the last Kings widow) should take to husband, and she made choice of AGISVLPHVS, gouernor of *Taurino*, now called *Turin*; and so he was made King, who was as valorous a prince as any his predeceffors had been before him. At that time the Emperour deposed SMARAGDVVS from the gouernment of *Italie*, and sent thither for Exarch a Knight called ROMANVS (of whom we made mention in the warres of *Persia*) with some companies of souldiers, for the defence of *Rome*, and to make warre in other places. ROMANVS comming in the meane time, whilest the new King AGISVLPHVS was busied with some of his capitaines, which holding certaine cities rebelled against him; provided and furnished with men and victuals, *Padua*, *Mantua*, *Cremona*, and the rest of the cities which were in greatest daunger; and setting all things there in order, he came to *Rome*, from whence afterwards with those forces which he brought, and those also which before his comming were in the citie, he departed to recouer the townes and castles, which the Lombards possessed in that quarter; many of which he wanne by force of armes, and others voluntarily yeelded themselves. Whilest that the Exarch was busie about these things, the Pope sent three very learned men into *England*, which with their preaching conuerted the King and the inhabitants thereof to the true faith, which vntill then was not thoroughly receiued amongst them. The like care he tooke for *Italie*, and for all the other prouinces: and THEODELINDA wife of King AGISVLPHVS being a deuout Christian, he practised with her and her husband, to cause their people to leaue their Idolatrie, which he obtained, and afterwards he perswaded him to surrender to the Church the goods and reuenues which he withheld from it. About this time grew great contention betweene the Bishops of *Rome*, and of *Constantinople*, about the supremacie: for Iohn Bishop of *Constantinople* alleaged, that to him did appertaine the Papacie, and to be vniuersal Bishop of the Church, seeing that *Constantinople* was the head of the Empire. Against which the Bishop of *Rome* opposed himselfe withall his power, alleaging himselfe to be Christs vicar, and head of the Church: so as there passed many things of the one side and the other about this matter. In this meane time died ROMANVS the Exarch, and another was sent in his place, whose name was GALLICIANVS, or GALLICANVS, who was a vertuous man and very valiant; and he presently applied himselfe to redresse many things which ROMANVS had peruerterd, and put out of order. And although that he much desired warre, yet through the counsell of the Pope he tooke truce, which being expired he carried himselfe so valiantly in the warres, that hee tooke the citie of *Parma* by assault,

Contention betweene the Bishops of *Rome* and of *Constantinople* for the supremacie.

The Exarch Romanus dying, Gallicianus was sent in his place.

assault from the Lombards, and therein tooke a daughter of King AGISVLPHVS, which he had by his first wife, and grew to be so strong in the field, that AGISVLPHVS durst not giue him battaile. Whereupon seeing himselfe ouermatcht, hee sent to the Slauons for aide, which were alreadie ioyned with the Auares; and GALLICANVS leuying new forces died in *Raenenna*, and SMARAGDVVS was againe sent thither to be Exarch; who came into *Italy* with so small forces, that his comming did rather encourage, then disinay or daunt the enimie. Which proceeded from this, the Emperour so deadly hated the Popes presumption, that rather then to endure the same he was content to lose all *Italy*.

And to this his euill will was conioyned the trouble which the Slauons, which came to his enemies aide, did put him to: for CAYANVS the fierce and proud king of the Auares (the Slauons and their king MVSACIVS being come into *Germany*) ioyned his forces with his enemies, and some Frenchmen came also to them, and entred the bounds of the Empire. And the Emperour sent against them one PRISCVS, a captaine of great account, with a mightie armie, to stop their passage ouer the riuier *Ister*, now called *Danubius*; who warred so aduisedly and with so great valour and discretion, that the most times that he fought with them he obtained the victorie. And one night he gaue the Slauons a Camizado, and tooke their King MVSACIVS prisoner, and slew a great number of them. There afterwards happened many things in that warre, which would be too long to relate: for CAYANVS King of the Auares, as hee had many men, and those very expert and accustomed to the warres, besides the multitude of the Slauons, neuer ceased to make cruell warre against the Emperour MAVRICE; yet sometime they tooke truce, which lasted some space: and PRISCVS and he came and spake together concerning an agreement. After all this, CAYANVS with his Auares and Slauons entred *Dalmatia*, and did great harme, robbing and spoiling many townes therein. But PRISCVS comming to relieue them, he retired to his losse, and altring his course tooke his way towards *Thracia*: and marching without stay, came within few daies iourney of *Constantinople*. And as the report and feare is vsually greater then the daunger; so he strake so great a terror into the citizens of *Constantinople*, that they were of the minde to haue abandoned the citie, and to haue passed ouer that arme of the Sea into *Asia*, as the Annales of *Constantinople* doe testifie. But the Emperour MAVRICE (as in truth he was valiant) commaunded all the people to be put in armes, and the gates of the citie to bee shut, and order to be taken in all things that were needfull, vsing infinite diligence; and gaue direction for the defence of the countries through which CAYANVS was to passe. But all this needed not, for at that instant there fell so pestilent a mortallitie in CAYANVS his armie, that in one day onely seuen of his sonnes (for he had many) and a great number of other people died of the plague: wherefore he was constrained to returne into his countrey: And the Emperour sent for Generall another Captaine, whose name was COMENCIOLVS, who ioyning with PRISCVS, obtained certaine victories against CAYANVS. But he was of so hautie a minde, and therewith so politike, that notwithstanding that he was ouerthrowne, yet within very few daies he euer reinforced his armie, in such sort that he put his enemies in greater feare, then at the first; and in the end at the request and entreatie of the Lombards which liued in *Italy*, he resolved to warre in *Slauonia*, drawing neere vnto *Italy*: where, although that he found some resistance, yet the Slauons which came with him seised vpon great part of that countrey, and remained therein: and in proceffe of time it left the name of *Illyricum*, and after their name

Musacius King of the Slauons taken prisoner by Priscus general of the Emperours forces.

Cayanus invaded the Empire.

A great plague in Cayanus his campe, whereof seuen of his sonnes died in one day.

*Illyricum called Sclauonia.*

*The origine of the Bohemians and Polonians.*

untill this day is called *Sclauonia*; and so from henceforth we will call it. And from this people (as *BLONDVS*, *VOLATERRANVS*, and others affirme) the Bohemians and Polonians are descended: for part of them tooke those countries, and vpon sundrie occasions tooke these names.

As matters stood vpon these termes, the Lombards in *Italy* and their King *AGISVLPHVS*, knowing how much the Emperour hated the Pope, resolved to besiege *Rome*; which they did with a very great armie, and the Pope was therein besieged aboue one whole yeere, and by his industrie onely the citie was defended, for from the Emperour came no reliefe at all: whereupon he wrote him certaine letters, which are yet extant to be read, out of which is drawne great part of this historie. But notwithstanding all this, the Emperour *MAVRICE* would not relieue him, but rather wisht his destruction: but yet both hee and the citie escaped, and at the yeeres end *AGISVLPHVS* raised his siege and departed.

*Prodigious visions appeared to the Emperour Maurice, prognosticating his death.*

It is written, that vpon a day about noone, in the citie of *Constantinople*, in the open market place of that citie, there appeared a man to the Emperour in the habit of a Monk, holding a sword in his hand, who speaking with a lowd voice, said, The Emperour *MAVRICE* shall die by this sword: and this man presently vanished amongst the people; so as no man could say from whence he came, neither what he was. This is written by Pope *GREGORIE*, which you may beleue if you will.

They also say, that in his sleepe he saw a souldier whose name was *PHOCAS*, who murdered his wife and his children, and afterwards slew him also. With this dreame he was so much troubled, that hee presently commaunded his sonne in law *PHILIPPICVS* to be sent for, who was charged by him to haue had a determination to rebell against him; and he (not without great feare) came to him. And the Emperour after hee had desired him to pardon him for the false accusation wherewith he had slandered him, asked him whether he knew any man of account in the armie called by the name of *PHOCAS*: whereto he answered, that he knew a Centurion in the campe of that name, whom hee had a little before made pouruour for the campe. And *MAVRICE* againe demanded, what manner of man he was? Quoth he, he is a cholericke licentious young fellow, but therewith fearefull and a coward. Whereto they say, that the Emperour being much troubled and in despaire, replied: If he be a coward, of necessitie he must be cruel, and desirous to shed blood: and so shedding many teares, he told *PHILIPPICVS* what he had dreamed, who was therewith also much troubled. In the meane time there came messengers vnto him, which he had sent to certaine religious persons to desire them to pray for him; which in some sort did recomfort him, perswading him to be of good cheere, for God would haue mercie on his soule: but yet he neuer ceased to bewaile his sinnes, and liued in continuall sorrow and contrition. And *PHILIPPICVS* perswaded him to vse some great liberalitie to his armie and men of warre, thereby to winne their loue, and the better to liue in safetie from them. But he followed not his good counsell, and so within few daies after his death was practised, in such manner as followeth.

He commaunded his brother *PETER*, whom he had made Generall of his armie, and warred against the Sclauons in *Sclauonia*, that to the end to auoide charge and expences, in any case hee should winter in the same prouince, and lodge his armie in such villages and other places, where he might most annoy the enemy. Whereto notwithstanding that *PETER* answered to the contrarie, and entreated that hee might not doe so, alleging that the armie should sustaine intollerable trouble

trouble and extremitie in those mountaines; yet he continued so obstinate in his commaund, that *PETER* of force must obey, although against his will: and the armie tooke this in so ill part, that without any respect of dutie and alleageance they mutined, and chusing the aforenamed *PHOCAS* for Generall, they marched against *PETER*, who was lodged about a daies journey from thence, and he fled to the Emperour. *BLONDVS* writeth that the captaines which fled, were *THEODOSIVS* the Emperours sonne, and *GERMANVS* his father in law. But I herein follow the Commentaries of *Constantinople*, and *ZONORAS*, which seeme to bee more conformable to the truth: for they write, that the whole armie sent an Ambassade to *THEODOSIVS*, willing him to come vnto them, and they would make him Emperour, and if he would not, that then *GERMANVS* should come: but they refusing, or not daring to accept their offer, the armie chose the same *PHOCAS* for Emperour, and he tooke his way towards *Constantinople*. Which when the Emperour *MAVRICE* vnderstood, calling to him his sonne *THEODOSIVS*, and *GERMANVS* his father in law, with *COMINCIOLVS*, *PHILIPPICVS*, and other great captaines, hee began to take order for the defence of the citie, and to leuie souldiers, and to make preparation for the warres. But as this reuolt happened through the permission and ordinance of God; so the people rose in such manner, that nothing could be done to any purpose, and there were many great tumults in the citie. And amongst the people, and the Emperours owne kindred also, some laid the fault of what was befallne vpon others, and some were in hope to be Emperours if *MAVRICE* lost the Empire, and others tooke part with *PHOCAS* the new tyrant, or Emperour. During this confusion and hurly burly, *PHOCAS* so fast as he could march came to *Constantinople*, accompanied with all the men of warre; and *MAVRICE* which (vntill then) had euer been so mightie against all nations, hauing now no sufficient power to defend himselfe, fled out of the citie, and tooke shipping in a small barke, with his wife and children, and passed ouer the streight called *S. GEORGES* Arme; and entring into the citie of *Calcedonia*, (which is on the other side) was there ouertaken and apprehended by *PHOCAS* his people, who was already come to *Constantinople*: and being brought backe againe, *PHOCAS* commaunded him to be put to death; but he first made his two sonnes, three daughters, and his wife the Emperesse, for his greater torment, to be slaine in his presence, which he saw and endured with admirable magnanimities; and, as a faithfull Christian, recommending himselfe to God, he called vpon his holie name, many times repeating these words; *Iustus es Domine, & rectum iudicium tuum*. And so he patiently suffered death and had his head stricken off. Hee died in the 63. yeere of his age, and the twentieth of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord (after most writers) 603. Some write that when he fled from *Constantinople*, he sent his sonne *THEODOSIVS* to the King of *Persia*, there to be kept, and that afterwards he was deliuered into the power of *PHOCAS*. And so ended and was extinguished the whole house and linage of the Emperour *MAVRICE*. There were also put to death by *PHOCAS* his commaundement, the Emperours brother, *PETER*, and other principall men. In time of this Emperour there were warres betweene the Kings of *Spain* and *France*, and betweene the Saxons and the Sueuians, betweene the French and the Auares, and some others, which for that they concerne not my historie, I omit. In this time also the Turks began to be knowne in the world: for it is found written that they made warres in *Asia* against the Persians. Then also began the name of the Bulgarians to be knowne in *Europe*, a fierce people, of whom we will speake hereafter.

*Phocas chosen Emperour.*

*The Emperour Phocas fled from Constantinople.*

*The death of the Emperour Mauricius. Anno Dom. 603.*



THE LIFE OF PHOCAS,  
ONELY OF THAT NAME,  
AND THRESCORE AND THREE  
ROMANE EMPEVOVR.



After the manner as I haue before declared, was the Empe-  
roure MAVRICE put to death, who, as he was valiant, wife,  
and venturous in the wars, if he had bin bountifull and libe-  
rall, hee had been accounted for a good Prince, and had  
longer enioyed the Empire. For all authors affirme, his  
niggardice and sparing to haue bin the cause of his death,  
I meane of his corporall death: for the waies and iudge-  
ments of the Lord are vnsearchable and incomprehensible.

And to say the truth, couetousnes is one of the most dangerous and hatefull vi-  
ces wherewith a Prince can be infected: for besides that it maketh him ill belo-  
ued and odious to his subiects, it is the fountaine and roote of greatest euils in  
those which are rich and mightie: for from thence grow violences, wrongs, rap-  
pine, briberie, extortion, crueltie, intollerable taxes, and impositions, no reward  
for seruice, condemning the innocent, absolving the guiltie for money, coueting  
other mens goods, vniust warre, and shamefull peace. Finally, in Kings and Po-  
tentates couetousnes is the mother of all euils, and a vice which maketh their  
raigne and gouernment short and miserable; as may be prooued by many ex-  
amples. And to the contrarie, liberalitie hath been the occasion that many (not-  
withstanding that they were wicked) raigned longer then others. And forasmuch  
as I haue not time to make any long digression, I conclude that the couetousnes  
and

and miserable sparing of the Emperor MAVRICE, made PHOCAS so mightie,  
as to be able to bereaue him of both his Empire and his life. And the same vice  
was afterwards the cause of his death also, as wee will shew you, so soone as we  
shall haue related what happened in the Empire. When the Emperor MAVRICE  
was dead, there was none that durst lift vp his hand against PHOCAS, and there-  
fore he was generally obeyed of all men (excepting NARSES the generall com-  
maunder in the East, before named.) This NARSES when he vnderstood that  
PHOCAS had caused MAVRICE to be slaine, he with an armie went into a citie  
of *Arabia*, called *Edissa*; with a resolution to yeeld him no obedience, but with  
the aide of the Persians to make him selfe strong against him.

But PHOCAS was crowned in *Constantinople* by the Patriarch thereof, with  
great solemnitie, and great ioy and gladnes of the people, which is euer desirous  
of nouelties: And as they suddenly desire them, so they as suddenly abhor them.  
And the like happened in *Rome* vpon the newes of his election: for the Romanes  
hated MAVRICE, for the enmitie betweene him and the Pope whom they lo-  
ued. And so soone as Pope GREGORIE vnderstood that PHOCAS was made  
Emperor, he wrote vnto him a notable epistle, which vntill this day is extant;  
wherein he admonisheth and counselleth him what he ought to doe, to be a per-  
fect Emperor.

The first thing that PHOCAS did, was to send into all the prouinces and na-  
tions of the Empire, priuiledges, exemptions and kind letters, with new garrisons  
and souldiers where neede required: all which he did with such expedition and  
in so good order, that he made him selfe well beloued of his subiects, and respected  
and feared by strangers, but both in the one and in the other it continued but  
a little while. And to GERMANVS who was Pretor and gouernor in the East,  
he sent commaundement presently to goe and besiege NARSES, which rebel-  
led against him. In the meane season, AGISVLPHVS King of the Lombards  
(who in the troublesome time wherein PHOCAS was chosen; and before his  
election, had taken the cities of *Cremona*, *Mantua*, and *Volturnia*, and therein had  
done irreparable harmes, aswell in the walles and buildings of the citie, as a-  
mong the cittizens, the inhabitants, and their goods) for feare of the new Em-  
peror concluded a truce and a peace with SMARAGDVS the Exarch, and with  
Pope GREGORIE, and withall *Italy*, for one yeere. And from thenceforth to  
be the better able to liue in securitie, he sought to match his eldest sonne ADO-  
ALDVS in mariage with the daughter of THEODOBERTVS King of *France*.  
And so PHOCAS raigned in great prosperitie the first yeere; vntill he began to  
discouer his base condition, and little worth, together with his extreme couetous-  
nes, and negligence in all things; by meanes whereof he became slightly regar-  
ded and esteemed by all men, whereof ensued warres and troubles. In the se-  
cond yeere of his raigne died Pope GREGORIE, and SABINIANS succed-  
ed him, who also tooke truce for another yeere with AGISVLPHVS, which  
was afterwards prolonged for other three yeeres more, by Ambassadors sent by  
AGISVLPHVS to the Emperor PHOCAS. And in the second yeere also of the  
raigne of PHOCAS, began the warre against the Persians, which in all mens  
iudgement was least to be feared, considering how greatly COSROES King of  
*Persia*, stood bound to the Emperor MAVRICE, and to the Empire, for restoring  
him to his kingdom. The cause of this warre is written so diuersly, that I there-  
fore leaue to set downe the same; in the beginning whereof, GERMANVS the  
captaine generall in the East, leuied an armie to make head against him, and they

Phocas violating his faith made Narses to be burnt.

fought a battaile, wherein GERMANVS was ouerthrowne, and the greatest part of the Imperiall armie slaine, and he wounded escaped by flight, and within e-leuen daies died thereof. When PHOCAS vnderstoode of this losse, he then graunted the peace, which we spake of, to the Lombards, and procured the like with the Bauares, with the Hunnes, and with the Slauons. And he with great diligence and little discretion, passed the greatest part of his power into *Siria*, for the warres in the East, vnder the conduct of very good captaines; and commaunded LEONCIVS, and MAGNATES, which were two of them, to make warre vpon NARSES; who vpon the faith and securitie giuen vnto him yeelded himselfe: but PHOCAS breaking his faith and promise, made him most cruelly to be burnt. His armie in the East had yet another battaile with COSROES, and was againe ouerthrowne with great dishonor and confusion. And whilest as the Emperors captaines lost these battailes, there grew very great tumults and factions in *Constantinople*, and in many other cities in *Asia*; which rose of very light and friuolous occasions. Which were, that as in auncient time, in *Rome*, and afterwards in *Constantinople*, they vsed certaine sports and games of running with chariots, and on horse backe, after a kinde of turneyng, as heretofore in the life of DOMICIANVS we haue declared: so now in the like some clothing themselves in greene, and others in gray, the common people which saw the same (as their manner is) affected some the one colour, and some the other; and this so much encreased, that (as in time past there had been great scandales, and murders done vpon the like occasions) so it pleased God to permit, that in the time of PHOCAS, the matter grew to that extremitie, that there were infinit slaughters and murders committed, in *Siria*, in *Egypt*, in *Gracia*, and in many other prouinces: which the Emperor by his letters and commaundements was not able to remedie. For notwithstanding that he was very cruell, and did wrongfully put many to death; yet was there small account made of him; for all men knew the basenes of his mind, and his disordinate vices, and couetousnes, and how that he applied himselfe to nothing, but to his pleasure amongst women, and to seeke new meanes to encrease his tributes, and to heape money together: by reason whereof euery where were tumults, confusions, and riots, and the princes and nations bordering vpon the Empire knowing this, determined to seise vpon such part thereof as they could. CAYANVS with the Bauarians and Hunnes, comming from *Noricum* (by them called *Bauaria*) and from the countries of *Hungarie* and *Austrich*; after they had enlarged their territorie, concluded to make warre vpon the Lombards (which was the onely thing that kept the Empire in peace) and fighting a battaile with a great armie, and a captaine of them; the Bauarians obtained the victorie. After which CAYANVS tooke by force of armes a citie called *Forum Iulij*, which he wholly destroyed, and hauing done much harme and taken great spoiles in the prouince of *Venice*, he returned to his kingdome. Then the Slauons which before had made themselves Lords of great part of *Illyricum*, in this time tooke all *Illyricum*, and *Dalmatia*, which now continued all the coast and countrey from *Friuli* to *Duraſſo*, by them called *Slauonia*. In this meane time, COSROES King of *Persia* was not idle, but entred with a mightie power into *Mesopotamia*, and tooke it all into his power, and part of *Siria* also, where, in battailes and conflicts, he wholly defeated the legions and Romane armie. And on the other side, his men of warre made themselves Lords of all *Armenia*, and *Cappadocia*, and did much hurt in other prouinces of the Empire. Whilest these things passed in these parts in *Africa*, which of long time (euen euer since the death

Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Cappadocia taken from the Romanes by the Persians.

death of the Emperor IUSTINIAN) had been in peace, and in the seruice and obedience of the Empire; HERACLIVS whom some call HERACLIVS, which for the Emperor PHOCAS was gouernor thereof, seeing his pusillanimitie and euill gouernment, began to leaue his seruice and to doe what best pleased himselfe, without any respect or regarde to his decrees or commaundements. And to the end that the mischiefe should be generall, and in all places, in the citie of *Antioch* in *Soria*, the Infidels rose against the Christians, and slew a great number of them, together with the Patriarch of that citie; vpon which PHOCAS commaunded great punishment to be inflicted. Finally, in all the prouinces there was great disorder and little iustice, and those prouinces which bordered vpon the enemies were destroyed, and great part of them lost. And the matter came to this issue, that one of these two things of necessitie must ensue; which were, that either the Empire must be rent in sunder, and wholly lost, or else PHOCAS must die. Whereupon the most principall captaines, and his chiefest friends, seeing it expedient for the common good, and the estate of the Empire, conspired against him, and resolved to kill him. Amongst which was his greatest fauorite PRISCVS, who by letters agreed with HERACLIVS (which gouerned *Africa* and rebelled, and with whose daughter PRISCVS was married) that he should kill him, and make his sonne HERACLIVS which was his wiues brother, Emperor. There were also confederates in this treason (if it may be said to be treason to kill a tyrant and a traitor) PATRICIVS, and other principall men. And as PRISCVS was in great credit with PHOCAS, so he fained to reduce his father in law HERACLIVS to his seruice; and vnder his preteſt, he first brought his brother in law HERACLIVS to *Constantinople*, as for a pledge and an assurance of his fathers loyaltie. This treatie was double, for his father was presently to come to *Constantinople*, with the greatest power that he was able to make; vnder colour to passe into *Asia*, against the King of *Persia*; and according to this rumor he did so, and came with a very great nauie, and suddenly landed in *Thracia*, which coast is now called *Romania*. And his sonne which remained in *Constantinople* with the fauour and in companie of PRISCVS, and many others, entred the pallasce and slew PHOCAS; and then presently arriued his father with his forces, and according to the agreement betweene them, yong HERACLIVS was made Emperor, and generally obeyed. In the manner of PHOCAS his death, the authors which write thereof make some difference: but they all concur in this, that he was slaine through the conspiracie of the captaines, and great men before named; in the eight yeere of his raigne, and of the incarnation of our Sauour CHRIST fixe hundred and eleuen, without leauing any sonne to succede him in the Empire.

Hard conditions for an Emperor.

Phocas slaine by Heraclius which after him succeeded in the Empire.

Anno domini 611.

Rr 4

HTE



THE LIFE OF HERACLI-  
VS, ONELY OF THAT NAME,  
AND THRESCORE AND FOVRE  
ROMANE EMPEROR.



THE ARGVMENT.



Heraclius having slaine the tyrant Phocas, without any contradiction was made Emperour; who found the Empire very weak and in great trouble. In the beginning of his gouernment, the citie of Ierusalem was taken by Cosroes King of the Persians; and the crosse of Christ which was left there by Helena, mother of Constantine the great, was carried away. He obtained victorie against Iohn Campsinus a captaine of his, which rebelled against him, and made himself a tyrant ouer part of Italy; by another of his captaines whose name was Elutherius, who by reason of this victorie grew so proud, that he also dared to rebell, and to call himselfe King of Italy; but he was presently slaine by the same captaines which tooke his part. And hauing concluded a peace with the Bauarians, he made his sonne Constantine Cesar, and his companion in the Empire; and leauing him (for that he was very yong) vnder good keeping in Constantinople, he went against Cosroes, who had taken from him great part of the Empire. To which warre he went himselfe in person, and hauing giuen his enemy two great ouerthrowes, he constrained him to flie. When he had expelled Cosroes, and reioined many countreies of the Empire, he made peace with Cosroes his sonne, which rose against his father, for an iniurie receiued from him; which peace was a great helpe to the Empire, and very hurtfull to Cosroes: but by meanes thereof, the sonne bereaued the

the father of both his kingdome and his life. In these times sprang the sect of Mahomet, against which Heraclius in the beginning made no resistance, making no account thereof: but afterwards he began to feare the same when he could not repress it. This Emperour made a great exchange from vertue to vice; so as when he grew old, he became superstitious, an heretike, and libidinous, giuing himselfe to pleasure, as a young man, when it had been more requisite and more honorable for him to haue lined grauely, as an old man: and tooke to wife a young woman, giuing himselfe more to carnall delight, then for his yeeres, and the dignitie of so mightie an Emperour was fit. But falling into the dis ease of the drop sicke, he died suddenly, when he had reigned twentie yeeres.



As the life and conditions of PHOCAS were odious to the world, and his raigne so unhappie and infortunate, that the Imperiall scepter and dignitie was likely to haue wholly false and to haue come to ruine; so all men reioiced at his death. And forasmuch as HERACLIVS was the actor and executioner thereof, they very peaceably and ioyfully admitted and receiued him for Emperour; who was a man fortunate in the warres, and obtained many noble victories, and possessed the Empire many yeeres, although that in the end thereof many things happened contrarie, for his sinnes and little constancie in the Christian faith; as in his historie we will relate, as briefly as possibly we may. PHOCAS and those of his partie being put to death, HERACLIVS was with great ioy and solemnitie crowned in Constantinople, by the hands of SERGIUS Patriarch thereof; his father HERACLIVS being there present, with PRISCUS and other great men, which had bin confederates in the conspiracie against PHOCAS. And vpon the same day hee solemnized his marriage with a principall Ladie, whose name was EVDOKIA, who, afterwards in the second yeere of his raigne died in childbed, of a sonne called CONSTANTINE: and he married for his second wife with a neece of his owne called MARTINA, which also bare him a sonne called HERACLIVS. This Emperour HERACLIVS found the Empire in such trouble, and so rent in peeces, that it seemed impossible to hold and to continue. The affaires of the East were in such case, as we told you, where COSROES had defeated all the armies, and entring into the Empire, daily tooke townes and holds. In the province of Arabia Petrea, which bordreth vpon Egypt and Indea, the Sarazins rebelled, with which the wicked MAHOMET afterwards made himselfe very mightie. CAYANVS and the Bauarians which inhabited Bauaria, Austring and Hungarie, seeing the Empire so weakened, came into Thracia, and made warres therein. In Illyricum or Slaonia, the Slauns were of great power: and in Italy, although there was peace with the Lombards (for they were broken and weakened by the ouerthrowes which they had receiued from the Bauarians and Slauns) yet there wanted not commotions, and hurly burlies: for PHOCAS before his death had bereaued SMARAGDVVS (oftentimes before named) of his Exarchat and gouernment, and had sent thither another Captaine called IOHN; who comming to Rauenna, with his wife and familie, and a great number of Iudges and officers for all Italy, PHOCAS was by that time dead; and IOHN being more earnest in requiring tributes, and other exactions then he ought to haue been, the people were therewith so much moued that they slew him: and so Italy remained without a gouernour. And at that time the Church of Rome was without a Bishop, and so by the death of Pope BONIFACE, and by meane of discord among the Clergie, that seate was void the space of eight moneths. And a Captaine which liued in Naples, whose name was IOHN CAMPSINVS, and gouerned that citie with the territorie thereof, determined to rebell, and to make himselfe Lord of Pulia, Calabria,

In what state  
Heraclius  
found the Em-  
pire.

At what time  
Mahomet be-  
gan to grow  
mightie.

*bria, Campania, and of great part of that countrie, which at this day is the kingdom of Naples; imagining that the new Emperour should haue enough to doe to defend or to recouer the rest, and so he might make himselfe King of Italy.*

HERACLIVS comming to the Empire so torne and dismembred; to encounter with so many extremities, in the beginning vsed not such diligence, as was requisite, neither had he power or meanes thereto. For as al authors write he found the Empire so disarmed and vnfurnished of men of warre, that there were neither old souldiers, neither experienced legions left, but were all slaine and scattered. Neuerthelesse he began to make Captaines, and to leuie men of warre, and sent CRISPVS with such forces as he could get, together with those which his father brought him out of *Africa*, into the prouinces of *Asia* the lesse (now called *Turkie*) to guard and defend the same, seeing they were not able to giue battaile to the Persians; and caused his father to returne into *Africa*, which was all that the Empire peaceably enioyed, together with *Sicilia* and *Sardinia*; and he himselfe remained in *Constantinople*, procuring peace with the Bavarians and their King CAYANVS, by all possible meanes, as well by gifts as entreatie. But these things were so long a doing, that COSROES King of *Persia*, as master of the field, taking some cities by surprize, and others by force of armes, came conquering all *Siria*, and thence into *Palestina*, and so to the citie of *Ierusalem*; not the old *Ierusalem*, for that (as is already said) was destroyed and laid waste by TITVS and VESPASIAN, but to that which the Emperour ADRIAN new builded, in the same place, or at least neere vnto it, as already is declared; which then was a great and an excellent citie. And entering it by force of armes he vsed great crueltie, and did much harme to the Christians; so as therein (as it is written) were slaine 80000. persons; and taking the wood of the crosse of Christ, which HELEN mother to CONSTANTINE the Great had left there, and carrying it thence with him, he set it with great reuerence vpon the top of his chaire, or royall throne, made of fine gold, set with many jewels and pearles. And hee likewise carried with him prisoner ZACHARIAS the Patriarch of *Ierusalem*, who was an excellent Prelate. This taking of *Ierusalem*, some authors write to haue happened about the end of the raigne of the Emperour PHOCAS: but the most certaine and true opinion is, that it befell in the time of HERACLIVS, wherein I place the same. CRISPVS which was sent by the Emperour, and then was in the prouince of *Cappadocia* in *Asia* the lesse, endeouored to leuie souldiers, and to prouide (so much as in him lay) for the defence of those countries, against the great power of the Persians: but it auailed not at that time. And for as much as it was bruted that the Persians meant to goe into *Egypt*, and thence to go to make a conquest of *Africa*; HERACLIVS father to the Emperour being then in the citie of *Carthage*, leuying a great number of men of war, departed thence, marching along the Sea coast, to goe into *Egypt* to make head against the Persians; where we will leaue him, to the end to tel you first what ensued after that JOHN CAMPSINVS rebelled with the citie of *Naples*, and al that prouince, as we said. The Emperour being much moued with his audacious rebellion, sent a captain into *Italy*, whose name was ELEUTHERIVS, with a good number of souldiers; which captain was of a great & noble parentage, & very wise and expert in the warres. And he so soone as he arriued at *Rauenna* with his fleet, was receiued and obeyed therein; and vnderstanding what they were which conspired in the rebellion and insurrections past, he punished some of them, vsing greater clemencie then seueritie. And therewithall he speedily assembled such forces as remained in the government of *Rauenna*; with which, and with those which

*The citie of Ierusalem taken by the Persians.*

*Eleutherius sent by the Emperour against John Campsinus.*

he brought with him, he purposed to take his way against CAMPSINVS, who lay in *Naples*, and by the way went to *Rome*, where he was well receiued and honored by DAVS DEDIT, who then was Pope. And being past towards *Naples*, CAMPSINVS considering that by prolonging the warres hee daily lost, and the Emperors partie encreased; with the greatest and best power that he was able to make he tooke the field, and neere to the citie of *Naples* they two fought a cruell battaile; and ELEUTHERIVS obtained the victorie (although very hardly) for CAMPSINVS fought valiantly, and died fighting. After this battaile, ELEUTHERIVS with small difficultie recouered all that CAMPSINVS had vsurped, and returned with victorie to *Rome*: and for his better securitie, and to bring to effect such things as he had projected (which we will presently tell you) he practised to prolong the peace with AGISVLPHVS King of the Lombards, which was concluded for other tenne yeeres. And he procured and leuied money, wherewith he paid and contented his souldiers and men of warre: for which his doings so valourously and so speedily accomplished, the Emperour HERACLIVS sent him the authoritie and title of Exarch and gouernour of all *Italy*; wherewith he came to *Rauenna*, which was the seate of the gouernours, leauing all *Italy* in peace and in quiet subiection (Lombardy excepted, and the rest which the Lombards possessed) by meanes whereof he grew so proud and so ambitious, that without the feare of God, or of the Emperour, knowing himselfe to be greatly beloued by his souldiers, he rose and rebelled against his soueraigne Lord, and tooke vpon him the title of King of *Italy*, and presently departed with his armie from *Rauenna* towards *Rome*, to the end to make himselfe Lord of all the land. But it pleased God to giue him speedie punishment: for the same captaines which aduanced him, and vpon which he had grounded his disloyaltie; the same I say to shew themselves loyall to the Emperour, within few daies iourney from *Rome* slew him, when he nothing suspected any such matter; and the armie approoued his death, and they altogether returned to *Rauenna*, and sent his head to the Emperour to *Constantinople*; who being aduertised of what passed, was very well pleased with what they had done. And sent for a new Exarch, a great noble Constantinopolitane, called YSANCIVS, who was very well receiued. And at the same time died the valiant AGISVLPHVS king of the Lombards, and his son ODOALDVS being a child of tender age, was made their king; and the wife and Christian Queene THEVDELINDA his mother, tooke vpon her the gouernment, and ruled and gouerned that kingdome verily wisely and discreetly, and obserued and renewed the peace with the Italians, and the Imperialists; and so *Italy* remained for some space in rest. But in the wars against the Persians, matters happened to the contrarie: whereof wee will make a briefe relation, and of what end it had.

HERACLIVS the Emperours father, who was gouernour of *Africa*, marching with great power towards *Egypt*, to make head against the Persians, being very ioyfull, and of great power, by the way died of an infirmite. And by his death all was out of order and came to nothing: for there was not any man amongst them capable of the gouernment, or fit to leade an armie. This happened in the sixt yeere of the raigne of the Emperour HERACLIVS, who al that time remained in *Constantinople*, giuing himselfe to pleasure and his ease. When the King of *Persia* vnderstood of the death of HERACLIVS the gouernour of *Africa*; with the greatest haste that he could make, he sent a very mightie armie into *Egypt*; and as that kingdome was vnfurnished of men of warre, and the Persians came victorious, so in few daies they made themselves absolute Lords thereof, and the same

*Campsinus overthrown and slaine by Eleutherius.*

*Eleutherius rebelled and called himselfe king of Italy.*

*Eleutherius slaine and his head sent to the Emperour.*

*The death of Agisulphus king of the Lombards.*

*The death of old Heraclius.*

yeere passing further forwards, they conquered *Africa* euen to the citie of *Carthage*; for no citie neither people were of power able to make head against them. Which *HERACLIVS* well vnderstanding, sent Ambassadors to King *COSROES*, with milde words entreating him for peace, desiring him to desist from shedding so much blood, and to rest satisfied with what hee had done. To this Ambassade the Infidell made answere, so hautilly, and with such pride, that among other things he sent him word, that he would graunt no peace to *HERACLIVS*, except he would renounce the faith of *IESVS CHRIST*, and adore his Idols. With this answere the Ambassadors returned, and the Persians the yeere following (prosecuting their warres) besieged the citie of *Carthage*, and tooke it, with the marches thereof, and leauing gouernors and garrisons in that countrie, returned into *Asia* most richly loden with spoiles.

*HERACLIVS* hauing seene and considered how much of the Empire he had lost, resolved with himselfe to goe in person to recouer the same, or to lose the rest; whereto the *Bauarians* and their King *CAYANVS*, were a great hinderance. But to the end that the reader may the better vnderstand the matter, let him know, that these *Bauarians* (in former time called *Hunnes* *Anares*) of a long time called their Kings *CAYANI*, as the *Egyptians* called their Kings *PHARAOES*, and as many other nations gaue their Kings ordinarie and peculiar names. I say then, that *CAYANVS* returned with his forces to infect the countrie of *Thracia*, which vntill then had free passage. And this was the cause that the Emperor *HERACLIVS* was detained the space of two or three yeeres, after that which happened in *Africa*; vntill that at length he fought all waies and meanes to come to a peace with *CAYANVS*, although to his dishonor and with losse of reputation. Finally, it was concluded and confirmed with great othes and promises, and so leauing all *Italy* and *Gracia* in peace, he determined to depart of set purpose against the Persians, and to that end hee named and ordained for *CEESAR* and his companion in the Empire, his sonne *CONSTANTINE*, to make his abode in the citie of *Constantinople*. And forasmuch as he was very yong, he appointed *SERGIVS* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *BONOSVS* a wise and noble gentleman, for his gouernors and tutors. Which being ordained, preparing the greatest power and munition that hee was able, with many prayers and solemne processions, he departed from *Constantinople* with great solemnitie; and embarking himselfe with his people, he passed ouer into those prouinces which were vnder his obedience in *Asia*, & entertained into his pay many other nations. And forasmuch as his souldiers were but newly raised, he thought it not fit presently to march vntill that they were better practised and trained. Which being done, calling vpon the Lord for aide, he entred into his enemies countries. This his journey was so much bruted, noted and regarded by all the nations of the world, that there was no man that had not an especiall eye thereto.

*COSROES* King of *Persia*, being well informed, how valiant and how good a capitaine *HERACLIVS* was, and how resolute an armie he led, determined not to giue him battaile, but retired himselfe within his countrie, and made all the viuales to be withdrawne and carried away, and the trees to be cut downe, and laid athwart the waies where he supposed the Emperor would passe. And on the other side, he sent an huge armie of very expert old souldiers, vnder the leading of a capitaine called *SAVARAGVS*, or *SALVARVS* (for in these names the authors euer vary) to the end that hee should charge the Emperor, either in the flanke, or in the backe; who with great resolution and in good order marched against

The insolent  
answere of the  
King of Persia  
to the Emperor  
Heraclius.

The citie of  
Carthage taken  
by the Persians.

Heraclius  
made his sonne  
Constantine  
Cesar.

Heraclius in  
Asia.

against King *COSROES*; and by the way recouered and wonne many cities. But holding it for no assured course to leaue so great an armie behinde him, he tooke another way, and sought out *SARAVAGVS*; and hauing passed the great mountaine *Taurus*, the two armies drew neere the one to the other, neere vnto a riuer: before which time there passed many conflicts and other accidents betwene them, which I cannot possibly set downe at large. The conclusion thereof was, that they came to blowes, and as the Persians of long time had been victorious, and made small account of the Romanes (I alwaies call those Romanes which were of the Emperors armie: for although that the seate of the Empire was in *Gracia*, yet the Emperors euer tooke a glory to be called *Romane* Emperors, and their armies, the *Romane* armies) and as the Imperialists holding themselves for disgraced and dishonored, had a great desire to be reuenged (the presence and great valor of the Emperor being a great helpe thereto) both the one and the other fought, with so great courage and obstinacie, that the battaile continued long, and was very cruell. And although that in the beginning it was very doubtful, yet in the end the Emperour obtained the victorie, and made great slaughter of his enemies. With this victorie the Imperialists were so much encouraged, that they left of the feare, which vntill then had possessed them; and the Emperor was incredibly solaced, and ioyfull to see himselfe victorious. And forasmuch as winter drew on, he purposed to retire himselfe, being loden with exceeding rich spoiles, and many prisoners; to the end to returne againe the next spring with greater force, which was in the eleuenth yeere of his raigne.

But on the contrarie side, *COSROES* was very sorrie, and much grieved; and imputing the fault to his Generall, deposed him from his charge, purposing to haue caused him to be slaine, and made another Generall, called *SAIN*, or *SATHIN*, a very valiant man and of great account, and gathering together the remainder of the last armie, commaunded him to raise one farre greater; and that he should follow the warre with a greater resolution and vehemencie. And the Emperor which had not shaken off all care that was needfull, although he would willingly haue accepted of peace, conditionally that he might haue had that restored which was taken from him (which he attempted, but could not obtaine) after that he had made his accustomed prayers to God, couragiously returned to the warres. And as this *SAIN* desired to excell his predecessor *SARAVAGVS*, and to recouer what he had lost, without delaying of time, went to meete the Emperor, and desiring to come to a battaile with him, he drew his armie neere vnto his; which wanted neither force nor courage to fight. The next day in the morning (seeing themselves so neere together, they began to set their people in order: but their troupes of either side were so great, that they therein spent almost one whole day. Whereupon they tooke truce, vntill the next day, to the end to auoide fighting by night: so resolute was either partie, and so they slept in the same places, and in the same order as they were set. The next morning by sunne rising, the one armie began to moue towards the other, and there began one of the most bloudie and cruell Battailles that hath been in the world, which continued vntill a good space afternoone, without any signe of aduantage or victorie of either side, fighting at equall hand: but by that time the Persians had so oppressed the Romanes, that they began to shew their weaknes, & the Emperor was in feare to haue been ouerthrowne: but it pleased God miraculously to relieue him, for suddenly fell so much raine and haile, with so terrible winde and tempest, beating in the backs of the Romanes, and the faces of the Persians, and did so much trouble

A battaile betweene the Romanes and the Persians, with the successe.

A truce for one night betweene the Persians and the Romanes.

St

them

A miraculous  
victorie.

them and put them so out of order, that in a very short space they were broken and ouerthrowne, and turning their backs they ranne away. And the Emperour HERACLIVS remained with the victorie, maister of the field, when he had slaine thirtie thousand of his enemies in the battaile; although with no small losse of his owne people; hauing obtained two so great and notable victories against the Infidels. And the Emperour sent to make the same knowne in *Constantinople*, in *Italy*, and in all the other prouinces of the Empire; for which euery where was made great ioy; and in the meane while he himselfe was not idle, but reinforcing his armie, and encouraging his people, he recovered great part of *Siria*, and *Mesopotamia*, which he had lost; part in his owne person, and part by his captaines, and he still followed his victorie, vntill that the great waters, which by reason of the winter staied him and forced him to returne, and to winter that yeere in the prouince of *Albania*. And COSROES King of *Persia*, as he was a mightie prince, and his dominion great, so the losse of these two battailes, was not such as to bereaue him of meanes againe to make head against his enemy: for gathering together his whole forces, he leuied men of warre, and issuing his treasure, raised a greater and a more mightie armie, then any of the former; and made a prudent and resolute captaine called RAZATENES Generall thereof, who being very valiant, was not afraid to draw neere to the way, where he knew that the Emperour was to passe the next spring. Finally, after many skirmishes and effusion of much blood, and such like casualties of the warre, HERACLIVS putting his whole trust in God, fought to come to a battaile, which the Persian refused not; so as with equall mindes and in a manner, with equall force and armies, two squadrons first began the fight in the morning, and afterwards others, and in the end all, and this battaile continued vntill about sun-set, wherein the Imperialists, in power and courage surpassing the Persians, constrained them to turne their backs, and to yeeld themselves for ouerthrowne. And RAZATENES a good captaine, failing in no part of his office, died fighting, for that he would not liue being overcome, after that many thousands of men were slaine and wounded of the one side and the other. In these three especiall battailes, and in many other of lesse account, it is written, that the Emperour himselfe in person, shewed great valour; principally that in this last, he slew with his owne hand, three excellent men which he encountred in sundrie places of the battaile, besides others which he slew and wounded of lesse account.

The Persians  
the third time  
ouerthrowne  
by the Emperour  
and their gene-  
rall slaine fight-  
ing.

Cosroes aban-  
doning what  
he had vsurped  
fled into Per-  
sia.

By meanes of this victorie, HERACLIVS grew so mightie, and COSROES so weake, and his forces were so much diminished; that daring no longer to defend that which he had vsurped in *Armenia*, and *Mesopotamia*, he abandoned the same; and passing ouer the riuier *Tigris* fled into *Persia*: HERACLIVS also passed that riuier, and ouerranne the countrie burning and spoiling great cities. And in this manner conquering the kingdomes of COSROES, and COSROES not so hardie as to defend the same, but by flight hiding himselfe; for his refuge and defence, in his life time he made his second sonne whose name was MEDARSES, against all equitie and reason, equall with himselfe in his kingdome; for he had an elder sonne, a man of greater spirit, and of more discretion, called STROES, and (as it often happeneth to the wicked) through the meanes whereby he thought to haue defended his kingdome, he lost it, together with his life: for his eldest sonne tooke this iniurie done to him by his father in so ill part, that he practised his death, and to bereaue him of both life and kingdome. To which purpose he began by letters and secret messengers, to treat with the Emperour,

entreating

entreating his fauour, and to be at peace with him: in requitall whereof, when he should be established in the kingdome, he promised to yeeld vnto him what he should require, if it were in his power. In conclusion, briefly to set down the composition, they agreed vpon these conditions: That he should resigne to the Emperour all those lands and countries which his father and predecessors had vsurped in the prouinces of *Asia*, and all that which they had gotten by conquest in *Africa*, and all the treasure of his fathers royall house. And that he should resigne the two inuincible fortresses, which the Persians held in the principall passages of the riuier *Tigris*, with the crosse, and the Patriarch which they brought from *Ierusalem*, and that he should be a perpetuall friend and allie to the Emperour.

This league being concluded, STROES was so magnanimous, and therewith so well beloued, that within few daies space, with the aide and fauour of HERACLIVS, and such forces as he sent him, he gat both his father and his brother into his power, which he apprehended and caused to be slaine; and thoroughly performed all that which he had agreed vpon with HERACLIVS, and so enioyed the kingdome in peace, although of lesse power then his father was. And HERACLIVS returned, leauing all the prouinces of the Empire restored and furnished, and all the passages of the riuier *Tigris* fortified; the most ioyfull and honoured Prince that then was in the world. And being come to *Ierusalem*, he sent his captaines into *Africa*, which he wholly recovered and reduced the same to his quiet gouernment. This was in the sixt yeere after that he began the warre in his owne person, and the sixteenth and seuteenth of his raigne; although in these computations there be euer some difference betweene the authors. When hee came to *Ierusalem*, he restored ZACHARIAS the Patriarch thereof, and the crosse which had been foureteene yeeres in the power of COSROES, and came into the citie bearing the same vpon his shoulders, with the greatest ioy, feasting, and solemnitie that could be made: and this restitution of the crosse was so highly esteemed, that it was afterwards solemnized euery yeere vpon the foureteenth day of September, which is called the exaltation of the crosse.

Heraclius re-  
stored the  
crosse to Ieru-  
salem.  
The exaltation  
of the crosse.

In those daies the false Prophet MAHOMET, the deceiuer and seducer of the greatest part of the world, with his illusions and tromperies, in the countrie of *Arabia* drew many to his sect, and grew mightie and a tyrant; whom HERACLIVS might then easily haue defeated: but making small account of him, he contented himselfe with the taking of a certaine people from him called Sarazins, which falsely boasted themselves to be descended from SARA, ABRAHAMs wife; which were also called Scenites, and liued in the fields, as the Arabians doe at this day; and giuing them pay, the Emperour sent them into other prouinces, which at that time seemed to haue been a sufficient redresse. And hauing taken order for his affaires in those quarters, he returned to *Constantinople*, whither he came with the greatest triumph that could be made. Herein is some difference: for some authors write, that before his going to *Ierusalem* he returned to *Constantinople*: but it importeth not whether were the first; but in the end the Emperour came to repose himselfe in *Constantinople*, with very great honour and reputation amongst his subiects, and was by all other Kings and Princes at that time much beloued and feared.

The Emperour  
Heraclius  
came victo-  
rious and tri-  
umphant to  
*Constantinople*.

In *Italy* all was in peace with the Lombards in those daies, ODOALDVS raig-ning with his mother THEVDOLINDA; and she dying, the subiects making no account of him, for that he was a very childe, denied him their obedience, and chose ARIOLDVS, who was of the bloud royall: and he maintained the peace

St 2

with

Heraclius be-  
came an here-  
tike.

with the Empire in as ample manner as did ODOALDVS and THEVDOLINDA. HERACLIVS hauing so good successe in all things, as aforesaid, prosperitie (as ordinarily it worketh in many men) made him proud and carelesse, forgetting God, and those workes and exercises whereby he had attained to that prosperitie. For in steede of prayer and contemplation, he gaue himselfe to pleasure, to augurie, southsaying and diuination, prognosticating things to come, by superstitious and vnlawfull Arts and meanes; and from one to another fell into heresies: for being seduced by two wicked Prelates, the one called PIRRHVS, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and the other a Bishop called CIRS, he came to beleue that there was a will onely in Christ, and so consequently he denied the two natures, diuine and humane. Neither could the admonitions and letters of Pope HONORIVS auaille to dissuade him from that heresie, who banished PIRRHVS into *Africa*. It pleased God to permit in his secret and incomprehensible iudgement, that MAHOMET began so to prosper and preuaile in his proceedings, that HERACLIVS began to stand in feare of him, of whom in former time he had made small account: for he had daily newes that he leuied men of warre, which came vnto him as well out of *Arabia*, as out of *Persia*; some illuded through his allurements and suggestions; others to enioy the great libertie which he gaue them to robbe and steale: for these were the miracles wherewith in the beginning he planted his diuillish sect. And it followed that the Sarazins, which we said HERACLIVS had gotten from him, by reason of the Emperours ill pay and entertainment, mutined, and went to MAHOMET into *Arabia*. So as hee went out of *Arabia Felix*, where he first gathered head, and making himselfe Lord of the three *Arabie*, went into *Egypt*, and afterwards into *Siria*, and into *Mesopotamia*, and had so good successe, that with those Sarazins and such other forces as hee could get, he resolved to make himselfe King of *Persia*. Whereto this was a great helpe, for as much as that kingdome was much wasted and weakened, as well by ciuill dissention, as through the great slaughter made therein by HERACLIVS: and besides this, the inhabitants of meere lightnes reuolted to MAHOMET.

Mahomet his  
successe.

There reigned at that time in *Persia*, a great man whose name was HORMISDA, allied to the forepassed Kings: for SIROBS (who was HERACLIVS his friend) raigned but one yeere in that kingdome, and after him his sonne ADHRESSOR ther so long time onely. By the death of which two, HORMISDA attained to the kingdome, but not in peace or without great tumults and contradictions. At that time MAHOMET marched towards *Persia* with his Sarazins, and much other people, against whom came HORMISDA, and they two fought a very great battaile, wherein HORMISDA was ouerthrowne and slaine. Yet some write, that MAHOMET was first ouerthrowne. This onely battaile, and the illusion and deceit of his sect and superstitious religion, brought all *Asia* vnder his obedience, together with all *Africa*, *Babylon*, and all the other prouinces subiect to the mightie kings of *Persia*. And he wholly subuerted that Empire, so as from that time forwards it had not any title of any kingdome, but all those nations lost their names, and from thenceforth were called Sarazins, and Mahometists, after their false Prophet and leader. Whereas in truth they ought to haue been called Agarenes Ismaelites: for MAHOMET descended from ABRAHAM, by the way of AGAR a bondwoman, and his sonne ISMAEL. The Emperour vnderstanding of these victories, applied not himselfe to resist the course therof, with such magnanimitie as he ought to haue done; notwithstanding that he knew that hee returned into *Siria* and *Palestina* with a determination to take *Ierusalem*: but hee sent thither to fetch from thence

The originall  
of the Sara-  
zins and their  
successe.

thence the crosse of CHRIST only, & to bring it to *Constantinople*, from whence afterwards in proceffe of time it was brought to *Rome*. MAHOMET the came and tooke many great cities in *Siria*, wherein he found small resistance, and amongst them the cite of *Ierusalem*, publishing himselfe euery where to be the Prophet of God. Yet some write, that *Ierusalem* was not taken by MAHOMET, but by his successors, after that he was dead: but it importeth not greatly whether it were taken by him or the others. Within few daies after these victories, MAHOMET deceased, being of the age of two and fortie yeeres: but leauing disciples of his wickednes, his sect and superstition died not, nor tooke any end, but continueth vntill this day, and will continue vntill it shall please God for his mercies sake to cure this contagion. For his successor remained a great Arabian Captaine, called CALIPHALPHA; and him others succeeded, which conquered *Africa*, and other countries, as in the proceffe of this historie shall be expressed.

The death of  
Mahomet.

Calipha Maho-  
mets successor.

While these things passed in the East; in *Italy*, notwithstanding that there was peace with the Lombards; as it is oftentimes scene that forraigne peace causeth ciuill warre; so MAVRICE CARTVLARIVS who was President of *Rome*, making small account of the Emperour, or of his Exarch ISANCIVS, rebelling made himselfe a tyrant: against whom ISANCIVS came from *Rauenna*, and after many adventures apprehended him, with many other his confederates; and carrying him to *Rome* smote off his head; and shortly after this ISANCIVS died: And the Emperour HERACLIVS sent a Nobleman called THEODORE GALLIOPA, to be gouernour of *Italy*. But none of all these things could moue the minde of HERACLIVS to leuie any armie against the Sarazins, hee gaue himselfe so much to his pleasure and licentious liuing, marrying in his old age with his brothers daughter, which was a young damsell called MARTINA: and so it pleased God that vpon a day he was taken with the dropsie, whereof he died suddenly, when hee had reigned thirtie yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord 641. Others say that hee died of a disease called *Priapismus*, a straunge sicknes, and such as with modestie cannot be expressed. He left behind him two sonnes, and one daughter, which he had by his first wife: his daughters name was EPIPHANIA; one of his sonnes was called HERACLIVS; the other CONSTANTINE, whom he made CÆSAR, when hee went to the warres in the East against the Persians. By his second wife he had one sonne, a child of ten yeeres old, called HERACLIVS also. And so ended this Emperour, of whom it may be said that two Emperours might well haue been made; one very good, and the other passing ill, considering the contrarietie in his actions.

Theodorus  
Galliopa.

The death of  
Heraclius.  
Anno Dom.  
641.

At what time as the Emperour HERACLIVS died, the Empire of the East was much decayed: for all the prouinces, of *Siria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Egypt*, and *Arabia* were in the power of the Infidels. In *Italy*, THEODORE GALLIOPA was gouernour, and in *Lombardy*, through the death of ARIOLDVS, ROTARIVS was king. The Slauons possessed *Illyricum*, and the Hunnes and Bauarians held *Hungarie*, *Baniere*, and *Austrich*. In *Spain* reigned the Gothes, and the French prospered in *France*: and in *Germany* sundrie other Princes. So as the Empire contained *Thracia*, the prouinces of *Gracia*, the Iles of *Sicilia* and *Sardinia*, and the greatest part of *Italy* in *Europe*: And in *Asia*, *Armenia*, *Asia* the lesse, *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, *Galacia*, *Bythinia*, *Cappadocia*, and other prouinces therein, with all *Africa*, which I haue set downe of purpose, to the end that the reader may the better vnderstand what shall be said hereafter.



THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE THE THIRD OF THAT  
NAME, AND THREESCORE AND  
FIVE ROMANE EMPEROR: AND  
of his brother HERACLIVS.



**I**N the Historie of the liues of the two sonnes of the Empe-  
rour HERACLIVS, PAVLVS DIACONVS and BEDA  
seeme to dissent from the other Historiographers; first  
placing the Empire of HERACLIVS, who was yonger  
then CONSTANTINE, and son of his second wife MAR-  
TINA; but I follow the opinion of the other authors. The  
Emperor HERACLIVS being dead and buried, there was  
no open contradiction that might hinder his eldest sonne,  
borne of his first wife EVDOKIA which died in childbed of this CONSTAN-  
TINE, (which CONSTANTINE had a young man to his sonne called CON-  
STANS) from obtaining the Empire: aswell for that he was made CESAR in  
his fathers time, as also for that in right he ought to haue it, being his fathers  
eldest sonne and of full age; and also for the hope which they conceiued that he  
would proue a good prince. He was then presently accepted and crowned with  
great ioy and solemnitie, although to the great discontentment and grieue of his  
mothe

mother in law MARTINA; whose wickednes did so much abbreuiate the raigne  
of her sonne in law, that there can no notable thing be written of him, that he ei-  
ther did, or that passed in his time; sauing that he gaue good signes and shewes  
of a good Emperor, and began to be beloued by his subiects; which encreased the  
hatred of that mischuious woman his stepdame; and he reposing his trust in  
hir, she gaue him poison in his meate, whereof he died in the fourth moneth of  
his raigne: and they also say, that it was done by the direction and counsell of  
PETER the hereticall Patriarch of Constantinople. The Emperor CONSTAN-  
TINE being thus wickedly made away; the murtheresse MARTINA, with such  
fauour and aide as she procured, made her sonne HERACLIVS Emperour,  
brother to him whom she had poisoned, being of the age of eleuen yeeres; and  
she tooke vpon her the gouernment: but this villany could not long continue,  
for the nobilitie detesting so detestable a fact, rose against MARTINA and her  
sonne, when he had raigned scarcely two yeeres: in which time I finde not any  
notable thing written to haue been done of any importance; and therefore I  
cannot diuine ought, sauing that in this yeere the Sarazins tooke the citie of  
Cesaria, which they had besieged the space of seuen yeeres; and therein slew seau-  
en thousand souldiers of the Empire. The Senate and nobilitie ioyning with  
CONSTANS, sonne of the deceased CONSTANTINE, and Nephew of the  
Emperor HERACLIVS, made him Emperor; apprehending MARTINA and  
her sonne HERACLIVS: and so ended the vnluckie and infortunate raigne  
of those two brothers, which scarcely merit to be accounted amongst the Em-  
perors. So soone as the mother and sonne were apprehended, the mother had  
her tongue cut out, and the sonne his nose cut off, and both were exiled into the  
prouince of Cappadocia in Asia the lesse. Also PIRRHVS the Patriarch which came  
from banishment out of Africa, and came to intrude himselfe into these coun-  
sels, died likewise, as an heretical Wolfe clad in shepherds rayment; and  
in his place was chosen PAUL, who in the end proued like to  
his predecessor. Which befell in the yeere of our  
Lord fixe hundred foure and fortie.

*The Emperor  
Constantine the  
third poisoned  
by his stepmo-  
ther Martina.*

*Heracianus  
succeeded his  
brother Con-  
stantine in the  
Empire.*

*Heracianus  
and his mother  
Martina were  
throwne out of  
the Empire, be-  
having first his  
nose cut off and  
she her tongue.*

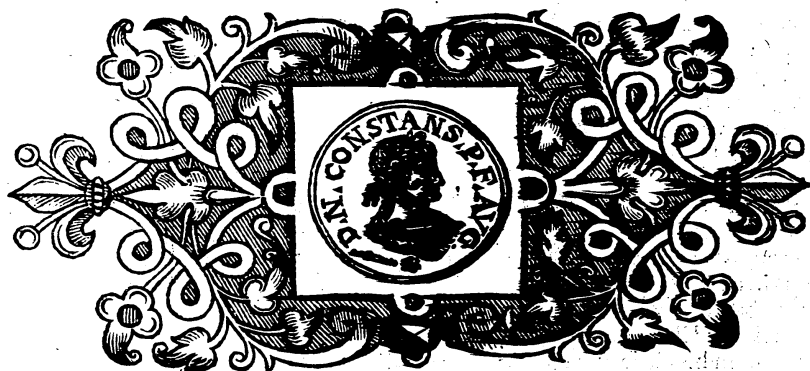
*Anno Dom.  
644.*

Ss 4

THE



# THE LIFE OF CONSTANS THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THRESCORE AND SIXE ROMANE EMPEVOVR.



Constans by  
some called  
Constantine.

**H**is making of CONSTANS Emperour (whom some call CONSTANTINE) by the Senate of *Constantinople* (which we may call *Romane*;) and the apprehension of his vncler HERACLIANVS, of whom we now left writing, was all at one instant: and the great wickednes vsed by MARTINA in poisoning his father, made the raigne of the sonne more firme and assured. But CONSTANS proued not to be such as they hoped of him, and as in deede was needfull for the present estate of the Empire; for he was infected with the Arrian Heresie: and concerning the affaires of the East, he contented himselfe to make head against MAHOMET'S successors; by placing garrisons in the passages of *Cilicia*, to keepe them from entring into *Asia* the lesse; and so they remained Lords of those prouinces which they had gotten in the East. Pope THEODORE vnderstanding that PAVL the new Patriarch of *Constantinople* held some erronious opinions of the Christian faith, wrote vnto him certaine louing monitorie letters, perswading him to amendment, and to reduce himselfe to the truth. But when he perceiued his labour to be in vaine, he proceeded otherwise against him, and depriving him of his dignitie, commaunded him to be banished: but the new Emperour would not permit it, but rather shewed himselfe to be of the same opinion; which made a generall confusion euery where; for the head being sicke, therest

of

of the members ill execute their office. In *Constantinople* and in *Gracia*, the catholike Christians were much troubled with the new heretikes; for that the Emperour tooke their part; and in *Asia*, they held warres with the Mahometicall Sarazins. In *Italy*, although there were peace with the Lombards, through the good gouernment of the Exarch THEODOREVS, and the care and endeouour of the Pope, the diuell after his accustomed manner sowed tares among the good seede, which was; that by the meanes of some of his disciples, he perswaded ROTHARIVS King of the Lombards to leane to the infirmitie of his auncestors, which was the Arrian heresie; and the more earnest the catholike Christians were in resisting the same, with so much the greater obstinacie he placed in euery citie an Arrian Bishop, where before had been catholike Bishops. And Pope MARTIN who succeeded Pope THEODORE, against the new heresie held by the Emperour and some prelates in the East; assembled a counsell of one hundred and fise Bishops; wherein they which held those opinions, were condemned and proclaimed heretikes, and he depriued the said Patriarch and fundrie Bishops of their prelacie and dignities: wherewith the Emperour CONSTANS was highly offended, and did that which hereafter shall be declared. On the other side, the Pope by all meanes sought a reformation in the Lombards, which he could not effect so long as ROTHARIVS liued; for he made warre against the Imperialists, after that they had liued many yeeres together in peace: which warre was very resolutely begun with great preparation by ROTHARIVS of his part; and by the Exarch THEODORE of the other partie. And the Exarch comming from *Raunenna* drew his forces to an head in the citie of *Bologna*; for now the cities of *Italy* by reason of their long peace and rest, were growne rich and populous; and ROTHARIVS leuied no lesse an armie in the citie of *Parma*; and the one taking his way against the other, they came to ioyne neere the citie of *Modena*: where (as SIGIBERTVS and PAVLVS DIACONVS doe report) after some encounters and skirmishes, they fought a very cruell battaile; wherein the Romanes were ouerthrowne, and seauen thousand of them slaine; and the Exarch THEODORE escaped by flight. ROTHARIVS after that he had obtained this victorie, came to the coast of *Genoa*; and assaulted and tooke many cities, which vntill then he could not doe; and so marched victorious, vntill that THEODORE the Exarch gathering together those which were scattered, leuied a new armie: wherewith he entertained the enemy, and victualled his frontier garrisons. The Emperour CONSTANS vnderstanding hereof, tooke no care to relieue his Exarch, but being very much offended with Pope MARTIN, he put THEODORE out of the gouernment of *Italy*; and in his place sent another called OLIMPIVS (a very an heretike as himselfe) giuing him direction, to seeke to bring all the Bishops in *Italy* to hold of his opinion; and if that he could not bring it to passe, that then he should vse his best meanes to get the Pope into his hands, or to kill him. With which commission and resolution being arriued in *Italy*, he departed from *Raunenna*, and tooke his way towards *Rome*, vnder colour to goe to see the Pope; accompanied with many souldiers and men of warre; first procuring an agreement and truce with the Lombards. And being come to *Rome* he sought how to apprehend the Pope; and being vnable to effect the same, he agreed with a desperate venturous bold souldier to kill him; but it tooke no effect.

In the time that these things passed in *Italy*, the principall infidels (MAHOMET'S successors) were growen so mightie, that they now contented not themselves with *Egypt*, and those prouinces which they held in the East; but preparing

A counsell held  
in the time of  
Pope Martin.

Warres be-  
tweene the  
Lombards and  
Imperialists.

The victorie of  
the Lombards.

Spoile made by  
the Saracins.

ring a great fleet in *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, they invaded the Ile of *Rhodes*, and tooke it, and afterwards other Ilands in those Seas; and from thence came spoiling and robbing through all the East Seas, euen to the Ile of *Sicilia*, wherein they tooke some townes vpon the Seaside; and landing their armie, burnt and spoiled the countrey in the maine land: whereof when O L I M P I V S the gouernour or Exarch of *Italy* was aduertised, within whose gouernment *Sicilia* was also contained, comming first to an agreement with the Pope, he tooke his way towards *Naples*; whether hee had commaunded to come, and to be brought, the greatest number of men and ships that could be gotten from all parts of *Italy*: and finding himselfe sufficiently furnished, he went in quest of his enemies, resolute and in very good order: and they vnderstanding of his comming, assembled themselves, with a determination to fight with him, which he refused not: And so, so soone as the two Nauies came within sight the one of the other, they set themselves in order, and each Generall animated and encouraged his people, and the fight began with great furie, and was maintained with such resolution, that many thousands of men of the one and other side were slaine. And notwithstanding that in the end the victorie appeared to encline to the Imperialists; yet before they could obtaine it, they had lost so many men and ships, that although that the Exarch might haue driuen the enemies out of the Iland, and haue recouered what was lost; yet hee was so beaten and distressed, that it seemed not that he had overcome. And (as the Historians affirme) he endured so great trauaile, and was so much tired in the battaile before and after it, that he fell so extremely sicke, that within few daies he died.

The death of  
the Exarch O-  
limpius.

The Emperour CONSTANS vnderstanding of this victorie; by reason of the discontentment betweene them sought the destruction of the Pope: and to that end gaue the charge of the gouernment againe to THEODORE, from whom he had taken the same. In the end he sent THEODORE into *Italy*, with a secret charge and commaundement, to doe that which he afterwards performed, and I will discover: and for his comfort and companion therein, another aduenturous fellow whose name was PAVLVS PELLARIVS. In this time died ROTARIVS King of the Lombards; and another called RODOALDVS succeeded him; who shortly after falling in loue with a principall mans wife, and being taken with her, was slaine by her husband; and ARRIOPERTVS succeeded him. All which obserued the peace with the lands of the Empire. And the new Exarch THEODORE comming into *Italy*, and with him his friend and companion, was very well receiued; and afterwards in *Rome* whither hee came: for from the first time of his being there, the people were well content with his gouernment. And he remaining certaine daies in *Rome* with his people, concealing his purpose, went one day to the palace, as though he had gone to visite the Pope, and seising thereon, apprehended him, and deliuered him to his associate PAVL, who presently departed with him towards *Rauenna*, and speedily took the Sea and went to *Constantinople*, where the Emperour held him for certaine daies prisoner, and then banished him to *Chersona* in *Pontus*, which was in the confines of the Empire; where he afterwards died, when hee had been Bishop of *Rome* sixe yeeres. A little before this died the king of the Lombards ARRIOPERTVS, who (as I said) succeeded RODOALDVS. This ARRIOPERTVS left behinde him two sonnes, which were but young, the one called PERTHERITVS, and the other GYNDIBERTVS; between which (each desiring to be absolute) there grew dissention and discord: and GYNDIBERTVS which was the younger rose with *Milan*; the elder brother, which ought to haue been

Theodore sent  
into Italy.

The death of  
Rotaris king of  
the Lombards,  
whom Rodoal-  
dus succeeded.

Pope Martin  
apprehended  
and sent to  
Constantinople.

Pope Martin  
died in exile.

The death of  
Arriopertus  
king of the  
Lombards.

been King, remaining in *Paui*, then the head of that kingdome. When this came to the knowledge of one GRIMOALDVS, a great captaine of the Lombards, and Duke and gouernour of *Beneuent*, and other townes; he leauing his sonne ROMOALDVS with a good garrison therein, came to the citie of *Paui*; which he entered by force of armes, and thence draue out the young King PERTHERITVS, and tooke such order in all the rest, that the two brothers were driuen to abandon their countrey; and he remained in their place a mightie King.

Grimoaldus  
made king of  
the Lombards.

The Emperour CONSTANS in *Constantinople*, surmizing that by meanes of the warres which the Lombards made amongst themselves, he comming with any great power might driue them out of *Italy*; which his desire he determined to put in execution, and to that effect made his sonne CONSTANTINE his companion in the Empire, to the end to remaine in *Constantinople*. And so preparing a great fleet by Sea, and a great armie by land, he came into *Italy* to the citie of *Tarentum*; where landing his people, he marched therewith to ioine with the ordinarie companies which THEODORE commaunded. And GRIMOALDVS the tyrant King of the Lombards (more like a wife and prouident Prince, then one that was any way fearefull or a coward) had by that time leui'd all the power that he was able to make, both to defend himselfe and to offend his enemy. After many aduentures in this warre, the Emperour went to besiege ROMOALDVS the sonne of GRIMOALDVS in *Beneuent*, and did put him and the citie to great distresse: and shewing himselfe very valiant, he published abroad that he came to restore *Italy* to her former libertie, and that he would againe make *Rome* the seate of the Empire: alleaging that it was greater reason to honour the mother, then the daughter. Whether this were fained, or in earnest, I know not; but I am sure the Kings sonne being besieged, sent to his father for aide, who (as I said) was not carelesse thereof, but daily engrossed his forces, to the end to come to fight with the Emperour. But as he staying longer then ROMOALDVS would (for so was the sonne called) he wrote certaine pitifull letters to his father, by one which was his nurse, who was husband to her which had nursed him at her breast: whom the father meeting vpon the way, sent backe againe to certifie his sonne of what he had seene, and to tell him that hee came to vnset him. This man seeking to get into the citie, was apprehended by the Emperours souldiers; and being brought into his presence, and examined, and his reports found conformable to that whereof he was otherwise aduertised; the Emperour being in great feare, refused not to abide his comming: but desiring first to doe some notable exploit, whereby he thought to haue taken the citie, it happened contrary to his expectation; which I haue thought good to relate for an example to others which are seruants and vassals to Kings and Princes: which was thus. CONSTANS promising great matters to his nurse, requested him to go to the walles; and that calling the besieged Prince, hee should aduise and counsell him to giue vp the citie; for that his father was not able to relieue him. And herewithall hee threatned the nurse, that if he did not so, he would presently cause him to be slaine. The nurse seeing that there was no other way left for him to encourage the besieged; faining a desire to satisfie the Emperour, promised to performe his commaund. Whereupon the Emperour the next night following, commaunded him to be brought neere to the wall, with a guard which held him fast bound; and he comming thither, called aloud to those within, willing them to call ROMOALDVS to him, for that there was a man which much loued him, desired to speake with him. ROMOALDVS so soone as he was aduertised hereof came to the wals, and with a lowd

The Emperour  
Constans made  
his sonne Con-  
stantine his  
companion in  
the Empire.

The Emperour  
Constans in  
Italy.

The loyaltie of  
a nurse.

lowd voice asked who would speak with him. His nurse knowing him well by his speech, and he him also, answered; It is the nurse which bringeth you an answer from your father; who willett you to be of good cheere, for this day he arriueth at the riuer *Satrico*, and within these three daies will be here with an infinite army: I can say no more, for I am in the enemies hands which alreadie begin to murder me; I recommend vnto thee my wife and children. Hauing said these words, those which were within the citie were therewith greatly encouraged; and those without were so much despised, that they presently killed him, by the Emperours commaundement: who not daring to stay any longer (to his great shame and dishonour) raised his siege from before *Beneuent*, and tooke his way with his army towards *Naples*. GRIMOALDVS being come with a very great armie, sent an excellent captaine called VITOLA, with the best and most choice men of the armie to pursue the Emperour: and hee marching a great pace, ouertooke him at the passage of a riuer called *Caloro*: And the Emperour being alreadie past with the greatest part of his armie, VITOLA charged his arrierguard, and there began a fierce battaile, wherein the Emperours people (for that they could not be seconded by reason of the riuer) were ouerthrowne, and the most part of them slaine: and so the Emperour was driuen to retire to *Naples* with both losse and dishonor. And being to depart from *Naples* to *Rome*, hee commaunded a Captaine of his whose name was SABVRVS, borne in *Naples*, that he with twentie thousand chosen men should stay behinde to guard that citie and prouince: who more hardie then wife (the Emperour being gone) with the armie aforesaid, drew so neere to the Lombards, that the Kings sonne, ROMOALDVS desiring his father to giue him leaue, came with his forces to fight with him; in such sort that with equall desire of both the captaines the two armies ioyned, with Ensignes displayed; and after great slaughter of men of the one and other side, the Lombards obtained the victorie, and following the chace slew SABVRVS the Generall, and many of his people. The Emperour with all his troupes was solemnely received into *Rome*, as well by VITILIANVS who then was Pope, as by the citizens and inhabitants thereof; but he remained but twelue daies therein: and when he had visited the whole citie, not as an Emperour and their Lord, but rather like an enemy, he commaunded to be borne out of the citie all the best statues of Marble and mettall, of most excellent and curious workmanship, and much gold and siluer, and other rare things: all which being brought aboard his ships and gallies, he commaunded them presently to depart; and he himselfe from *Rome* went to *Naples*, without making any prouision against the Lombards: by reason whereof they became more mightie then before. The Emperour then came to *Naples*, purposing to passe ouer into *Sicilia*; and being past with much people he went to the citie of *Siricusa*, now called *Sarragossa*, hauing (to no purpose) all his armie together in armes, as though he had meant to haue done some great exploit therewith; so as men greatly suspected it, and were of sundrie opinions. But he did it to no other purpose, then vnder colour to repaire the harmes which he had receiued, with excessiue greedines to gather the rents and seruices of al the prouinces of the Empire; and to impose new taxes and tolls in *Africa*, in *Italy*, in the Iles of *Sardinia* and *Sicilia*, and in all the rest in his subiection: which as it vsually happeneth vnto all Princes which doe so, without iust cause or reason, made him extremely hated through all the Empire, and was afterwards the cause of his death. He remaining thus in the Ile of *Sicilia*, continually feasting and banketting, neuer leauing to require loanes and imprests, and to lay new impositions vpon the people, ransoming

The victorie of  
the Lombards.

ing and pilling them through all the Iland; and in *Africa* and *Italy* also; in such manner, that being hated of all men, the Sicilians aduentured vpon a day (he being in a bath) to kill him; by the direction and commaundement of a captaine of his called MICENCIVS, or as others write, MEZENCIVS and MAGVENCIVS, a bold audacious fellow and well beloued: more for the constitution of his body (which was very comely, tall, and well proportioned) then for his valour or nobilitie. This happened in the seauen and twentie yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord, fixe hundred sixtie and eight. CONSTANS left behinde him three sonnes; CONSTANTINE who remained in *Constantinople*, for CÆSAR and gouernour, HERACLIVS and TIBERIVS. About this time in *Italy* dyed King GRIMOALDVS, whom we but now said to haue made warres with the Emperour: and he being dead, thither came out of *France*, whither before he fled for refuge, PARTHARIS or PARTHERITVS King ARRIOPERTVS his sonne, whom GRIMOALDVS had dispossed and throwne out of *Pavia*, as we haue alreadie recited.

Constans slaine  
by the Sicilians  
in a bath.

Anno Dom.  
668.

## THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND SEAVEN ROMANE EMPEROR.



**T**He Emperour CONSTANS (as I haue said) was slaine in *Sarragossa* in *Sicilia*, and so soone as he was dead MEZENCIVS who caused him to be slaine, or (after some) which himselfe killed him; with the fauour of those which assisted him in that action tooke vpon him the title of Emperour, and for the present, all the rest of the people of *Sicilia* approued and confirmed the same; more for the desire of innouations which are euer pleasing, then for any good liking they had to his person. Whereof the Emperours son CONSTANTINE was soone aduertised, who then remained in *Constantinople*, and held the name of Emperour, and had done so euer since that his father departed from thence,

Mezencius  
made Emperour.

T  
and

and hee was therewith so much perplexed and in such feare, considering the strangenes of the accident, that he for the time not onely had not the heart to doe ought in reuenge of his fathers death, but was also in feare to haue lost the name of Emperor, which he then held; and therewithall scarcely durst to maintaine what he possessed in *Gracia*. And the like in a manner befell *THEODORE* the Exarch or gouernor of *Italy*: for notwithstanding that he had a good number of men of warre, well trained, and of good experience; yet he durst not seeme to be greatly grieved for the death of his foueraigne Lord; neither to attempt ought against *MEZENCIVS*. Whereof the cause was that all the people greatly reioyced at his death; for he was generally abhorred of all men for his couetousnes. And in this confusion in all things passed some daies; all men expecting the successe of the new tyrant; not daring to declare themselues either for the one or other partie; for he had with him many good men of warre. But as his entrie was by treason, and grounded vpon an ill foundation; and in him were neither the vertues nor merites requisit in an Emperor; the captaines and men of warre began to murmur at what he had done, and to wish his death; which was speedely published euery where, and gaue occasion to all men to take heart, and to seeke reuenge for the treason & murder committed vpon the person of the dead Emperor *CONSTANS*. The first were the Italians; and so *THEODORE* the Exarch began to stirre, leuying and mustring forces, therewith to passe into *Sicilia*, as he did; and the companies which were in the prouinces of *Africa* did the like; whereto the peace with the Sarrazins and other nations, was a great helpe; for it seemeth, that *CONSTANS* being in *Sicilia* so accompanied with men of warre, they durst not make warre against him. So great forces comming into *Sicilia* against *MEZENCIVS*, and he being slenderly supported by his owne people, was in short space taken and slaine; and many of his friends which were with him, were taken and carried prisoners to *Constantinople*, to the young Emperor *CONSTANTINE*; who presently after this victorie began euery where to be obeyed and held for Emperor, and tooke vpon him the minde and courage of a prince. Some also write that he went into *Sicilia*. And notwithstanding that afterwards he proued a good and perfect Emperour; yet in his beginning he committed a most cruell fact, which was; to put to death his younger brothers, thereby to be assured that they should not seeke to depose him: and some also write that he caused the toppes of their noses to be cut off: but the truth is, that he commaunded them to be slaine; and so he became Lord of the whole Empire, without any difficultie. But the Sarrazins Mahometists, and *PHADALAS* of *SOPHIAS* their King, perceiuing the hurle burlie, and the fit oportunitie to inuade the Empire, by reason of the before recited accidents in *Sicilia*, and also for that it seemed that *CONSTANTINE* was not yet firmly settled in his throne; they the most closely and couertly that might be, rigged vp a mightie nauie at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*; with a determination to inuade *Thracia*, and *Gracia*; and if the dissention happened which they expected, then to take those prouinces: but afterwards as matters proued better in *Constantinople* then was hoped for; they altered their determination, and inuaded *Sicilia*, which was left ill prouided of men of war: and they came with such force and power, that they entered the citie of *Sarragossa*, and some other townes; where robbing and spoiling, they continued certaine daies; and it seeming to them an hard matter to hold those places, carrying away with them an infinit number of prisoners and great riches of gold, siluer, and other iewels; they returned to *Alexandria*. In the *Constantinopolitane* commen-

taries

Mezencius  
slaine.Constantine  
made Empe-  
ror.The Sarrazins  
made warre in  
Sicilia.

taries I finde this warre written more a large; where it is affirmed, that they first made warre in the coast of *Thracia* and *Gracia*, the space of many daies, and tooke many places; and that in the end being repelled thence by the Emperor, they went to *Sicilia*, so writeth *ZONARAS*: but after the first manner, writeth *PAVLVS DIACONVS*, an author neere to that time, and afterwards others of lesse antiquitie. I sometimes take the paines to set downe the fundrie opinions of the authors (although it shall not be needfull alwaies to doe so;) to the end to satisfie the curious readers, and that they shall not condemne my historie, finding therein contrarie or different from what they shall reade in some others. But although that I do not alwaies thus, let them rest assured, that I follow an author, which writeth it as I relate it; for in the diuersitie of opinions, I follow that which seemeth to be most true and probable, weighing the many coniectures: and when I cannot or desire not to doe so, I briefly set downe both opinions, as now I haue done. That which to me seemeth to be the most certaine, is, that they first inuaded *Sicilia*, and did as I recounted; and afterwards raising greater power through their successe and victorie, there ensued that which these authors alledge, which is, that they along time made war in the coast of *Gracia*, and in the confines of *Constantinople*; wherein they tooke many places; out of which by the diligence and valour of the Emperor, they were driuen by force of armes: this warre lasted sixe yeeres. And all authors affirme that *CONSTANTINE* herewith not contented, sent a great armie by land against the Mahometicke Sarrazins, into the prouince of *Soria*, which is the auncient *Syria*, which fought with all their whole power, and the Christians obtained the victorie; and of the infidels were slaine thirtie thousand. And they were brought to such distresse, that their prince or King, whose name was *MAVIAS*, sent to entreate the Emperor for peace, offering very profitable and honorable conditions; and thereby bound himselfe to pay yearly to the Emperor, a great number of pounds or markes of golde; and for the present, to release many thousand prisoners, which he held captiues: whereupon the peace was graunted and confirmed by *CONSTANTINE*, to ease himselfe of that trouble; and to the end to apply himselfe to the reformation of some other matters concerning the Christian faith; for he was concerning what he ought to beleeue, a very good Christian. This was concluded in the tenth yeere of his raigne.

But there presently ensued another trouble and a warre equall to the former; which was, that a certaine people of the prouinces of *Scythia* (the fountaine of many others before mentioned) called Bulgarians; not those which I heretofore spake of, but others a new, of the same name and stocke came downe into *Thracia*, being in number aboute one hundred thousand persons; and they began to make warre in the Empire, with a desire to take some good countrie, wherein they might dwell and inhabit, as many other nations before them had done. For the Northern countries are barren and ill inhabited; yet by reason of the cold, men multiplie and encrease in them exceedingly, as we daily see by experience, and *PAVLVS DIACONVS* noteth the same. The furie wherewith this people came, was so great, that they did infinite harmes; and they made themselves Lords of some especiall countries; which being seene and perceiued by the Emperor (in whom there wanted not the minde of a valorous prince) he raised his forces, and in his owne person went to defend his subiects; and the war for some daies space was very sharpe and cruell; and the Bulgarians fought to fight with him in the plaine field, which he (presuming much of his people, as a

T t 2

valiant

Victory of the  
Christians a-  
gainst the Sara-  
zins.Mauis King  
of the Sarrazins  
sought to the  
Emperor Con-  
stantine for  
peace.Warres be-  
tweene the  
Emperor and  
the Bulgarians.

A bataille be-  
tweene Con-  
stantine and  
the Bulgarians,  
wherein he  
was over-  
throwne and  
put to flight.

The Bulgarians  
sue to Constan-  
tine for peace.

The prouince  
of Serua giuen  
to the Bulga-  
rians, and there-  
fore called Bul-  
garia.

VVonderfull  
alteration of  
the elements in  
Italy.

A Councell  
held in Con-  
stantinople.

valiant Prince) refused not; and they fought with banners displaid, and the bat-  
taile was exceeding terrible. But it seemeth that through some his ill direction, or  
the great force of his aduersaries, the Emperour was ouerthrowne, and many of  
his people slaine, and he himselfe was constrained to vse the common remedie of  
those which are ouercome, which is to flie, by that meane to escape and to saue  
his life. And as in the battaile he had done what he was able; so afterwards ga-  
thering his people together, he retired with great good order and discretion.  
And it pleased God that at what time, as it seemed, and when it was also feared,  
that the Bulgarians would haue brought the Empire into great distresse, meere-  
ly of their owne accord they sent to the Emperour, and suing for peace desired him  
to giue them some place wherein they might inhabite, and they would become  
his friends, yea and euen his subiects: whereto he gaue eare, considering his pre-  
sent estate, with a very good will. And so treating of the matter for a certaine  
space to the purpose, the prouince of the lower *Misia* was assigned vnto them,  
and was (after their name) called *Bulgaria*: wherein they haue quietly and peace-  
ably inhabited, vntill that of late yeeres they were subdued by the Turkes; a new  
scourge and plague to the Christians, after *MAHOMET*.

While these things passed in *Sicilia*, in *Gracia*, and in *Asia*, which was the space  
of tenne yeeres; in *Italy* although there were peace betweene the Lombards and  
Italians, yet there failed not other miseries and persecutions: And there happed  
so great and so many tempests and alterations in the ayre, that it seemed that  
the foure elements had conspired against mankind: for the windes were so fu-  
rious and violent, that they ouerthrew many buildings, and rooted vp many  
trees by the rootes: and the raine likewise was so great and tempestuous,  
that it destroyed all their tillage, as well for breadcome as al other kind of hearbs  
and feedes: And therewith fell an infinite number of thunderbolts, and fires  
from heauen, which slew a great number of people: and the earth with these so  
great alterations became so corrupt, that there ensued many very contagious  
diseases. VVherfore the people repenting them of their sinnes, made their prayers  
and supplications to God, that it might please him to cease these so great calami-  
ties: but yet the reliques thereof remained a long time after. At this time died  
Pope *DEODATVS*, and by reason of his death the seate was void foure moneths:  
and making a new election in *Rome*, *DONVS* onely so called, was chosen Pope,  
who was held for a Saint, and liued two yeeres and a halfe (as saith *PLATINA*). In  
his time *THEODORE* Archbishop of *Rauenna* wholly submitted himselfe to the  
Church of *Rome*, whereas some of his predecessors, with the fauour of the Ex-  
archs or gouernours had before him denied the same. Others (amongst which is  
*BLONDVS*) affirme, that this happened in the time of his successor *AGATHVS*,  
who liued two yeeres and a halfe: in which time, although but short, he treated  
with the Emperour concerning a generall councell to be held, principally against  
the heresie of the Monothelites, which was disperfed ouer all the Churches of  
*Gracia*, which confounded the two natures in Christ, humane and diuine; affir-  
ming that in him was but a will onely. And so for this time the Greeke Church  
remained conioyned with the Latine: but it pleased God afterwards to suffer it  
to come (as wee now see) into the power and subiection of Infidels. In this coun-  
cel were many other matters handled concerning the reformation of the church  
and the ceremonies thereof: and this was the sixt of those Councils, which for  
their excellencies were so renowned and famous, and among the rest called vni-  
uersall. About this time Pope *LEO* the second ordained the *Paxe* to be giuen in  
the

the Church, which is obserued in the Church of *Rome* vntill this day. And he be-  
ing dead, *BENEDICT* the second succeeded him, with whose election the Empe-  
rour was so well pleased, that after that he had confirmed the same, he renounced  
the right and custome which the Emperours held to confirme the election of the  
Popes: to the end that from thencefoorth, so soone as by the Clergie they were  
chosen, they might vse their authoritie, without any neede of the Emperors con-  
firmation, or of their Exarchs or gouernours, as of long time they had vsed.

*CONSTANTINE* liuing in this prosperitie, had peace with the Sarazins; and  
the prouinces of *Africa*, and the Ile of *Sicilia* were in quiet, and so was *Italy*: for  
the Lombards being at variance and dissention among themselues, very firmly  
maintained the peace with the lands of the Empire: and the estates of *Gracia* with  
the territorie of *Constantinople*, were all in very quiet subiection. But this good  
forme and manner of gouernment was disturbed by the Emperors death, which  
shortly after ensued; when he had reigned seuentene yeeres, and had protected  
and defended the Empire which he enherited, with iustice and equitie, reforming  
errors in the Christian religion, as aforesaid. And thus it was, that falling grie-  
uously sicke in *Constantinople*, and the incurableness of his disease being in short  
space bruted abroad through the world (as vsually it happeneth) in some parts his  
death was published before that he was dead: whereof *GIZET* King of the Sa-  
razins, whom they called *AMVRATES*, being aduertised, and beleueing the same  
to be true, with all haste leuied a very great armie both by Sea and land, which he  
sent from *Egypt*, and conquered all the coast of *Africa* to *Carthage*: wherein, by  
reason of the Emperours death, he found no sufficient resistance. The warres of

*Africa* proceeding in this manner, the Emperour died before he was able to  
prouide for the same, as he would haue done if he had liued. He depar-  
ted out of this world in the yeere of our Lord, fixe hundred  
fourescore and fixe; his wiues name was *ANASTASIA*, by  
whom he had lawfull heires; of which *IUSTINIAN*  
and *IUSTIN* succeeded him in the Empire,  
as presently shall be declared.

VVarres made  
by Gize King  
of the Sarazins

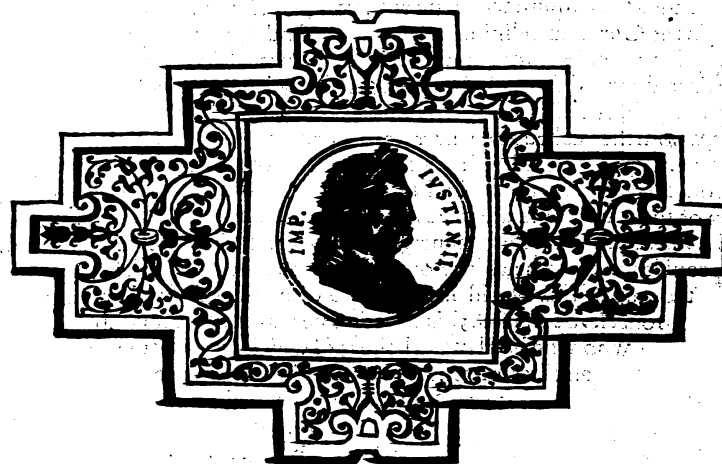
The death of  
the Emperour  
Constantine.  
Anno Dom.  
686.

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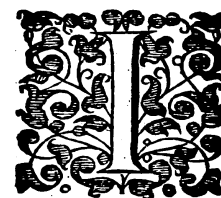
# THE LIFE OF IVSTINIAN THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THRESCORE AND EIGHT ROMANE EMPEVOVR.



## THE ARGVMENT.

**H**is Emperour attained to his dignitie being very young: in the beginning of his raigne he made warres against the Turkes, and constrained them to sue for peace: which for that he maintained not, is so happened that he losing a battaile in the second warre, was drinen to sue to them for peace: and returning home with disgrace was deposed from his Empire, having his nose and his eares cut off: and in his place Leoncius a Captaine of his was made Emperour. Afterwards another of his Captaines, whose name was Tiberius, rose against Leoncius, and deposed him from the Empire, and condemned him to perpetuall imprisonment, with a determination to haue put him to death with greater torment. Which Tiberius was likewise drinen out of the Empire by Iustinian: who with the aide of his father in law the King of Banaria, returned and recouered the Empire; wherein vsing extreme crueltie against the fauourites of Tiberius and Leoncius: finally mouing warres against the Bulgarians, wherein he had but little good fortune, he was compelled to returne home, to his great shame and dishonour. And beginning to stand in feare of one Philippicus, whom Tiberius had banished, and seeking meanes to kill him; Philippicus arose against him, and being made Emperour came to a battaile, wherein both Iustinian

*nian and his sonne Tiberius miserably ended their tragedie, represented in this scene of the world; with such varietie of fortune, that neuer any other Emperour was so much tossed and turmoiled as he was: and governed the Empire at both times fixe and twentie yeeres.*



**I**t is a rule in Rhetorike, vsed and obserued by great Orators, in the beginning of what they purpose to treat of, whether in writing, or pleading; to procure the attention, and willing audience of their hearers, or readers: which is principally done when they extoll or magnifie that which they haue to say; signifying to them that it shall be very agreeable or profitable: for with the desire to know some great matter, or moued with the greedines of the profit, or allured with the hope of the delight and contentment which is promised them, they attentiuely heare, or willingly reade what is proponed: yet the author alwaies ought to take good heed that he performe what he promise, and that in his speech he come not short of the expectation held of him.

I now comming to write the life of the Emperour IVSTINIAN the second, sonne of the Emperour CONSTANTINE the fourth; with an imagination to be found true in what I shall say, and that he which shall reade the same shall not be deceiued, doe entreate the reader to be attentiuely. And although I tell not wonders and marueilous things happened in the heauens and in the earth: yet truly hee which with attention shall reade the historie of fiteene yeeres following, shall see and vnderstand a pleasant and strange comedie, which fortune, or (to say better) the world represented in those times. The principall and chiefe parts whereof, we may say, were acted by the person of IVSTINIAN; who sometimes as an Emperour, and sometimes as a priuate man, entred vpon the stage: I may well say so, for that he was twice chosen and obeyed, and other twice deprived and bereaued of his Empire: so that it seemed that he went in and out, making a shew vpon the theater of the world: and with him other two or three Emperors or tyrants, which were in his time: as LEONCIUS, TIBERIUS, and PHILIPPICUS: which like comedians or actors in a tragedy did nothing but put off and on their maskes: for somtimes you should see them come in with a nose, and somtimes noselesse: somtimes by force of armes, and sometime by fauour; the one supplanting the other. Finally, I say that in my opinion, this historie seemeth to be as an old wiues tale, or a fained fable, only to depaint some great aduentures, or great misfortunes, it being for certain a most true historie: from which may be drawne a notable example of the inconstancie and incertaintie of the estate of this life, and lightly to account thereof; and to the end that men leaue to toyle and to take such care for the obtaining of riches and soueraigntie; and that they grow not proud when they haue compassed the same, neither be sorrowfull or diuained when they lose them, but alwaies account them for doubtfull matters, without any firme perseuerance: seeing and considering how great perill and daunger they passe in getting them, and how little assurance they haue to enioy them. Comming now to our historie, it passed thus: After the death of the Emperour CONSTANTINE, as he held the Empire in good order and gouernment in his life time; so his sonne IVSTINIAN after his de cease found no difficultie, but was gladly receiued and obeyed by all men: and notwithstanding that he was very young, being but fixteene yeeres old, yet hee began peaceably to gouerne his Empire; sauing that in Africa in the time of his fathers sicknes, and af-

*A rule in Rhetorike.*

*Iustinian his acts.*

ter his decease, the Sarazins became Lords of great part thereof. In the beginning of his raigne he commaunded great forces to be leuied, for the defence and recouerie of *Africa*; and as to a new Prince, so many and so good men of warre made repaire vnto him, that the Sarazins stood in feare of him. Wherefore VALDVLA their King and Captaine which succeeded GIZITES (the authors differ much in these names) sent to him for peace: and for as much as he offered very large conditions, IVSTINIAN graunted the same for tenne yeeres. The first of which was, that he should restore all that which he held in *Africa*; which was the citie of *Carthage*, and all that which lieth betweene that and *Egypt*, neere vnto the Sea side, besides other contributions of money and horses, which were to be paid vnto him yeerely: and this peace being confirmed, there was generally peace through all the whole Empire, without any suspition of warre: yea and some Historians report, that there was an vniuersall peace through all the world: so as neither the Kings of *France*, *Spaine*, nor *England*; neither the Princes of *Germany*, or the kings of the *Bavarians*, of *Slauonia*, of *Misia*, of *Bulgaria*, neither the Hunnes which inhabited *Hungarie*, among themselves had any warres, or were at any contention with any others: the like was in the estates and prouinces of the East. Which peace and quietnes IVSTINIAN through pride and euill counsell disturbed, by warring contrary to his promise and agreement made with the Sarazins; which he began very resolutely with great preparation: and after that he had sent LEONCIUS for his Generall, he went in person and did much harme, and recouered some countries in *Soria*, and entred *Mesopotamia*; where the Sarazins reinforcing their troupes, and repairing their armes, gathered together an infinite number of them, and came to giue him battaile; which the yong Emperor refused not: but yet after great slaughter of his people he was ouercome, and driuen to flee, and to abandon what he had recouered, and was brought to such extremitie, that he was faine to sue and entreate them for peace: which after many treaties and demands was concluded, and the Sarazins for that time remained in quiet. In this time died THEODORE Exarch or gouernour of *Italy*, and in his place was sent another principall man called IOHN, and Pope CONON aforesaid also died: and after much controuersie about the election of a new Bishop, for an Archbishop called THEODORE, and another called PASCUAL, fought to haue been Popes, and with money had bribed the Exarch IOHN, to assit them with his voyce and fauour: And the matter being likely to haue come to blowes, they all agreed to chuse one whose name was SERGIUS, borne in the citie of *Antioch* in *Syria*, who was held and obeyed for Pope: yet afterwards there were some commotions about that matter, which concerne me not to recite. In those daies died CVMPERTVS, who then was King of the Lombards, and him succeeded a sonne of his called LIMPETVS, of which we haue not made any mention, for that they liued in peace with the Italians and the Emperours subiects. The Emperour IVSTINIAN being returned out of *Asia* to *Constantinople*, with great losse and disgrace for the warre aforesaid; repairing his losses and harmes receiued, and making new prouision with little discretion and worse direction, resolved to begin the warre againe: wherein he had no better successe then in the former: And this was against the Bulgarians which inhabited *Misia*, with which his father had established a perpeuall league and amitie; and IVSTINIAN (as a light inconstant young man) breaking the conditions, entred their countrie with a great armie, with such power and furie, that neither the Bulgarians, nor their King durst take the fields to giue him battaile; but retired, and abandoning many places, fortified them-

Justinian contrary to his league, made warres against the Mahumetanes, and what ensued.

The warre made by Constantine against the Bulgarians.

themselves in the strongest; which so much emboldened the Emperour; that he prosecuted this warre with lesse heede and circumspection; then so important a case required: which when the Bulgarians perceiued, recouering courage, they assembled a great number of men, and cutting off all victuals from the Emperours armie, and stopping the passages of certaine riuers, they brought him to such extremitie, that although he would retire, he found so great daunger and difficultie therein, that hee was compelled to sue to them for peace; against whom, of his owne minde, voluntarily and without reason he made warre; which they graunted, vpon condition that hee should restore to them all the prisoners, and the townes and other things which hee had taken: and that hee should personally sweare, well and faithfully to maintaine the same, as well by himselfe as by all his Princes and principall Captaines. IVSTINIAN returning from this iourney, with no more honour then from the last, caused a new Councell to be assembled in *Constantinople*, to the end to reuoke and disanull that which therein in the former was determined, concerning certaine points in religion: and the Pope being herewith discontented, sent his Legates to hold his place therein, and to see what the Councell would treat of: wherein by the Emperours authoritie there were some things handled against the determination of the last Councell: whereof the Pope being aduertised, reprobued and disanulled what was therein concluded; and approoued and confirmed the last Councell, and sent commaundement to dissolue the present. Wherewith the Emperour was so highly displeased, that he presently sent ZACHARIAS the Commander generall of all his men of warre to *Rome*, with commission to apprehend the Pope and to send him to *Constantinople*: And ZACHARIE being arriued in *Italy* about this exploit, notwithstanding that he dissembled the matter, yet was it soone discouered, and SERGIUS had so wonne the hearts of the people, that all the companies which lay in *Rauenna*, and the marches thereof, and in other parts of *Italy*, came with all speede to *Rome*, with intent to haue slaine ZACHARIE, and to haue released the Pope, whom ZACHARIE had alreadie apprehended. When ZACHARIE vnderstood with what furie these men of warre came against him, despairing of any other remedie, hee yeelded himselfe to the Popes mercie, whom he then held prisoner: and the Pope pardoning the offence, protected him, and hid him in his palace; and sitting in his throne, holding great estate, hee attended the coming of the armie which came from *Rauenna*, together with the *Romane* people: and they very earnestly desiring him to deliuer ZACHARIE into their hands, hee made an oration vnto them, perswading them to moderate their displeasure, seeing that he had pardoned the offence: whereto they all consented, and ZACHARIE being brought into his presence, had leaue to depart, although with much shame and disgrace. And the Pope so cunningly handled the matter, that hee brought the Emperour into such hatred, and made him so odious to the people, that their whole studie was how to depose him from the Empire: and as they were all willing thereto, the effect easily ensued.

IVSTINIAN hauing represented (as I said) the first act of the Comedie, a great Captaine called LEONCIUS before mentioned, whom he had of long time held prisoner, determined to rebell against him: and hauing secretly conferred of the matter with GALLICANVS the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and with his other friends; vpon a day he suddenly came from his house, accompanied with many armed men; and calling and gathering men together against the Emperour, hee went to the *Iayles*, and set all the prisoners at libertie; and the people very willingly

Constantine sued to the Bulgarians for peace.

The Pope began to contend with the Emperour.

Pope Sergius disanulled the Councell assembled by the Emperour Constantine.

Leoncius rebelled against the Emperour.

lingly accompanying him, he went to the Emperors pallace, and easily apprehended him : and proclaiming himselfe Emperor, deprived the other of his Empire ; and was crowned with great ioy of the people, which euer delighteth in nouelties, but chiefly with the chaunge of princes, and great magistrates; for the present estate doth neuer please them, they euer commend that which is past, and still desire a new. LEONCIUS was crowned, and IVSTINIAN had his eares and his nose cut off, and some say his tongue also, to make him seeme vgly and the more to be abhorred ; and hauing brought him to this estate, he banished him for euer, to the cite of *Chersona in Pontus*, the furthestmost boundes of the Empire. Which befell him in the tenth yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord, sixe hundred fower score and sixteene, yet some say more; where let vs leaue him for some space, whilest that LEONCIUS may in the meane time represent that part of the comedie, which we promised you.

The great hatred which the people bare against the Emperor IVSTINIAN, was the principall occasion that moued the tyrant LEONCIUS to rebell and to take the name and state of Emperor : for IVSTINIAN was brought into such hatred with the people, that they would haue accepted of any man that had dared to attempt to haue made himselfe Emperor; and much sooner of LEONCIUS, who was a valiant and expert man of warre, and had held great charges and offices therein. In the beginning all things happened vnto him, according to his desire; for IVSTINIAN had neither the heart nor meanes, in his banishment, to restore himselfe; neither was there found any resistance or contradiction in any other man in the Empire : and so LEONCIUS began to enioy his Empire in peace. But the Sarazins or Agarenes and HADIMILICH their King, who already had a determination to subuert and wholly to destroy the Empire; seeing the dissention therein, and accounting the state of LEONCIUS not to be firme; they with a great and mightie armie from *Egypt* (as at other times they had done) invaded the prouinces of *Africa*, and tooke many cities and strong holds therein : against which LEONCIUS with no small feare and care, sent a singular captaine called JOHN; but he gaue him no such armie as therewith he might be able to giue his enemies battaile in the plaine fields; by reason whereof, he was constrained by wildes and stratagemes to maintaine the warres; and defended the countrie for some time, daily solliciting the Emperor, to send him such supply of souldiers, as therewith he might be able to fight with them : and seeing that neither by letters nor messengers he could obtaine his sure, vpon a time when he thought his absence might be least preiudiciall, leauing his armie in the best order that he could, and a very good captaine called TIBERIVS ABSIMARVS for commander in his place; he tooke his way towards *Constantinople*, to the end to conferre with LEONCIUS about the sending of some better supply for the warres of *Africa*, and comming suddenly thither, he found not that prouision which he expected and as was needfull; and therefore was driuen to stay longer then was expedient; for the Emperor busying himselfe about other matters of small profit, tooke least care for those things which were of greatest importance. The armie in *Africa* seeing his long absence, began to murmur against their captaine, for so leauing them; and likewise against the Emperor LEONCIUS: and from murmuring in speeches, they became so audacious, as to perswade TIBERIVS ABSIMARVS, who was left for their commander, to make himselfe Emperor : and he was presently created and obeyed by the whole armie. And as ambition and desire to commaund is a thing which chiefly moueth

Leoncius made  
Emperor.

Anno Dom.  
696.

The Sarazins  
invade Africa.

ueth men in this world; so TIBERIVS to his owne harme, accepted that which they offered him; as hereafter this historie shall make manifest. But as he was neither carelesse or a coward; so he speedely so soone as he had taken vpon him the title of Emperor, determined to procure the possession and government thereof; and preparing with the greatest haste that might be to take the Emperor LEONCIUS vnprovidid, he departed from *Africa*, abandoning the same to the Infidels; which was the cause that afterwards it was wholly lost : and he with a very good fleet, brought his people to the coast of *Gracia*; where, with the aide and fauour of his friends and kindred, which were on land, he tooke harbour, and came to *Constantinople*, wherein LEONCIUS had fortified himselfe, thinking to defend the same : whereupon they came to blowes, without iustice, or iust cause of either side; for hec which came to take away the tyrant, did it to the end to be so himselfe, and was so already : but betweene the two euils the last preuailed, and TIBERIVS entred by force of armes, and became Lord both of the cite and of LEONCIUS also; although not without much trouble and slaughter of many men. And vpon LEONCIUS he commaunded the same punishment to be inflicted which he had giuen to IVSTINIAN; which was to haue his nose and his eares cut off, and to be committed to perpetuall imprisonment; with an intent to haue shewed him greater crueltie : LEONCIUS hauing raigned three yceres onely; which was within little (more or lesse) of the yeere of our Lord, sixe hundred nintie and nine. And in this manner LEONCIUS went out of the Theater, and TIBERIVS plaied his part therein, during the time that LEONCIUS was in prison, and IVSTINIAN banished; and vntill such time as IVSTINIAN returned to the stage, which was so soone as TIBERIVS had acted his part.

In such manner as I haue declared, TIBERIVS tyrannized the Empire, and as it may be coniectured by the histories, had continued a long time, if he could haue been contented, and not haue attempted more then was fit for him to haue done; so as he himselfe wrought his owne confusion. The first thing that he did after that he was Lord and absolute; was to commaund many of LEONCIUS his friends to be either slaine, or depouled of their goods; as fauorits of a tyrant. And truly he had reason on his side, if he had had authoritie to haue inflicted such punishment, and had not himselfe been guiltie of the same crime, and been a traitor and a tyrant to him, to whom he had sworne fidelitie, as to his Emperor; and also to the captaine which left him in his place : punishing the treason, wherein he himselfe had been a partaker, and had approued the same. And this his holy zeale extended it selfe so farre, that a great familiar friend of his whose name was PHILIPPICVS, and who had greatly aided him in his enterprise, and to bring him to that estate, onely for saying that vpon a night in his sleepe he dreamed that an Eagle alighted vpon his head (imagining that to prognosticate him to be an Emperor) was by his commaundement apprehended and banished into an Iland, wherein he could haue no conference or societie with any body : notwithstanding that hee was a noble gentleman, and of high linage, from whence he afterwards sent him, to the cite of *Chersona*, whither the depouled Emperor IVSTINIAN was also banished. We will tell you hereafter what happened vnto this PHILIPPICVS; for he was one of the actors in this comedie. TIBERIVS hauing executed these his cruelties, sent his brother HERACLIVS with an armie to aide the Armepians, which in auncient time had been subiect to the Empire, and now rose and rebelled against the infidels : and he

Abismarus created Emperor.

The losse of  
Africa.

Leoncius deposed by Tiberius.

Leoncius his nose and eares cut off.

Anno Dom.  
699.

Philippicus banished for a dreame.

wonne

Theophilatus  
Exarch of  
Italy,

wonne a great battaile, and slew a great number of them: but it seemeth that he did not long enjoy the victorie; for the Infidels in proceſſe of time prevailed, and their Empire greatly encreased. In *Italie* also there fell discord and diffention betweene the Lombards and Italians, which had liued together a long time in peace. The cause whereof was for that *TIBERIVS*, through the death or absence of *IOHN* the Exarch aboue named, sent into *Italie* for Exarch or Gouvernor, a chamberlaine of his, called *THEOPHILATVS*, wherewith all *Italie* was much grieved; for the greatest part thereof now pretended to be subiect to the Pope; or at least abhorred the gouernment and Empire of the Greekes. *THEOPHILATVS* came not to *Rauenna* as his predecessors vsed to doe, but landed in *Sicilia*, from thence to come to *Rome*: which so soone as it was published, all the companies which lay in *Rauenna*, and in other places, came to *Rome*, attending his coming; rather as an enemy, then as their Generall. And so being arriued, if *IOHN* which at that time was Pope, had not protected him, he had there been slaine. But through his fauour he had libertie freely to depart and to goe to *Rauenna*; out of hope to doe what he had proiected, for in *Rome* they would not obey him: whereupon hee procured the Lombards to make warre against the Romanes, or at least against those cities which the Romanes held neereſt to *Rome*, principally *Beneuent*, whereof was Duke and Gouvernor a great man whose name was *SISVLPHVS*, who was therewith much annoyed: but the Pope redressed and restored all his losses with his riches and treasure, and buying peace, the estate of *Italie* recovered rest and quiet. But our Lord would not permit *TIBERIVS* to rest in peace: for waxing ielous of the Emperor *IVSTINIAN*, which carelesse and noselesse liued exiled in *Chersona*, or as some say, vnderſtanding that *IVSTINIAN* purposed to procure aid, to returne to challenge the Empire, whereof he was dispossessed by the Emperor *LEONCIVS*; he began to practise his death: and to that effect, sent some to deale with the inhabitants of that citie. *IVSTINIAN* being aduertised hereof, and standing in great feare of his life, in the best manner that he could, tooke shipping, and sailing ouer the sea called *Euxinum* or *Ponticum*, landed in *Europe*, and came to the King of the Bauarians, who was a very mightie prince; by whom he was not onely well received, but was also married to his sister or daughter. And hee appointed him an house and estate, promising him all aide and fauour to restore him; so as there began to be a great alteration through all the Empire, seeing that *IVSTINIAN* was now to returne to play his part vpon the stage of the world. *TIBERIVS* being aduertised hereof, tooke it to heart (as indeede hee had reason) and imagining that hee should preuaile little by force, he practized to see whether money would take effect, which commonly can doe more then either sword or lance; and to that effect delt with *CAYANVS* (for as I said so the Bauarians called their King) to deliuer *IVSTINIAN* into his hands; for whom he would giue him a great sum of money, and this couetous and inconstant King, greedy thereof agreed with him vpon the summe, and promised to accomplish his desire; and being readie to haue put it in execution, by chance *IVSTINIAN* had intelligence thereof; and so alone pursued by him which was either his father in law, or his brother in law, he escaped by flight. And about one yeere after that he had long wandred, hee went to the King of *Bulgaria*, whose name was *TREBELIVS*; who pitying his calamitie, gaue him great entertainment; and in short space made so great prouision of men and armes, that he tooke his way with him towards *Constantinople*; wherein were many which desired his returne, for the hatred which they

Tiberius sought  
to put Iustinian  
to death.

Iustinian fled  
to the King of  
the Bauarians,  
with whom he  
made alliance.

Tiberius practised  
with the  
King of the Ba-  
uarians to de-  
liuer Iustinian  
into his hands  
for money.

Iustinian saved  
by the King of  
the Bulgarians,  
by whose aide  
he returned to  
Constantinople,  
and put Leon-  
cius and Tibe-  
rius to death.

they bare to *TIBERIVS*. To be brieſe, in short time and with little difficultie, although with some effuſion of blood, he came to the Imperiall citie, and entring it by force of armes, *TIBERIVS* fled from it: but being afterwards ouertaken and brought backe into his power, he committed him to that priſon wherein *LEONCIVS* was, which had deposed him, and cut off his nose and his eares: and making them both to be first carried through all the most publike streetes of the citie, he caused them openly to be slaine, after that *TIBERIVS* had reigned ſeuene yeeres. Such are the rewards which the world giueth to those, which to the end to beare sway and to commaund therein, forget God. And so ended these two mightie Emperours, or more properly, proud tyrants. And *IVSTINIAN* not contented to execute his wrath vpon those two alone, made *TIBERIVS* his brother to be hanged; and many of the friends vnto both of them, to be either robbed or slaine: and the Patriarch *GALLICANVS* who conspired with *LEONCIVS* against him, had his eyes plucked out. And they further report of him, that so often as he would haue wiped his nose (if he had had it) he caused some of those which had been followers of his enemy *LEONCIVS* to be slaine. And so the banished Emperour *IVSTINIAN* recovered his throne and Empire; and returned againe to the theater, to act the rest of his comedie, which was nine yeeres after that he was cast out of it; in the yeere of our Sauour *IESVS CHRIST* ſeuene hundred and fixe.

Iustinian made  
Tiberius his  
brother to be  
hanged.

Iustinian made  
the Patriarch  
of Constanti-  
nople his eyes  
to be put out.  
Iustinian re-  
turned to his  
Empire.  
Anno Dom.  
706.

Presently after that *IVSTINIAN* saw himselfe restored and confirmed in his Empire, and hauing executed so great cruelties, as the like had seldome bin heard of, vpon those which he supposed had offended him; he sent great and rich presents to *TREBELIVS* King of *Bulgaria*, who had holpen him to recouer his dominion, with a very gracious and pleasing ambassade: but as it shall hereafter appeare, he continued but a while so gratefull. He also sent for his wife *THEODORA*, daughter of *CAYANVS* King of the Bauarians, from whose Court he fled; she liuing in a certaine place absent from her father; for as some write, she aduertised her husband of the treason which her father pretended against him. And she being come, hee made her to be honoured as Emperesse and Augusta: and his young sonne whom hee had by her in time of his exile, he caused to be chosen and called Emperour. Other matters concerning his gouernment and execution of iustice, were corrupt and out of order: for as the princes were wicked, so were the subiects; for such as is the head, such are the members: so that so farre as I can coniecture, these were the most miserable and lamentable times, that euer the Christian Common-wealth endured since *CHRIST* was borne; God permitting it for a punishment of the wicked, wherewith the world did then abound; and for the greater reward of those which suffered amongst them: for besides the warres and troubles of the Emperours, which tyrannized the Empire, there was so little faith and feare of God, that the Church lost in those daies all the prouinces of *Africa*, wherein, in steed of *CHRIST* perfect God and man, *MALOMET* is adored and worshipped vntill this day, without recouerie. Which to relate in such manner as it passed, I neither haue time thereto, neither doe I finde it distinctly written: but that after that *TIBERIVS* went thence with the name of Emperour, and deposed *LEONCIVS* from the Empire; the Sarazins seeing the countrie abandoned, came out of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and other prouinces of the East, and made a conquest thereof; finding so small resistance, that within the space of foure yeeres they became Lords of all the countries from *Egypt*, vnto the prouince of *Mauritania Tingitana*, and to that which now is *Centa*, *Tanar* and *Arca-*

The Infidels  
conquered A-  
frica.  
la:

The conquest  
of Spaine by  
the Infidels  
Moors.

la : wherefore we call those of *Mauritania*, Mauri or Moores and Arabians, for that they came out of *Abrabia*; being one hundred and seuentie yeeres after that *Africa* was recovered from the Vandales, and had serued and been subiect to the Empire. And within tenne yeeres after this, with the furie and ioy of their victorie (DON RODRIGO then raigning King in *Spaine*) they being aided by a traitor an Earle called DON IULIAN, and others, came ouer into *Spaine*, and in three yeeres conquered almost all the land, slaying in battaile King RODRIGO, and the most part of the Gothes, excepting some few which liued in the mountaines of *Biscay*, *Galicia* and *Ouiedo* : from whence afterwards (although abandoned by the Christian Kings and Princes) they haue by little and little, not without great trouble and effusion of much bloud, recovered their countries : and finally about one hundred yeeres since, the Infidels were driuen out of all *Spaine* by King FERDINAND and Queene ISABELL. So as if the other Christian Kings had done their parts as well as the Kings of *Spaine*, it is to be beleued that Christianity had not been so much diminished, but had againe recovered what it then lost, and had been restored to that greames wherein it was in the time of some ancient Emperours. But for as much as it is the iudgement of God, wee will leaue it to him, and returne to our historie, which is of the Emperours onely. IVSTINIAN being in *Constantinople*, executing his cruelties against the friends and parents of TIBERIVS and LEONCIUS, it so happened that the subiects to the King of *Bulgaria*, which had been so much his friend, fell at oddes with some of the Emperours subiects of *Thracia*, a prouince of the Empire, wherein standeth *Constantinople*, about parting their bounds : which when he vnderstood (forgetting the benefits receiued) vpon this small occasion hee raised an armie against TIBERILIVS King of *Bulgaria* aforesaid, and entring his countrie, destroyed many places and did much hurt : wherewith the King being greatly moued, gathered such forces together as he could, and came to fight with the Emperour; and they two fought a cruell battaile, wherein the Emperour was iustly ouerthrowne, and fled out of the countrie of the Bulgarians : and so this warre was ended to his dishonour. But as God neuer made any thing without some propertie; so this Emperour euer respected and reuerenced the Church of *Rome* and the Pope, namely CONSTANTINE which then was Pope, after the two IOHNS, the sixt and the seuenth, which succeeded SERGIUS, who went to *Constantinople* to see the Emperour, and by the way met with IOHN TOZOCOPOS, which came to be Gouernour of *Italy*; and comming to *Rome* would haue taken vp the Church rents, and goods, but was resisted by the Popes ministers, and he slew some of them : wherfore he grew so hatefull, that he was driuen to go to *Rauenna*, where for the same cause, or the hatred which they bare against the Exarchs and former gouernours, the people vpon a day arose and killed him. The Pope was with great honour receiued by the Emperour, and when they had seene the one the other, the Emperour prostrated himselfe vpon the earth, and so much abased himselfe, as to kisse the Popes foote, with vnmeasurable shew of obedience : for as it may be gathered by this Princes doings, he was both fearefull and reuengefull, which are vices which vsually goe together.

And here hence it sprang, that in time of his greatest prosperitie, he began to stand in feare of PHILIPPICVS, who liued in exile in *Pontus*, by the commandment of the tyrant TIBERIVS; and that for no other cause, but for saying that he had dreamt of an Eagle. And IVSTINIAN desired also to be reuenged of the citie *Cherson*, alleaging for his reason, that the citizens had misused him when hee lay

lay there in time of his banishment : wherefore he commaunded a great armie to be leuiued, and a naue to be rigged, to the end to goe to destroy that citie; and to take and kill PHILIPPICVS, who liued there merrily and well content with his banishment, if they would haue suffered him to haue been at rest. And it pleased God to order matters in such manner, that what IVSTINIAN did to assure himselfe in the Empire, was the cause of his destruction, and the losse thereof : for PHILIPPICVS vnderstanding that he came against him, and acquainting those of *Cherson* therewith, which also expected their owne destruction, he resolved to take vpon him the name of Emperour, and to die like a man at armes fighting. Before which, there passed other matters, which I omit : but the conclusion is, that seeing no other remedie they all consented together, and the armie and captaines, sent by IVSTINIAN against *Cherson*, forsaking him reuolted to PHILIPPICVS, who by his surname was called BARDANIVS. And he seeing himself with power fit for his purpose, in steed of being affailed resolved now to giue the assault; and therefore in great haste with a very great power, he tooke his way towards *Constantinople*, where IVSTINIAN expected him : for after that hee vnderstood what passed, hee had raised a new armie, and encamping himselfe about twelue miles from the citie, attended the comming of PHILIPPICVS : who so soone as he arriued set himselfe in order of battaile, and IVSTINIAN did the like, and they fought the greatest part of the day very resolutely : but in the end the victorie remained with PHILIPPICVS, and IVSTINIAN was ouerthrowne and slaine in the battaile, and together with him his sonne TIBERIVS, being but a very childe, with much people of either side : And so ended the cares and Empire of the most infortunate and vnluckie prince IVSTINIAN; seeing that in his time were so many disasters & calamities in the world : whose life & acts were such as I haue shewed you. And if the reader haue attentiuely read what I haue written, I gesse he will not hold me for a lier, in that which I said in the beginning, that the historie of his time, for the varietie of chaunges which then happened, was as a fained Comedie, or to say more properly, a Tragedie, considering the beginning and end thereof. He died in the yeere of our Lord, seuen hundred and twelue, little more or lesse, and in the seuen and twentieth yeere after he first began to raigne.

Justinian and  
his sonne slaine  
in a battaile a-  
gainst Philip-  
picus.

Anno Dom.  
712.

V v 2

THE



THE LIFE OF PHILIPPICVS,  
ONLY OF THAT NAME,  
AND THRESCORE AND NINE  
ROMANE EMPEROVR.



**T**He Emperour IVSTINIAN being ouerthrowne and slaine, PHILIPPICVS called also BARDANVS OF BARDANES, remained Emperour, of whom there is little to be written, for that he so small a time enioyed the Empire, and for that the authors which I follow, make small mention of him. And of that little which we know of him, the first is, that so soone as he came to *Constantinople*, and was there sworne and crowned, he began to hold certaine doubtfull opinions of the Christian faith; as well concerning the diuinitie of CHRIST, as some other matters, contrary to the determination of the sixth generall councill, holding with the Monothelites: and hereupon he assembled certaine Bishops in *Constantinople*, banishing CYRVS the Patriarch thereof, and in his roome placing a Monke called IOHN. And therewith not satisfied, he wrote his letters and sent an Ambassade to the Pope, requiring him to approue his opinions. Which the Pope not onely refused to doe, but for answer, commaunded him vpon great curses and excommunications to renounce the opinions which he held

*Cyrus Patriarch of Constantinople banished by Philipicus.*

held: and in *Rome*, in the Cloisters, and in the Porches of Saint PETERS Church, he commaunded to be painted and written the determinations of the sixth generall councill, to the end that all men might know and beleue the same. Whereof when the Emperour was aduertised, he presently commaunded that painting and writing to be rased and defaced, and the like to be done to all the crucifixes, images, and pictures of CHRIST, of our Ladie, and of the Saints, which he affirmed not to be adored, or to be set vp in Churches. But his commaundements were little regarded by the Pope, or the Romane people; for by a generall decreet they proclaimed him for a scismaticke and an heretike, and the Pope further commaunded that in their diuine seruice hee should not bee prayed for, neither should there be any mention made of his name in any publike act or proclamation, which was executed accordingly: by meanes whereof he became odious and hatefull to the people of *Rome*, and generally of all *Italy*, wherein the Empire and gouernment of the Greekes began to bee of small authoritie; by reason of the great power of the Lombards; and the great commaund and authoritie of the Popes. For as much as the Emperours were contrarie to them in some points of religion, the people abhorred them, and denied to be their subiects: but PHILIPPICVS, notwithstanding the Popes fulminations, would not be diuerted from his determination; wherefore and for some other occasions, certaine principall men secretly conspired against him; the chiefe of which, was one ANTHEMIVS; which followed in this manner. The Emperour resting himselfe vpon an Whitsonday euen, after certaine disports on horsebacke, vsed in those times; the conspiratours violently rushing into his lodging apprehended him, and carrying him thence to another place pluckt out his eyes, and leauing him blind and imprisoned, refusing to kill him, they depriued him of his Empire, when he had raigned but one yeere and a halfe only: and they aduanced the same ANTHEMIVS to the Empire, and gaue him to name, ANASTASIVS.

*Philipicus excommunicated by the Pope.*

*Philipicus being deposed, had his eyes put out.*

This happened in the yeere of oure Lord seaven hundred and fourteene.

*Anno Dom. 714.*

Vv 3

THE



THE LIFE OF ANASTASI-  
VS THE SECOND OF THAT  
NAME, AND THRESCORE AND  
TENNE ROMANE  
EMPEROR.



**I**F the desire and libertie to sinne in that time, had not taken such roote amongst men, ANASTASIUS had been an excellent Emperor, and had well gouerned the Common-wealth; for hee was a vertuous and a iust man, and of a deepe vnderstanding and iudgement: but by reason of the former gouernment, the wicked were so accustomed to the libertie of ill doing, that they could not endure to bee ruled by any one that should minister and execute iustice. For as in a body diseased and so full of corrupt humors, that naturall vertue is therewith oppressed and ouercome, being vnable to resist the humour, no phisicke can preuaile or worke any effect, but is rather loathsome and cast vp againe: euen so it happened to ANASTASIUS, and to THEODOSIUS the third also, who was his successor: for men were then so hardened and noulsed vp in doing ill; and so accustomed to escape cleere without any punishment for the same, that it seemed an hard and intollerable matter for them to endure their good gouernment, for the small time that they liued in subiection, as in their places shall appeare.

Anastasi-  
us bis  
chief care.

So soone as ANASTASIUS was Emperour, of two things he tooke especiall care, the first and principall was for the Christian faith and religion, wherein some  
of

of his predecessours had erred: the other was to take order for the defence of the Empire, which he found ill guarded and out of order. Touching the first, he sent his letters and ambassiadours to the Pope, whereby he protested to belecue and to hold that faith which the Church of Rome beleued, and approuing and ratifying the generall counsels, he commaunded all his subiects to hold and beleue the same. And as concerning the Empire, knowing that the greatest harme that it receiued was from the Sarazins (MAHOMET'S disciples) which then had conquered all *Africa*; against them onely he determined to employ all his whole force and power, seeing that he could not obtaine the peace which he had first procured. And thereupon he speedily leuiued captaines and souldiers, and made a principall man (whose name was LEO) Generall of his army for the defence of the frontiers against *Soria*, for from thence the Infidels inuaded *Asia* the lesse. And for the seas he rigged vp a verie great fleet, and therein shipped his mightie army with an intent to sayle into *Egypt*, and to make a conquest thereof, attempting first the citie of *Alexandria*. All which being set in order, and sufficient prouision made of all things necessarie, the Emperour being verie ioyfull, hoping that some great exploit would haue been done, the fleet departed from *Constantinople* and sayled to *Alexandria*, wherein the feare wherewith the inhabitants were stricken, was greater than the hurt they receiued: for the imperialists hauing besieged the citie, through want of certaine necessities (either in deed or fained) raised their siege, and returning to their ships, sayled to the Ile of *Rhodes*, and some say to *Phenicia* in *Asia* the lesse, to make prouision of engines, and other necessities, which they said were needfull for the battering of *Alexandria* and other townes. Whereof when the Emperour had intelligence he was greatly displeased, and reprehending his captaines, sent them new prouision of all things necessarie, commaunding them presently to returne to the warre which they had already begun. But in that age militarie discipline was as much decayed and corrupted as other sciences, and as I said in the beginning, The people being accustomed to liue after their owne fantasie, and being discontented with the gouernment of a good Emperour, the army mutined, and agreed among themselves to leaue their enterprise against the Infidels, and to turne head against the Emperour ANASTASIUS; and taking land in *Asia* the lesse, the greatest and most principall part of the armie marched ouer land; and imagining, that without an head and leader the army could hardly be well gouerned, they made choise of one to be their Emperour, whose name was THEODOSIUS, a man of meane parentage, but yet honest and of good behauiour, and well knowne to them all, for he had been treasurer or receiuer of the Echequor, and of the reuenues of the Empire: who for his good conditions was well beloued of all men, and him they chose and made Emperour perforce and against his will. In my iudgement he had reason to refuse it: for in truth the estate of the Empire and the faith and obedience borne to the Emperours in those times was such, that not onely those which were vnworthy ought not to accept of the Empire, but euen those also which were capeable, and most sufficient and of greatest power, had reason by all waies and meanes possible to eschue the same.

ANASTASIUS vnderstanding of the rebellion of his men of warre, and how they had chosen THEODOSIUS for their Emperour, made little account thereof, (for he disdained him for the basenes of his linage, and the small experience hee had in the warres) neuerthelesse he raised a great power, and went into *Asia* to seeke him, and meeting him neere vnto the citie of *Nicea*, the principall citie in

V v 4

Bythinia,

Theodosius cho-  
sen Emperour.

*Anastasiustaken prisoner by Theodosius.*  
*Anno Dom. 717.*  
 Bythinia, they fought a battaile, wherein through the secret iudgement of God, ANASTASIUS was ouerthrowne and taken prisoner, when hee had raigned one yeere and three moneths onely; yet some say three yeeres: And the new chosen THEODOSIVS remained with the victorie, together with the Empire, and ANASTASIUS being depofed, remained prisoner and in his power, whom he made a priest. Which after the computation of ABBAS VVESPERGENSIS, and of MATHEV PALMERIVS, was in the yeere of our Lord, feuen hundred and feuentene; PHILIPPICVS being yet liuing, whom ANASTASIUS had depriued of the Empire; so as he was his companion both in estate and fortune. It seemeth that in the time of this ANASTASIUS, the Infidels made an end of the conquest of *Spainc.*

## THE LIFE OF THEODOSIVS, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND THRESCORE AND eleuenth Romane Emperour.



THEODOSIVS seeing himselfe such as he neuer thought to haue been; obeyed, and sworne Emperour, without any resistance or contradiction; went to *Constantinople*, and as he was noble in bountie and goodnesse, so he lost no iote of his good conditions, by being aduanced to the greatnesse and height of the Empire, but rather seemed to haue increased the same. First he would not suffer ANASTASIUS to be put to death, neither to be any way grieved in his person; but onely to be assured of him, he caused him to be made a priest, and gaue him exhibition, wherein he continued vntill the time of the Emperour LEO, when by persuation of a certaine captaine he sought to haue recovered the Empire, which cost him his life, as hereafter we will recount, if so it shall be expedient. THEODOSIVS hauing set matters in order in generall, particularly commaunded the images and pictures which PHILIPPICVS had caused to be rased and defaced, to be repaired and new made; and in other matters concerning religion,

*Theodosius made Anastasius to become a priest.*

gion, he commaunded his subiects to obserue and hold that which the counsels had decreed, and the Church of *Rome* maintained, and so made shew of a pleasing Emperour. But fortune neuerthelesse shewed her selfe his enemy; for *Leo* whom his predecesour ANASTASIUS had made Generall for the defence of *Asia* the lesse against the Sarazins, and who yet had not done him any homage, vnder the pretence and colour to restore his master ANASTASIUS, ioyned himselfe with ARTAMASDV S another captaine, which in the confines of *Armenia* commanded the ordinarie garrisons of the Empire, & they both with all their whole power came against THEODOSIVS; and conning to *Nicomedia* they apprehended a son of his which was there, and from thence marching forwards he began to vsurpe the name of Emperour. Against this force and rage wherewith LEO came, THEODOSIVS durst make no resistance; but vpon assurance that he should not be put to death, or receiue other wrong in his person, he yeelded himselfe into his hands, and chose to liue a religious life in a Monasterie, and taking the habit remained therein; before that one yeare was expired, after that (against his will) he was made Emperour, so as now with him there were three Emperours which liued depofed. The first was PHILIPPICVS, whom ANASTASIUS had cast in prison, and had pluckt out his eyes, whose end what it was I find not written: the second was ANASTASIUS, whom (as I said) this THEODOSIVS made to take religious orders and habit: and now the third was the same THEODOSIVS, who yeelding himselfe to LEO, made choise rather of a religious life than to stand to his defence. Wherein if voluntarily he did it, or at least endured it with patience, (as is most likely) seeing that he was made Emperour perforce and against his will, truly he was in the right, and chose the better part and left the worser to LEO, which was the Empire: which he most wickedly gouerned, as hereafter shall appeare. This was in the yeere of our Lord feuen hundred and feuentene.

*Leo enticed himselfe Emperour.*

*Three Emperours liued at one time depofed.*

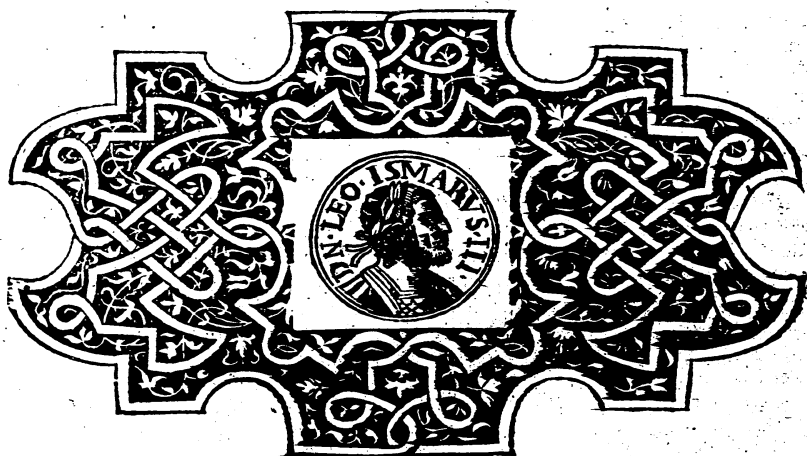
*Theodosius became a Monk.*

*Anno Dom. 717.*

THE



THE LIFE OF LEO, THE  
THIRD OF THAT NAME,  
AND THRESCORE AND  
twelfth Romane Emperour.



**W**HILE that these Emperours of a yeares standing, as Constables of countrey villages, or (to speake more properly) tyrants, did striue to subuert the one the other, without any conceit of making head against the Sarazins and Infidels, which daily increased and grew more mighty, so that Christendome was diminished and oppressed: for besides that which happened in the Empire, which now was of small force, in the kingdomes of *France* and in *Germanie*, were also warres betweene the French and the Burgonians, and likewise betweene the Frizons and the Sueuians, and betweene the Saxons and the Banarians, and other nations too long to be recited in this historie. At which time **CHARLES MARTEL** in *France* (through the fame of his noble actes) grew to bee verie much esteemed, and he conquered and subdued some, or the most part of all these said nations. This **CHARLES MARTEL** was Pretorian Prefect, or rather High Constable of *France*, which was the highest dignitie in that time next to the kings who by reason of the insufficiencie of king **CHILDERICVS**, who afterwards was deposed, and of his owne great valour (although the other had the name) yet hee had

The originall  
of Charles Mar-  
tell.

had the authoritie of king. And in *Italy* also were some innouations, so as the Infidels daily more and more preuailed: and hauing conquered the greatest part of all *Spaine*, they extended their power thence into *France*, and tooke *Catalonia*, and afterwards *Narbonne*, and besieged *Avignon*; which was within the bounds of the Gothish kings of *Spaine*. But those countries being afterwards recovered by the kings of *France*, continued in their subiection. These heathen Princes also conquered the Iles of *Maiorica* and *Minorica*, and other Ilands in that Sea, with the Ile of *Sardinia* also. Presently after that **THEODOSIUS** was deposed from his Empire, and that **LEO** the third of that name, was receiued and established, who was unworthie thereof; **ZULEMON** (whom some call after another manner) king and captaine of the Sarazins, and now Lord of *Asia*, of *Africa*, and of *Spaine*, making small account of **LEO**, or of the decayed and weakened Empire; resolved with himselfe wholly to subuert the same: and to that effect vsed all meanes and deuices possible, to amasse men and shipping, to the end to goe or send against the great citie of *Constantinople*, together with all *Thracia* and *Gracia*. The prouision which he made was so great, that some authors affirme that he had in his fleet three thousand saile of ships, and an incredible number of men of warre, which he sent vnder the conduct of two Generals, the one called **MASGILDVS**, and the other **SOLIMAN**. These armies came into *Europe*, and passed the streight of *Constantinople*, without any resistance: for although that the Emperour **LEO** had intelligence of their coming, yet was hee not able to raise so great power as might suffice to keepe them from landing. Wherefore he thought it a better course to defend the citie, and so suffered himselfe to be besieged therein, rather then to abandon it to the enemies, which made themselves Lords of both Sea and land, and besieged the citie round both by land and by sea, for the space of three yeeres continually. And notwithstanding that the besieged valiantly defended it, yet it was thought for certaine that it would haue been lost, if in the besiegers there had been such valour and policie, as was to haue been expected in such men: but through the desire to robbe, they disperfed themselves so wide ouer the land, that they were thereby greatly endamaged, and the citie was the lesse distressed, and had the better oportunitie to prouide such things as were wanting. And particularly some captaines with part of this armie, seeing that no man made resistance against them, romed vp and downe the countrie ouer all *Thracia*, killing and robbing vntill they came into *Bulgaria*, which in ancient time was called the lower *Misia*: for defence whereof, the king of that countrie sent so good an artifice, that he not onely defended his frontiers, but brake and ouerthrew his enemies, and slew of them (as some Historians haue written) two and thirtie thousand. But their power was so great, that all Christiandome stood in extreme feare of them, and held the Emperour **LEO**, and all *Gracia* for lost. At that time there rested so much ambition, and so little charitie amongst christians, that they could not be induced to giue ouer the warres, and priuate contentions amongst themselves: for in *Italy* the Lombards enlarged their dominion, and tooke all such townes as they could get either by force or policie. The Frenchmen and other princes did the like; and euen their owne captaines and seruants failed them in this extremitie: for **SERGIVS** who was Pretor or Gouverneur for **LEO** in *Sicilia*, holding the Emperour for lost, with the consent of some others, chose one **GRACIUS** for Emperour; and making him to chaunge his name, they called him **TIBERIVS**; what end he made I will tell you hereafter. Onely the Bulgarians assisted the Emperour, for in truth they had interest therein, considering the daunger that hung

Zulemon  
king of the Sa-  
razins made  
wars against  
the Empire.

Constantinople  
besieged by the  
Sarazins.

Bulgaria whi-  
ch some called the  
lower Misia.

Gregorie called  
and chosen  
Emperour.

hung ouer their owne heads, if the Sarazins preuailed. And the Christians which in *Constantinople* were besieged, made such prayers and supplications, that it seemed the Lord tooke compassion of them, and protected them: for no humane power was sufficient to haue resisted so great forces. Which as Historians affirm, was manifestly of diuine miracle, that in so long time as the siege lasted, the whole Empire had not been lost, considering and comparing the garrison which was within to defend the city, with the multitude and power of those which without besieged it; to whom by Gods ordinance, befell so many misfortunes and disasters, that without any mans helpe they were destroyed. First in the time of the siege died their King *ZULEMON*, whom they also called *AMVRATH*; and about the chusing of a new king they fell at so great variance and dissention among themselves, that they were disordred, and the besieged greatly recomforted, vntill at the last *AMINTHAS HVMAR* was chosen, who followed the warre more faintly and retchlessly then before: and there afterwards followed so cold weather, such stormes, and so many plagues of famine and pestilence amongst them, that the greatest part of them died, as well by land as by sea. Besides this, there followed so many tempests and violent windes vpon the seas, that in the best and safest harbours, their ships were ouerset and cast away; in such sort, that the Infidels were so much diminished and decayed, that the citie of *Constantinople* was not only freed and deliuered from that siege, but that few of them escaped with their liues from before it: for of three thousand faile which they brought thither in the beginning, so few returned with their people, that it seemeth to be a matter incredible; and besides that they were cast away in foule weather at sea, the Historians recount, that very many of their ships were burned by one mans industrie. Finally, all that great multitude and number of men and shipping, which seemed to haue been sufficient to haue ouerrunne the whole world, and to haue laid the same waste; in little more then two yeres was lost and consumed: and *LEO* remained the sole absolute Lord of all that which before he possessed, who shewed not himselfe so thankfull to God for his so great benefits as he ought to haue done. He had also no lesse good happe against *TIBERIVS* a tyrant, which rebelled in *Sicilia*, who in short space was brought to confusion: for the Emperor *LEO* sending from *Constantinople* the captaine of his horsemen called *PAVL*, with title and authoritie of Gouvernour of *Sicilia*, with letters to the captaines and souldiers there: which *PAVL* by a stratagem gat into the citie of *Siracusa*, now called *Sarragossa*; where shewing his authoritie to those of the citie, and of the armie; and they all knowing that the Emperour whom they held for lost, was aliue and at libertie, obeyed his commaund; and with such fauour receiued and entertained their new Captaine, that they apprehended their new king, and deliuered him into the power of this *PAVL*, who put him to death: and *SERGIVS* the Pretor of *Sicilia*, who was the author and originall of this rebellion, fled into *Italy* to the Lombards; and so that Iland remained in peace and obedience to the Emperour.

The Emperour *LEO* being freed from so great distresse and oppression, ought truly to haue applied himselfe to the seruice of God, and to haue rendred thanks for the same, and to haue relieued his poore subiects and vassals, of the losses and harmes by them sustained: but hee to the contrarie, vnder colour to recouer the charges which he had been at, laid new impositions and taxes vpon the people, and tooke order that the Churches should haue been ranfacked; against which Pope *GREGORIE*, to the vttermost of his power, opposed himselfe; by reason whereof

The death of  
Zulemon king  
of the Sarazins.

Aminthas Hu-  
mar chosen  
king of the Sa-  
razins.

Tempest, fa-  
mine and pesti-  
lence fell in the  
armie of the  
Sarazins by  
sea and land.

Paul put Gre-  
gorie to death.

whereof (enmitie growing betweene them) the Emperour sought to haue made away the Pope, or to haue taken him prisoner; and to that end sent thither for Gouvernour one *MARINVS*, and afterwards the Exarch *PAVL*, and there happened many accidents which I omit, vntill that at last the Pope found reliefe where he neuer thought to haue had any, which was in *LEVTFRAND* king of the Lombards. After this, the Emperour seeming desirous to be at peace with the Pope, requested him to cause the images to be taken from the Altars, and to be put out of the Churches and Temples, in such manner as he had done in *Constantinople*: whereto the Pope making a presumptuous answere, with great authoritie dispatched and sent his letters and Bulls through all Christendome, excommunicating the Emperour, and commaunding the images to be honoured and had in reuerence. The pontificall commaund of this Pope *GREGORIE*, was of such authoritie, and the Emperour was thereby brought into such disliking with the people, that the most of the cities in *Italy*, and the men of warre in *Rauenma* tooke part with the Pope against him; and there was so great debate and dissention in *Rauenma*, that they slew the Exarch *PAVL*, and desired the Pope to depose the Emperour *LEO*, and to chuse another in his place. This dissention gaue occasion and opportunitie to the Lombards (contrarie to the peace) to take the citie of *Bologna*, and many other cities and townes in that quarter. Which the Emperour perceiuing, desired and practised the Popes death or imprisonment, and to that end sent a new Exarch or gouernour into *Italy*, called *EVRISTIVS*; who landing in *Naples* (to be neere to *Rome*) endeuoured either by force or policie to execute his commission, writing letters to many his friends in *Rome* and elsewhere, to that effect, which put the Pope and his friends in great feare and perplexitie, seeing themselves of the one side oppressed by the Emperour, and on the other side standing in feare of the Lombards: wherefore they sought by all meanes to be at peace with them, which *LEVTFRAND* their king in consideration of his owne aduantage and benefit, granted, and came to *Rome*; hauing occasion to passe by it with an army against certaine captaines which rebelled in *Spoleto* and *Beneuent*, so as the Emperors practise was the second time made frustrate, but he had his will in throwing downe and burning all the images: and for as much as the Patriarch *GERMANVS* would not consent thereto, he deposed him from his prelatie, and placed another in his roome. And the case standing in this estate, Pope *GREGORIE* died, which was the second of that name; and him succeeded another of the same name borne in *Syria*, who commanded a generall councill to be assembled in *Rome*, whither came many bishops, and therein the vse and veneration of images was againe approoued and ratified, and the Pope proceeded against the Emperour, in such manner, that he was excommunicate and Anathematized by the councill. In that time hapned many terrible earthquakes, whereby many cities in *Asia* the lesse, and in *Gracia*, were destroyed: and the Sarazins came out of *Syria* into *Asia* the lesse, and did much hurt, and tooke certaine cities in *Cappadocia*. Before this, the Emperour made his eldest sonne being a young man, whose name was *CONSTANTINE, CESAR*, and nominating him his successor, married him to the Kings daughter of *Banaria* called *YRENE*. This seemeth to haue passed in the seauenteenth yeere of his raigne, all which time with the rest of his Empire, which was in all foure and twentie yeeres, he gouerned with greater rigor then becomed a King or an Emperour; and notwithstanding that he wanted neither valour nor policie to continew himselfe in the Empire; yet matters were carried by such violence and couetousnes, that in his

Leo sought to  
kill or imprison  
Pope Gregorie.

The Emperour  
Leo excommuni-  
cated by the  
Pope.  
The Popes ful-  
minations.

The Emperour  
sought the  
Popes death.

The kingdome  
of Antecrist  
erected.

The Emperour  
Leo excommuni-  
cated by the  
councill held  
in Rome.

Leo made his  
sonne Constantine  
Cesar and  
his successor in  
the Empire.

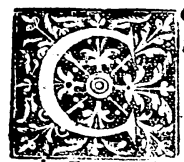
time were great warres. In *Italy* the Lombards tooke many cities, and besieged *Ravenna*, and the people within it, once againe slew their Exarch or gouernor. In *Asia* the lesse the Infidels entred the countrie, and robbing and spoiling the same, carried away an infinit number of captiues, and made a conquest of great part of the land. And all the provinces thereof, with *Gracia, Italie, the Isles of Sicilia and Creta*, now called *Candia*, which were in his subiection, were greatly oppressed with tributes, imposts, and other intollerable exactions, in such manner, that many reioiced at his death, which happened in the yeare of our Lord seuen hundred and one and fortie, he dying of a *Dysenteria*; and in his place remained his sonne *CONSTANTINE* the fift of that name, who was verie like to his father. The house and kingdome of *France* in these daies greatly increased, through the valour and wisdom of *CHARLES MARTEL*, which conquered and annexed to that kingdome the countries of *Freezeland, Saxonie, Auftrich, Burgundie*, and other great estates. The citie of *Venice* was now verie great and famous, and began to be gouerned by Dukes.

The death of  
Leo Emperor  
of Constanti-  
nople.  
Anno Dom.  
741.

## THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE THE FIFT OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND THIRTEENE ROMANE EMPEROR.



### THE ARGVMENT.



Constantine being established in the Empire, made present preparation for the warres against the Infidels in *Egypt*; but hee was molested and hindred by *Artaxius* a tyrant, which rose against him, and intitled himselfe Emperor: wherefore he returned, notwithstanding that he was already arrived at *Alexandria*, and tooke *Constantinople* by force, and punished the tyrant, although not with such severity as his offence deserved. At that time *Aistolphus* King of the Lombards making warre against *Rome*, *Pope Stephen* sued to the Emperor for aide, but he provided no such armie as the importance of the case required, thinking to pacifie *Aistolphus* by letters and ambassades: whereupon the Pope seeing the delay

and

and little regard of the Emperor, called the French-men into *Italy* to relieue him; and they coming, twice freed the citie of *Rome* from the hands of the Lombards: wherewith *Constantine* (understanding what the Pope had done) was displeased, and sent him an ambassade promising succour, which came not in time; for the French being already passed the *Alpes*, had compelled *Aistolphus* to render the cities, which *Pepin* gave to the Church of *Rome*. A counsell was called in *Rome*, and the Emperor was condemned for an heretike about the pulling downe of Images; and at that time also ended the kingdome of the Lombards under *Desiderius* their King. And *Constantine* making warre against the Bulgarians, fell sicke of a kinde of leprosie, called *Elephanzia*; and dying, left the Empire to his sonne *Leo*, when he had gouerned the same five and thirtie yeeres.



NOTWITHSTANDING that *Leo* was but a bad Emperor, and therefore ill beloued; yet so soone as he was dead, his sonne was receiued and obeyed, in hope that he would haue prooued better than his father, or else for that in his fathers time he was growne so mightie, that they durst not attempt to make choise of any other. But he prooued so good a scholler to his father *Leo*, that in all things he excelled and surpassed him much, and liued longer than he: so that these seeme not to be the liues of Emperours which we now relate, in comparison of those which are past; but like as in great vessels wherein wine or some other good liquor hath bin kept, as it consumeth, so it becommeth of a worse tast, and in the bottome there remaine some lees and dregs: so befell it in the East Empire, wherein had been verie great and mightie princes, whose head and beginning was such as you haue seene, and whose end we may say drew neere, seeing that within few yeares the title and dignitie of the Empire was translated from them to the Frenchmen and the Germanes: notwithstanding that in *Gracia* there remained Emperours a long time after. Presently after that *CONSTANTINE* was crowned, to the end to giue a signe of a future good Emperour, he provided a great armie and a nauie, therewith to go in person into *Egypt*: and *Pope Zachary* understanding thereof, sent him two ambassadours to congratulate his coming to the Empire, according to the custome of his predecessors; dissuading him from his fathers opinions, and exhorting him to belecue as did the Church of *Rome*, and he therewith sent him in writing the Articles which hee would haue him to belecue. These ambassadours staid so long vpon their way, that when they arriued at *Constantinople*, the Emperor was already departed with his fleet towards *Egypt* against the Infidels, thinking to haue surprised the citie of *Alexandria*, and afterwards to haue conquered the whole land: for in that kingdome, and in other provinces which were but lately lost, liued many Christians which continued therein a long time; and in some cities were bishops, by the permission of the Sarazins. Within few daies after the Emperour was embarked, a principall man which remained in *Constantinople*, whose name was *ARTAVSTVS*, being assisted by many which tooke his part, rose with the citie and was called Emperour: whereof *CONSTANTINE* was speedily aduertised, euen at such time as with his fleet he was come within sight of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. So soone as he had certaine notice thereof, without any longer stay he returned towards *Constantinople*; and *ARTAVSTVS* which was in possession thereof, put himselfe in armes, with much people to defend the same. But *CONSTANTINE* landing, besieged the citie, and entring it by force, apprehended the tyrant, and commaunded his eies to be pluckt out, & him to be perpetually banished; which in my opinion was too small a punishment for so great a treason: but then was

*Pope Zachary* sent his legates to *Constantinople* with articles to be held and beleueed.

*Artaxius* tooke vpon him the name of Emperor.

*Constantine* put out *Artaxius*'s eies.

used so much disloyaltie, that it was not punished accordingly as it deserved. And this being soone ended (although not without bloodshed) he heard the Popes ambassade, finding his ambassadours there in that confusion; which he answered with good words, but without performing what they required: persisting in his opinion concerning the abolishing of images, and other points which his father held, and therewith he desired that the Church of *Rome* should doe the like: which put the Pope into a great agonie, as well by reason hereof, as of the tyrannie and warres of the Lombards. And the Emperours succours sayling, it pleased God to send it from elsewhere: all which from the root and ground passed in this manner.

At that time the Christian faith and religion flourished in the kingdome of *France*, principally amongst the princes and great lords thereof; wherein by the death of *CHARLES MARTEL*, who as we said was high Constable of that kingdome, his two sonnes, whereof the one was called *CARLOMAN*, and the other *PEPIN*, remaining in their fathers place, came to the government as absolute lords of the whole land. Which kingdome was then much greater than now it is (although it be yet verie great) for besides that which the French now hold, they then possessed a great part of *Germanie*, as *Austrich*, *Saxonie*, *Flanders*, *Burgundie*, *Sueuia*, and other provinces. The elder of these two brothers (which was *CARLOMAN*) making no account of the world, wherein he had such part (as I say) determined to leave it, and went to *Rome* to Pope *ZACHARY*, who gaue him Church orders, and hee became a Monke of the order of Saint *BENEDICT*, wherein he continued and ended. And his brother *PEPIN* remained alone in the government of the kingdome of *France*, and did many noble featcs of armes, in enlarging that kingdome against the enemies thereof, and governed the same so well, that there was no speech or mention made of King *CHILDERICKE*: wherefore, and forasmuch as in truth the King was a man of small discretion, and altogether incapable of the government, Pope *ZACHARY* deposed him from the kingdome, and confirmed and approued the election of King *PEPIN*, as write *THOMAS AQUINAS*, *ROBERT GAGVIN*, and *PAVLVS EMILIVS*, French historiographers. And *CHILDERICKE* became a religious man, and in him ended the line and lineall descent of the Kings of *France*, extract from the blood of the famous *FRANCONS*; and the crowne passed to the lineage of this *PEPIN*, wherein it continued almost two hundred and fortie yeeres; vntill such time as there happened another change, as shall be declared when time and place shall permit. This *PEPIN* was father to *CHARLES* the great, which afterwards was Emperour: wherefore it behoueth me heere to make mention of him.

The state of *France* standing in this manner, in *Italy* died Pope *ZACHARY*, and *STEPHEN* the second of that name succeeded him; in the beginning of whose papacie, *AISTVLPHVS* was King of the Lombards; and as we may say, of all *Italy*; for his brother *RACHISIVS* which was King became a Monke, of the order of Saint *BENEDICT*. This new King seeing the small care that the Emperour tooke for the affaires of *Italy*, breaking the peace whereto he himselfe was sworne, raised a great power of men of warre (as a man that had sufficient meanes thereto) and cruelly harried the land, and then besieged, battered, and tooke the citie of *Ravenna*, which of long time (excepting *Rome*) had bin the principall citie of all *Italy*, and the seat of the Exarches or gouernors; and he also won many other townes, which vntill then had valiantly defended themselves; so as there remained no more but the citie of *Rome* and the territorie thereof: for in a manner all *Pulia*, and *Calabria*

*Carloman became a Monke.*

*Pope Zachary deposed Childericke King of France from his crowne.*

*Rachisius King of the Lombards renounced the kingdome and became a Monke.*

*Calabria* were held by them. Which when Pope *STEPHEN* the second saw and considered, he sent to giue the Emperour to vnderstand thereof; plainly manifesting vnto him, that if he did not speedily send reliefe, all *Italy* would come into the power of the Lombards.

The Emperour in this case made not such prouision of an armie and men of warre, as the necessitie of the cause required, and sent but only an Ambassadour to the king of the Lombards; and other Ambassadours were sent by the king to the Emperour, and long treaties and many speeches were spent about the matter: but *AISTVLPHVS* without respect of any person sent to the Pope, requiring him to giue vp the citie of *Rome* into his power; if not, that he would then come and take it by force of armes, and strike off the heads of all such as he should finde therein. The Pope seeing this, after long consideration and consultation had about the matter, with the consent of the whole citie, seeing there was no other remedie, agreed to send to *PEPIN* king of *France* for reliefe, which was done with the greatest secrecie that could be; he seeking by other meanes to entertaine king *AISTVLPHVS* with presents and promises. The king of *France* willingly heard his ambassade, and promised to doe what he required; and therewith sent to the Pope, counselling him for his more safetie to come into *France*. In the meane time returned the Ambassadours which were sent to the Emperour to *Constantinople*, which brought no other redresse, but direction for the Pope to goe in person to king *AISTVLPHVS*, and to entreate him for peace. The Pope hauing already fully determined of his iourney, must of necessitie passe through *AISTVLPHVS* his dominions, and therefore resolved to doe both: and so departed from *Rome*, accompanied with the Ambassadours of both the Kings, and of the Emperour, and came to *Paui*, where the proud King *AISTVLPHVS* then lay; but could not come to any composition with him, for he required to haue the dominion and rule of *Rome*, and the rest of all *Italy*; and that they should yeerely giue him a certaine peece of gold for euery head. And notwithstanding that they treated of peace, yet he neuerthelesse daily made preparation for the warres: so as the Pope in the best manner that hee could tooke his leaue of him, and by long iourneys came into *France*, holding his way towards king *PEPIN*'s court, who commaunded his eldest sonne *CHARLES*, which afterwards was Emperour, that so soone as he were come into *France*, he should conduct and accompanie him; and hee himselfe afterwards came three miles from *Paris*, where he then held his court, to meete him: and alighting from his horse he kist the Popes foot, and would ride no more, but led the Popes horse by the bridle: and in this manner with exeesiue humilitie, he conducted him to his palace, where he was magnificently receiued, and royally entertained, and there hee confirmed king *PEPIN*'s election; and so annointed and crowned him king of *France*. And king *PEPIN* after many matters which passed about this businesse, resolving to relieue the Pope, caused an armie to be leuiued: but he first sent Ambassadours to king *AISTVLPHVS*, to treat with him concerning an establishment of peace, offering him reasonable and honorable conditions. Whereto he answered with greater pride then befit him: for making small account of king *PEPIN*, he reposed his chiefe trust in the multitude of his people. The peace being broken, and the warre determined, *PEPIN* commaunded his troupes to march; whose auauntguard in passing the Alpes, fought with *AISTVLPHVS* his forces which guarded the passages; which being broken and scattered, the king passed with his whole armie; and *AISTVLPHVS* staying in the plaines with the rest of his power, and vnable to make head

*King Aistulphus his message to the Pope*

*Warres betweene King Pepin and Aistulphus king of the Lombards.*

Peace between  
Pepin and the  
Lombards.

Rome besieged  
by the Lam-  
bards.

against him, was constrained to retire, whom king PEPIN pursued vntill that hee had enclosed him in the citie of *Pania*, where (being master of the field) he besieged him: during which siege, many rapines, robberies, and outrages were committed. Pope STEPHEN seeing what ill was befalling; notwithstanding that he apparently saw the victorie, and that he himselfe was the procurer of the warre, yet he procured peace, and dealt with AISTVLPHVS to that effect, perswading him to resigne what he had taken, and to binde himselfe by oth to maintaine the peace, and to giue hostages and securitie for the obseruing of the same. AISTVLPHVS being thus besieged, & hearing these newes, in outward shew praised God, faining great humilitie and thankfulness to the Pope, and extolling him, promised and sware to be his most obedient son, & so the matter was agreed vpon: for king PEPIN pretended nothing, but restitution to be made to the Pope, and the quiet of the Church of *Rome*, and as it seemed that he had effected the same, taking with him fortie men of account, which AISTVLPHVS deliuered vnto him for hostages and pledges, for the performance of his promise, hee within a certaine prefixed time, raised his siege from before *Pania*, and returned towards *France*, leauing a great noble man called VARNERVS to see the conditions perfourmed: whereof the Pope holding himselfe assured, departed also towards *Rome*, and AISTVLPHVS accomplishing some matters of small importance, with faire words deferring the principall (which was the rendring of cities and townes) temporized, vntill that king PEPIN was returned into his countrie. And afterwards contrarie to his oth, would performe nothing of what he had promised, but went to *Rauenna*, and thither sent for the greatest part of his forces; and continuing his pretended purpose, within a very small time after, tooke his way towards *Rome*, where the Pope was; and encamping himself before it, held it besieged the space of three moneths; in which time (as all histories beare record) he did greater harme in the fields and territorie thereof, then had been done before in three hundred and fortie yeeres, by the Visigothes, the Ostrogothes, the Heruli, the same Lombards themselves, or any other nation. In the beginning of this siege, what passed I haue not time to set downe; but that the Pope sent his Ambassadors downe the riuer *Tiber*, and thence by sea to king PEPIN into *France*, then the Popes only refuge, to entreate him to come to his reliefe; whom they found busie in making preparation for his comming, notwithstanding that they had not requested him: but with their comming the farre greater haste was made. Whereof when AISTVLPHVS had intelligence, he raised his siege from before *Rome*, and came into *Lumbarde*, with an intent to haue stopped king PEPINs descent from the *Alpes*; where we will leaue them for a while, to the end hereafter to make an end of the storie. And let vs now speake of *Constantine*, of whom this Chronicle is, whom wee haue not without reason forgotten, for in truth it hath bin to giue light to the reader, to see and to vnderstand the cause and reason why the Pope transported the Empire into the Westerne parts, first into the house of *France*; for which cause it was requisite to declare what is said, and what shall be said hereafter: for although it be not directly of the Emperours, yet it is very expedient for the historie of them, and the cleerenes and order of what we shall write hereafter. I say then that CONSTANTINE was not idle all the while that these things passed in *Italy*, but attempted to make warre against the Infidels, sometimes in *Egypt*, and sometimes in *Syria*, but euer with ill successe. His Empire was also much distressed and weakened, by reason of a great pestilence, which fell among the inhabitants in those parts, which was so terrible, that it was feared that

The origine of  
the Turkes.

Ottoman king  
of the Turkes.

King Pepin  
came the se-  
cond time into  
*Italy*.

the land would haue been dispeopled; which as HVG. O FLORIANCENSIS writeth, began in *Calabria*, and from thence passed into *Sicilia*, and afterwards into *Gracia*, and to *Constantinople*, afflicting those countries. So that it is beleeued and held for certaine, that if there had not happened to arise new and vexpected enemies against the Sarazins, the East Empire had been in great danger to haue been lost. But in time of this aduersitie the Turkes descended, in a most huge multitude, out of *Scythia Asiatica*; for being in a manner innumerable, and in a cold and barren countrie; moued thereto through the fame of the wealth of *Asia*, they came into the prouince of the *Alanes*, and afterwards into the countries of the *Colchi*, and from thence descended into *Armenia*; and lastly into *Persia*, and so into *Asia* the lesse, robbing and subduing those countries: in such sort that the Mahometists could not attempt ought against the Christians, neither were of power sufficiently able to defend themselves, and therefore concluded a peace with them: and so the Turkes remained Lords of great part of those prouinces, and afterwards receiued the accursed sect of MAHOMET, which they found in the countries by them subdued. The Sarazins being much troubled in this warre, suffered CONSTANTINE to liue in peace. But the same Turkes did him much harme, for they tooke from him certaine prouinces in *Asia* the lesse, and therein, and in the rest of *Asia*, remained a long time after, mixed with other nations, hauing no rule or dominion, but liued obscurely, vntill that about two hundred and fiftie yeeres afterwards, as when time shall serue wee will tell you, one amongst them whose name was OTTOMAN, began the dominion and empire which they hold this day. This nation of the Turkes (setting a part all other opinions) had their originall beginning in *Scythia in Asia*: Of all the ancient writers, onely PLINI in his sixt booke, and POMPONIVS MELA in the end of his first booke, make mention of them, and place them amongst the Sarmates in the confines of *Scythia*, ouer the Caspian passages in the *Hiperborean* mountaines; and they say that they liued dispersed in the fields, by that which they could get by hunting; so as they were vknowne (yet some mention was made of them) vntill this their descent in the time of CONSTANTINE the fift; and so for almost other fise hundred yeeres, there was no great account made of them. The opinion of those which say that the Turkes descended from the Troianes, is meereley false, and shall not neede to be reprocured, or impugned, for that it is ridiculous, and not to be regarded, for what is before said is true. But returning to my storie, I say that the affaires of the East remaining in this estate, and the Emperour knowing that AISTVLPHVS king of the Lombards had besieged *Rome*, & that the Pope had sent to the French king for aide, and that he made preparation to come to vnset him; being greatly grieved therewith, in great haste he sent two of his fauourites to the Pope, requesting him not to retaine the succours of *France*, for that he himselfe would relieue him. But this tooke no effect, for as much as they spake too late, and also for that the Pope and state of *Rome* had no good conceit or hope of him: so as the Emperours Ambassadors staid not in *Rome*, but went to the French court, where they sought to haue diuerted the King, and to haue dissuaded him from going into *Italy*. But king PEPIN notwithstanding relented not, but rather with a greater and better armie passed the *Alpes*; in which passage were many skirmishes, and many men were lost of the one side and of the other. But in the end AISTVLPHVS durst not abide the battaile, but setting all matters in the best order that possibly he could, he retired himselfe into the citie of *Pania*, which was the head and royall seate of that kingdome; wherein king PEPIN againe besieged

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against him, was constrained to retire, whom king PEPIN pursued vntill that hee had enclosed him in the citie of *Pania*, where (being master of the field) he besieged him: during which siege, many rapines, robberies, and outrages were committed. Pope STEPHEN seeing what ill was befalling; notwithstanding that he apparently saw the victorie, and that he himselfe was the procurer of the warre, yet he procured peace, and dealt with AISTVLPHVS to that effect, perswading him to resigne what he had taken, and to binde himselfe by oth to maintaine the peace, and to giue hostages and securitie for the obseruing of the same. AISTVLPHVS being thus besieged, & hearing these newes, in outward shew praised God, faining great humilitie and thankfulness to the Pope, and extolling him, promised and sware to be his most obedient son, & so the matter was agreed vpon: for king PEPIN pretended nothing, but restitution to be made to the Pope, and the quiet of the Church of *Rome*, and as it seemed that he had effected the same, taking with him fortie men of account, which AISTVLPHVS deliuered vnto him for hostages and pledges, for the performance of his promise, hee within a certaine prefixed time, raised his siege from before *Pania*, and returned towards *France*, leauing a great noble man called VARNERIVS to see the conditions perfourmed: whereof the Pope holding himselfe assured, departed also towards *Rome*, and AISTVLPHVS accomplishing some matters of small importance, with faire words deferring the principall (which was the rendring of cities and townes) temporized, vntill that king PEPIN was returned into his countrie. And afterwards contrarie to his oth, would performe nothing of what he had promised, but went to *Rauenne*, and thither sent for the greatest part of his forces; and continuing his pretended purpose, within a very small time after, tooke his way towards *Rome*, where the Pope was; and encamping himself before it, held it besieged the space of three moneths; in which time (as all histories beare record) he did greater harme in the fields and territorie thereof, then had been done before in three hundred and fortie yeeres, by the Visigothes, the Ostrogothes, the Heruli, the same Lombards themselves, or any other nation. In the beginning of this siege, what passed I haue not time to set downe; but that the Pope sent his Ambassadors downe the riuer *Tiber*, and thence by sea to king PEPIN into *France*, then the Popes only refuge, to entreate him to come to his reliefe; whom they found busie in making preparation for his comming, notwithstanding that they had not requested him: but with their comming the farre greater haste was made. Whereof when AISTVLPHVS had intelligence, he raised his siege from before *Rome*, and came into *Lumbardy*, with an intent to haue stopped king PEPINs descent from the Alps; where we will leaue them for a while, to the end hereafter to make an end of the storie. And let vs now speake of *Constantine*, of whom this Chronicle is, whom wee haue not without reason forgotten, for in truth it hath bin to giue light to the reader, to see and to vnderstand the cause and reason why the Pope transported the Empire into the Westerne parts, first into the house of *France*; for which cause it was requisite to declare what is said, and what shall be said hereafter: for although it be not directly of the Emperours, yet it is very expedient for the historie of them, and the cleerences and order of what we shall write hereafter. I say then that CONSTANTINE was not idle all the while that these things passed in *Italy*, but attempted to make warre against the Infidels, sometimes in *Egypt*, and sometimes in *Syria*, but euer with ill successe. His Empire was also much distressed and weakened, by reason of a great pestilence, which fell among the inhabitants in those parts, which was so terrible, that it was feared that the

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Ottoman king  
of the Turkes.

the land would haue been dispeopled; which as HVG. o FLORIANCENSIS writeth, began in *Calabria*, and from thence passed into *Sicilia*, and afterwards into *Grecia*, and to *Constantinople*, afflicting those countries. So that it is beleueed and held for certaine, that if there had not happened to arise new and vnexpected enemies against the Sarazins, the East Empire had been in great danger to haue been lost. But in time of this aduersitie the Turkes descended, in a most huge multitude, out of *Scythia Asiatice*; for being in a manner innumerable, and in a cold and barren countrie; moued thereto through the fame of the wealth of *Asia*, they came into the prouince of the Alanes, and afterwards into the countries of the *Colchi*, and from thence descended into *Armenia*; and lastly into *Persia*, and so into *Asia* the lesse, robbing and subduing those countries: in such sort that the Mahometists could not attempt ought against the Christians, neither were of power sufficiently able to defend themselves, and therefore concluded a peace with them: and so the Turkes remained Lords of great part of those prouinces, and afterwards receiued the accursed sect of MAHOMET, which they found in the countries by them subdued. The Sarazins being much troubled in this warre, suffered CONSTANTINE to liue in peace. But the same Turkes did him much harme, for they tooke from him certaine prouinces in *Asia* the lesse, and therein, and in the rest of *Asia*, remained a long time after, mixed with other nations, hauing no rule or dominion, but liued obscurely, vntill that about two hundred and fiftie yeeres afterwards, as when time shall serue wee will tell you, one amongst them whose name was OTTOMAN, began the dominion and empire which they hold this day. This nation of the Turkes (setting a part all other opinions) had their originall beginning in *Scythia* in *Asia*: Of all the ancient writers, onely PLINI in his sixth booke, and POMPONIVS MELA in the end of his first booke, make mention of them, and place them amongst the Sarmates in the confines of *Scythia*, ouer the Caspian passages in the *Hiperborean* mountaines; and they say that they liued dispersed in the fields, by that which they could get by hunting; so as they were vnknowne (yet some mention was made of them) vntill this their descent in the time of CONSTANTINE the fift; and so for almost other fivie hundred yeeres, there was no great account made of them. The opinion of those which say that the Turkes descended from the Troianes, is meereley false, and shall not neede to be reproued, or impugned, for that it is ridiculous, and not to be regarded, for what is before said is true. But returning to my storie, I say that the affaires of the East remaining in this estate, and the Emperour knowing that AISTVLPHVS king of the Lombards had besieged *Rome*, & that the Pope had sent to the French king for aide, and that he made preparation to come to vnset him; being greatly grieved therewith, in great haste he sent two of his fauourites to the Pope, requesting him not to retaine the succours of *France*, for that he himselfe would relieue him. But this tooke no effect, for as much as they spake too late, and also for that the Pope and state of *Rome* had no good conceit or hope of him: so as the Emperours Ambassadors staied not in *Rome*, but went to the French court, where they sought to haue diuerted the King, and to haue dissuaded him from going into *Italy*. But king PEPIN notwithstanding relented not, but rather with a greater and better armie passed the Alps; in which passage were many skirmishes, and many men were lost of the one side and of the other. But in the end AISTVLPHVS durst not abide the battaile, but setting all matters in the best order that possibly he could, he retired himselfe into the citie of *Pania*, which was the head and royall seate of that kingdome; wherein king PEPIN againe besieged

King Pepin  
came the se-  
cond time into  
*Italy*.

ged him, and he presently began to treat of peace, offering to render whatsoever he had taken. The Emperors Ambassadors solicited, that *Raueenna* and all that government might be restored to the Emperor, and the rest to the Pope: Where- to King *PEPIN* answered, that he came to that war, onely for the defence of the Church of *Rome*, and that all that therein was conquered, should be her inheritance, and no bodies else in the world. Finally, a peace was concluded, and *AISTVLPHVS* before the siege was raised, rendered vnto the Pope, *Raueenna*, and all the cities which in those warres he had taken, in that Exarchate, or out of it; amongst which were *Bologna, Mantua, Cesena, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Placentia, Ferrara, Fauencia*, and many other cities and townes, whereof King *PEPIN* made to the Church of *Rome* a perpetuall donation; as a thing by him conquered and gotten. The Emperors Ambassadors seeing this, being out of hope returned, and the peace was confirmed. So as the government and dignitie of the Exarches was wholly ended and extinguished in *Italy*, which had continued one hundred threescore and fiftene yeeres, and the Popes remained sole Lords of all those countries, and possessed the same together with the citie of *Rome*, and the rest. And King *PEPIN* being returned into *France*, King *AISTVLPHVS* which deferred the deliuerie of certaine places, thinking to haue effected some innouation, was ouertaken by death, the manner whereof is written diuersly. And after his decease one *DESIDERIVS* a great man among the Lombards, was chosen for their King; who was Duke of *Hetruria*, now *Tuscane*. And notwithstanding that some great men perswaded *RACHISIVS* brother to *AISTVLPHVS*, which of long time had been a Monke, to take vpon him the name and title of King, yet this tooke no effect, and *DESIDERIVS*, with the fauour of Pope *STEPHEN*, to whom he promised to be a perpetuall friend, remained King; and so the peace was established. And Pope *STEPHEN* applied himselfe to the government of his Church, and the estate thereof. And when he was most busie about those matters, he was taken with an infirmitie whereof he died, and *PAVL* the first of that name, a Roman borne, succeeded him.

In the meane while that King *PEPIN* in *Italy* made warres against the Lombards, the Emperor *CONSTANTINE* endeouored to put the images out of the Churches, and made peace with *HADALIA* King of the Sarazins, to the end that hee should induce the Christians to doe the like, which were in *Armenia, Palestina, Soria*, and in all the other prouinces in his subiection, which were infinite, and continued in those countries a long time after, and it is said that many liue there yet vntill this day. This Emperor is reported to haue restrained the libertie of the Monkes and prelates very much, without respect to their immunities and priuileges; amongst which he cut off the head of *CONSTANTINE* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, for opposing himselfe against him, and therewith suppressed certaine Monasteries. In this time there grew waire and dissention betweene him and *THESSALIVS* King of *Bulgaria*; who entred *Thracia* and did much harme, spoiling and robbing the lands of the Empire; against whom *CONSTANTINE* leuied an armie, and fighting with him obtained the victorie; and *THESSALIVS* returned by flight, with losse of many of his people; for which disgrace and for his euill carriage in the battaile, his people rose against him, and slew him; and chose another called *SABINVS* for their King: who to make the Emperor his friend, consented and agreed with him to deface and cast the Images out of the Churches; wherewith his subiects were so much discontented, that if he had not escaped from them by flight, they had slaine him: but

King *PEPIN* his donation to the Church of *Rome*.

The Exarches abolished in *Italy*.

The death of King *AISTVLPHVS*.

The Emperor made peace with *HADALIA* King of the Sarazins.

*Constantine* caused the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to be beheaded.

Wars betweene *Constantine* and *THESSALIVS* King of the Bulgarians, and the issue thereof.

but he went to the Emperor and was there protected; and the Bulgarians chose another for their King, whose name was *PAGANVS*. At this time *CONSTANTINE* made his eldest sonne called *LEO*, his companion and successor in the Empire; this *LEO* was afterwards Emperor and the fourth of that name. Whilest that *CONSTANTINE* was busied about these matters, Pope *PAVL* in *Italy* liued in peace with the Lombards, and their King *DESIDERIVS*, according to the composition made and established by King *PEPIN* of *France*, who within short space after died, hauing been one of the most excellent princes of the world. After the death of *PEPIN*, *CHARLES* and *CARLOMAN* his sonnes succeeded him, which diuided the kingdome betweene them; and by the death of *CARLOMAN* it came wholly to *CHARLES*. Presently after that King *PEPIN* was dead, Pope *PAVL* also died, whose death caused a Scisme in the Church of *Rome*; for *DESIDERIVS* King of the Lombards, lending a captaine of his with certaine troupes of souldiers to *Rome*, procured his brother *CONSTANTINE* to be made Pope, who without regarde of the order of election tooke possession of the palace and held the papall state for the space of one yeere: and others of a contrarie faction and opinion chose another Pope, whose name was *PHILIPPICVS*; but *CONSTANTINE* being of greater power, *PHILIPPICVS* was deposed. But as all was done by force and violence, so by the like force it was determined: for the people and cleargie agreeing together made choise of *STEPHEN* the third, who was a Sicilian borne, and compelled *CONSTANTINE* to resigne the papacie, and he did so, and put himselfe into a cloister. The first thing that the new Pope did, was againe to set vp Images in the Churches, and to that effect wrote to the two sonnes of *PEPIN* the deceased King of *France*, to send to the Emperor some of the prelates which were in their kingdome; which then was so great that it extended it selfe from the *Alpes* to the *Pirepian* mountains; and thence so far as to *Hungarie*, and on the other side to the sea; so that these two brothers were Lords of all that which we now call *France*, together with *Flanders, Friseland, Brabant*, and on both sides of the riuer *Rhine*, of *Austrich, Baniere* and other prouinces of *Germanie*; besides what rebelled in his time, which was a great part; all which this *CHARLES* conquered and pacified, although not without great trauell, and made himselfe absolute Lord of the whole. The Pope by their consent sommoned a counsell to be held in *Rome*, wherein the Emperor *CONSTANTINE* was againe condemned; and all that he and his father had commaunded to be done in *Constantinople*, was reprobued and disannulled: but this tooke small effect, for he little regarded it. The counsell being desolued, *DESIDERIVS* King of the Lombards sought to haue caused some alteration in *Rome* and in *Italy*, by meanes of one *ANFIARATA*, the Emperors chamberlaine, who then was in *Rome*, wherein although there were no gouernors for the Empire, as in former time (for it now seemed that the Popes had the sole government) yet was this capitols of great authoritie; who with the assistance of *DESIDERIVS*, which sought to procure the Emperor to haue some footing againe in *Italy*, thereby to weaken the power of the Pope, and of the French, he apprehended certaine Romanes, and committed them to prison. Three yeeres passed in these matters, and Pope *STEPHEN* dying, *ADRIAN* the first of those which were so called was chosen, who at his first entrance released those out of prison which were committed in the time of Pope *STEPHEN* by *ANFIARATA*. Whereupon King *DESIDERIVS* seeing how much the papal power by meanes of *France* encreased; sought to haue made a league and confederacie with him, which the Pope refused, alleaging that he would

The death of King *PEPIN*. *Charles* furnished the great, and his brother *Carloman* succeeded their father.

Pope *Constantine* deposed and made a Monke.

The Emperor condemned by the Pope and his counsell.

The death of Pope *Stephen*.

would not belecue him, who no better held his word. At this time died CARLOMAN king of *France*, and his brother which afterwards for his great acts was called CHARLES the Great, made himselfe Lord of that kingdome; and the widow Queene, wife of the deceased King, went with her sonnes to king DESIDERIVS into *Italy*; who being glad of her comming, receiued and entertained her very honourably, thinking to haue raised some trouble and dissention amongst the French; and to that effect practised with Pope ADRIAN, to make the eldest sonne of King GARLOMAN, King of that part of *France* which his father enioyed, with intent by that meane to haue set him and King CHARLES at variance, whom hereafter we will call CHARLES the Great: whereto the Pope would not be induced, and DESIDERIVS purposing by force to bring it to passe, began to make warre on euery side. The first was against the citie of *Raueenna* and the marches thereof; and took the cities of *Ferrara*, *Fauntia*, and other townes: and the Pope by ambassades and letters entreating him to desist from those warres, he threatened to besiege *Rome* it selfe, and took his way thitherwards. Whereupon the Pope sent three Bishops to meete him vpon the way, and by them sent him a decree, wherein he charged him not to passe any further, neither to presume to come within the bounds of the territorie of *Rome*, vpon paine to be presently excommunicated. And notwithstanding that DESIDERIVS was a very resolute man, and of an haucie stomacke, yet so soone as hee had receiued this decree, without setting one foote further, he returned with his forces to the citie of *Paui*; but the warres ceased not. For all which the Emperour CONSTANTINE was nothing sorrie, he so much enuied the Popes greatnes, and in *Constantinople* he caused one STEPHEN to be slaine, for defending the ambition of the Romish Prelates. And about this time hee rigged vp a very great flecte of about two thousand saile of ships, therewith to transport his armie ouer the sea called *Euxinum*, against the king of *Bulgaria*; which flecte was ouertaken with so great a tempest, that the greatest part thereof was cast away and drowned.

The Pope knowing that by the Emperour he should not be relieued in his wars against DESIDERIVS, sent to CHARLES the great for aide, who with very great forces tooke his way towards *Italy*: but he first required DESIDERIVS by Ambassadours to make satisfaction for the harmes which he had done, and to bee at peace with the Church: And seeing that he preuailed not, he marched forwards with his troupes; and DESIDERIVS engrossed his forces to stop his passage: but being vnable to compass it, he sent the wife and children of CARLOMAN to *Verona*, and fortified *Paui*, and suffered himselfe to be therein besieged. Wherein he was ill aduised: for by reason thereof the greatest part of his gouernours and captaines seeing him thus distressed, losing all courage sent to yeeld their obedience to the Pope, and desired to be receiued for his friends & vassals; and giuing vp their holds, many of their people went to *Rome*, to dwell and abide where the Pope should appoint. And CHARLES the Great leauing an vncke of his at the siege of *Paui*, went against *Verona*; which he tooke without any great difficultie, together with his sister in law, and nephewes which were therein; and from thence went to *Rome* to kisse the Popes foote, and to hold the feast of Easter, where he was receiued with all the solemnitie that could be deuised. At this his comming thither he confirmed to the Church and to the Popes of *Rome*, the donation which his father had made, of *Raueenna*, and other lands; and made another new of many other places, amongst which is reckoned the Ile of *Corfica*, and all the coast of *Genoa*, with the cities of *Parma*, *Ancona*, *Vrbino*, and many other townes, which

The comming  
of Charles the  
great into Italy

Charles tooke  
*Verona*.

Charles his  
gifts to the  
Church of  
*Rome*.

which BIBLIOTHECARIVS setteth downe, besides *Rome* and the territorie thereof; which the Popes had alreadie in possession, whether by the pretended donation of CONSTANTINE the Great, or by the donation made by the said King PEPIN, or by common consent or ancient prescription I know not. So as to the Emperours remained but onely that part of *Italy*, which was called *Magna Grecia*, which is part of *Calabria*, and of *Pulia*, and great part of that which now is the kingdome of *Naples*. CHARLES the Great hauing been but onely eight daies in *Rome*, returned against DESIDERIVS, who had been about fixe moneths besieged in *Paui*, and now yeelded vpon composition, and CHARLES carried him with him, and banished both him and his sonnes into a certaine Iland; and then tooke *Milan*, and all the other cities in *Lombardy*, which is the ancient *Gallia Cisalpina*, where he placed Frenchmen for Dukes and gouernours; and in other Duchies and cities of that kingdome, he placed Dukes of the same nation of the Lombards, which became his subiects and did him homage; and so *Italy* remained in his obedience and subiection, excepting those prouinces and lands which were left to the Church, and those which the Pope held in former time; but all in peace and quiet. And so ended and was wholly extinguished the kingdome of the Lombards, which had continued two hundred and foure yeeres in *Italy*.

CHARLES the Great hauing ended these exploites, returned with triumph and victorie into his kingdome of *France*: and within short space after there befell him a very daungerous warre, against certaine nations in *Germany*, which rose and rebelled against him, namely the Saxons and other people in those quarters; which he subdued, although long first, and with great trauaile, but with great honour and the fame of an excellent captaine. But for as much as it is tedious to recite it, and also for that it happened before that he was Emperour, we will speake no more thereof, to be the better able to relate what happened after that hee was Emperour, as shall be said hereafter. The Emperour CONSTANTINE which now had raigned a long time, againe made warre against the King of the Bulgarians, which began betweene them with great force and vehemencie: but it lasted not long, for he was taken with a kind of leprosie called *Elephancia*, whereof he afterwards died: but he first concluded a peace with the king of *Bulgaria*, after the which, his infirmitie encreased in such manner that he died, leauing his sonne LEO, whom he had by his first wife YRENE (who alreadie was in possession) for his succesor, when he had raigned 35 yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord, seuen hundred seuentie and seuen.

Desiderius  
king of the  
Lombards yeelded to Charles  
the great.

The end of the  
kingdome of  
the Lombards.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Constantine.  
Anno Dom.  
777.

THE



# THE LIFE OF LEO, THE FOURTH OF THAT NAME, AND THRESCORE AND FOVRE- TEENE ROMANE EMPEROR.



**I**N the time of the Emperor CONSTANTINE, by his order and commaundement his sonne LEO was chosen Emperour, and his companion; whom he had by the kings daughter of *Bulgaria*, with whom he was married, whose name was YRENE. And LEO had to wife a woman borne in *Athens*, whose name was also YRENE, which was the fairest woman of her time; and for wisdom and policie one of the most noble and excellent Ladies that euer was in the world. Wherefore without any contradiction he was presently held and obeyed as Emperor, in place of his deceased father. In the beginning of his Empire, he made shew to be very deuout and affected to the Churches, and to religious persons, of whatsoeuer order, seeking to aduaunce them to dignities. And he likewise made preparation of men and shipping against the Infidels, and went into *Asia* in person, and inuaded the prouince of *Soria*: but his iourney tooke small effect, for within short time after hee returned, with losse of some of his people, and of his owne reputation also.

This Emperor LEO held also other warres with the Infidels, by his Captaines, wherein happened many matters, but not of any account. In this manner he passed the first threeyeeres of his raigne, and in the fourth with this shew and appa-

rance

rance of a good prince, hee practised with his subjects to chuse a young sonne which he had, called CONSTANTINE (as was his grandfather) Emperor. And in the same fourth yeare also, he knowing that sundrie of his Court were of the Romish sect concerning the worshipping of images, he made many of them to be apprehended, and openly disgraced, and depriued and deposed them from their dignities: whereupon he began to be hated, and held for an euill prince. But by his wiues meanes and his owne death, which shortly ensued, it was mitigated; for he died of a carbuncle which arose in his head, without leauing ought done by him worthy of memorie, at least that I haue found written. This happened in the fifth yeare of his raigne, and in the yeare of our Lord seuen hundred fourscore and two. He was much condemned for the taking of a crowne of gold, and certaine stones of great price, out of the famous temple of *S. Sophia*, which by the Emperour MAVRICE were offered and dedicated to the image of our Ladie in *Constantinople*, which he tooke from thence, and put vpon his owne head.

*The death of  
the Emperor  
Leo.*

*Anno Dom.  
782.*

In this time in *France* and *Germanie* flourished CHARLES the Great, of whom (for that he was afterwards Emperour) I haue made this mention, as well in matters of war, as peace; who honored and fauoured the valiant and hardie knights, and letters also and learned men, and procured iustice to be maintained in all his dominions, and that his gouernment should be iust and vpright. Whereupon he created many Dukes and other dignities, and amongst them the twelve peeres of *France*, which are so famous in all histories. He also made and ordained the parliament at *Paris*: afterwards in the yeare seuen hundred and ninetie, in the life time of CONSTANTINE sonne of this LEO, he founded an Vniuersitie in the same citie, which hath been famous and excellent, and is yet so vntill this day: and another in the cittie of *Pania*, which was the cause that both chiuallrie and learning so much flourished in his time. In the time of the Emperour LEO, of whom we now leaue to make any more mention, the said CHARLES came into *Spaine*; where he was by treason ouerthrowne and broken at *Roncevaux*, and lost the flower of his nobilitie and chiuallrie: by meanes of ALONSO the Second, called the Chast, aided and assisted by the Moores and Infidels which then liued in *Arragon*, and in the territorie thereof. In matters which preceded and succeeded this battaile and the causes thereof, and what passed therein; there is great difference betweene the French and Spanish Chroniclers, & among themselves of either nation. Wherefore, and forasmuch as the actes of CHARLES the Great (before that he was Emperour) concerne not my historie, I therefore leaue to speake any more thereof. And also for that we know that FLORIAN DO CAMPO hath written thereof at large in his generall historie of *Spaine*, of whose singular diligence there is no doubt to bee made, but that hee hath inuiolably obserued the truth, without omitting any thing worthy of memorie,

*The battaile of  
Roncevaux.*

especially in a matter so famous and memorable; and therefore referring the reader to him, I will returne to prosecute my iourney.

Yy

THE



# THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE, THE SIXT OF THAT NAME, AND THRESCORE AND FIFTEENE ROMANE EMPEROR.



## THE ARGVMENT.

**BE**ing dead, his sonne Constantine (notwithstanding that he was but a child) succeeded him, and through the prudence of his mother, and the oath of the men of warre, was obeyed. This woman was of such wisdom that she ruled the Empire tenne yeeres, and was the cause of the councell assembled about the controuersie for Images; and agreement to be made betwene the Greeke and Latin Churches. But the yong man coming to riper age, bereaued her of the gouernment, and made her to liue a part from him, and became so displeasing, that his owne people conspired against him, although the conspiracie tooke not the wished effect. But he being ill beloued, certaine of the most principall men of the Empire incited her to resume the gouernment; and she setting aside the loue of a mother towards her sonne, apprehended him and caused his eies to be plucked out, as he had done by many others. This was the occasion that the East Empire was translated into the West; for the Pope seeing the East Empire to decline, and that it was gouerned by a woman, he annointed and crowned Charles the great, Emperor, with whom Yrene sought to haue bin married, but it tooke no effect, she being dissuaded by the princes of Grecia, but she made a firme and assured peace with him, which she not long enioyed: for sundrie valiant men, which tooke in ill part to be ruled by a woman, conspiring against her, by a vile apprehended, and deposed her from the Empire, gining the charge thereof to a very noble man, whose name was Nicephorus.

**S**o soone as Leo the fourth was dead, his sonne CONSTANTINE being little more then twelue yeeres old, was recciued for Emperor; (notwithstanding his small age) whereto his mothers wisdom and valour was a great helpe, and also for that the subiects of the Empire

Empire were sworne to him in the life time of his father, yet this could not be effected without difficultie; for some principall men disdaining to be commaunded by a child, and a woman; secretly practised to make NICEPHORVS Emperor, who was the yong manes Vncle, and brother to his father Leo: although that through forgetfulness, no mention was before made of him. But this was not so secretly done, but that YRENE had intelligence thereof, and tooke so good order, that she apprehended and banished those which were the authors thereof, and made their haire to be cut, which then was a great disgrace, yet vpon NICEPHORVS she inflicted no other punishment, but onely made him take a monasticall habit; and so the Empire remained in peace to her sonne. But notwithstanding that the yong man was Emperor, yet his mother commaunded all, and (as all authors write) very vprightly and prudently; for she was a wife and a very excellent woman, and about all was very much deuoted to the romish religion, wherof this may serue for proofe; for she seeing the discord betwene the Greekes and Latins about the worshipping of Images, & other points in religion whereto they disagreed, endeouored very earnestly, that a councell generall might be called; and her industrie tooke such effect (although somewhat long first) that a councell was assembled in the citie of Nicaea, in the prouince of Bythinia, wherein other councils in former time had been held; in which were three hundred and fiftie Bishops, and therein were handled many matters concerning the estate of the cleargie, and those were condemned for heretikes, which denied the veneration of Images in the Church. In such manner that during the gouernment of YRENE, the Images and pictures of CHRIST, and our Lady, and sundrie other, in the easterne Churches were againe set vp, whereto the common people which euer delighteth in nouelties, was very ioyfull; and so was THERASIVS the Patriarch of Constantinople, which succeeded PAUL, who had fought and much desired the same. It is said, that this THERASIVS was he which principally moued YRENE so earnestly to sollicite the calling of a councell; the resolution wherof concerning Images, is contained in two verses, which then were made, and at this day are placed in a Church in Venice, which in Latin are thus:

*Nam Deus quod Imago docet, sed non Deus ipsa,  
hanc vides, sed mente colas, quod eternis in ipsa.*

Which in effect is as much to say, as that which this Image doth shew and signifie, is God; but the Image is not so, behold the same, but with the minde reuerence that which therein is represented. Hauing ended a matter of so great importance, as that which I recited, in all the rest of the time of her gouernment, both before and after the councell, which were some yeeres, she bare her selfe farre more like a politike valorous man, then a delicate and most beautifull woman as she was: but her sonne CONSTANTINE, who was now come to mans estate, repined at, and disliked his mothers gouernment, and in the end deposed her from the same, and from the councell also, making her to liue priuately, without any authoritie; when she had with great wisdom ruled in his name, the space of ten yeeres, and had maintained the Empire with iustice, in peace with all the world.

It is written that in those daies was found in Constantinople in a very old Sepulcher, a plate or leafe of golde, vpon the breast of a corpes, which therein had been buried, wherein were written these words, CHRIST shall be borne of the virgin MARY; Thou sonne shalt see me againe at what time as CONSTANTINE and his mother YRENE shall be Emperors. This was held for a great matter and true.

Yy 2

YRENE

*Punishment inflicted upon such as conspired against the Emperor Constantine.*

*Councell held in the citie of Nicaea.*

*A plate of gold found vpon the breast of a dead body in Constantinople. A wonder if true.*

YRENE and her sonne made great account of this table, for it seemed to be written before the coming of Christ.

The Emperor being now at libertie, began freely to vse those qualities where-to he was naturally enclined, in such sort, that he became ill beloued, and they againe the second time conspired against him, seeking to make his vncler NICEPHORVS Emperour. But as to Princes (whether good or bad) most matters are commonly discouered; so this conspiracie was likewise reuealed, and he knowing it, commaunded some of those which had been practisers therein, to be apprehended, which he seuerely punished, and commaunded his vncler NICEPHORVS to be perpetually banished. And after this he put away his wife, who was a very noble woman called MARY, and diuorcing himselfe from her, shut her vp in a Nunrie, and married one of her maides, called THEODORA, of whom hee was enamoured, a woman of no desert, but onely that she was faire and very beautifull. At what time as CONSTANTINE and his mother raigned in the East, CHARLES the great, King of France, so called for the great exploits which in armes he had perfourmed: yet some are of opinion, that he was so called by reason of the great constitution of his bodie, for he was corpulent, very bigge limmed, and tall, and had not liued at his ease, but had waged great and dangerous warres. In the beginning of the Emperour CONSTANTINES raigne, King CHARLES came in person into Italy to see the Pope, and to pacifie certaine commotions raised by some Dukes, which were desirous of innouations; which being quieted, he had intelligence that the Duke of *Baniera* (for now they were no more called kings) practised against him, with an intent to exempt himselfe from his subiection, and to that effect had leuied his forces: whereupon CHARLES resolved to goe against him in person, and by another way to send his sonne PEPIN upon the same seruice, and so hee began to make cruell warre against him: whereof when the Easterne Emperour CONSTANTINE was aduertised, imagining that CHARLES being busied in those wars, would not be able to provide for the affaires of Italy; he therefore sent commandement into those countries which he held therein, with some new troupes which hee leuied for that purpose, that they should make warre against the Pope and king CHARLES, which they presently put in execution: but the Dukes of *Beneuent* and *Spoleto*, and of other cities, made such speedie preparation against them, that they were easily repelled and ouerthrowne; so that from thencefoorth they liued quiet and in peace. And CHARLES had likewise so good successe in his warres against the *Bauarians*, (although not without effusion of much blood) that he made all that state still and in quiet, and reduced their provinces to his seruice. And from thence hee went against the *Slauons*, which he held the provinces of *Isiria* and *Dalmatia*, by them called *Slauonia*; and in one summer brought all vnder his dominion. And afterwards raising a new power, he determined to make a conquest of *Hungarie* and *Austrich*, which are the ancient *Pannonie*, which the Hunnes *Auares* had of long time possessed, as is before said: And notwithstanding that this was a very dangerous warre, and that therein were many great and notable battailes, wherein all the nobilitie and the greatest part of the common people of those countries died, so as the land lay in a manner waste and dispeopled; yet in the end, in the eight yeere after the beginning thereof, he became absolute Lord of all the land. After these afore said warres, he had warres with the king of *Denmarke*, for the Danes harried the sea coasts with their fleetes of men of warre; and herein (as well as in the rest) this glorious prince had the victorie: and he afterwards made peace with their king,

Charles the great vvhysso called.

Charles the great conquered Hungary and Austrich. Charles warred against the king of Denmarke, and subdued the Saxons.

king, and determined to make an end of subduing the Saxons, whose warres at times, as they rebelled, continued thirtie yeeres, and he slew of them in one battell thirtie thousand; and in another which hee fought with them afterwards, hee brought them wholly to obedience, and made them subiect to the Empire: and for his better securitie he led the most principall of them with him into France. In the which conquests which I so briefly haue recited, some battailes were fought by himselfe in person, and some by his sonne PEPIN; in all which he wonne the name and renoune of a most excellent capitaine. These things being past, in the yeere of our Lord seuen hundred ninetie and fise, Pope ADIAN died in Rome, Anno Domini 795. through whose death they chose Pope LEO the third of that name, who presently after his election, sent great presents and a solemne ambassade to CHARLES the great. In these times the Emperour CONSTANTINES men of warre did greatly crosse and hinder those of CHARLES the great; for after that he liued a part from his mother, he became very cruell, and in his gouernment negligent and disorderly: wherefore hee grew to be so ill beloued by his subiects, that some the most principall of them, perswaded his mother YRENE to depose him, and resume the gouernment of the Empire into her owne hands, whereto they promised to assist her. The mother which had rather the heart of a reuengefull man, then of a delicate woman, preferring the displeasure which she had conceived, before the loue of a mother to her sonne, with the aide of those which tooke her part in the action, vpon a day by a wile apprehended him, and caused his eyes to be presently pluckt out, as he had done to many others: which was one of the strangest & most cruell and inhumane parts that euer woman plaid in the world. And this being done, all obeyed her, and she alone had the gouernment of the Empire, which yet was very great; for it contained in Europe, *Thracia*, and all the provinces of *Grecia*, the Iles of *Sicilia*, *Candia*, and those in the great sea called *Archipelagus*, and that part of *Italy* which was called *Magna Grecia*, and all the provinces of *Asia* the lesse; all which were gouerned by this valorous woman, with great policie and authoritie. Who as she vnderstood of the victories and great power of CHARLES the great, desiring to be at peace with him, and fearing his greatness, she commaunded those cities which she held in Italy, and the gouernors of them, to hold good corepondence and neighbourhood with those cities which were vnder the Pope, or king CHARLES: and besides this, she sent her Ambassadors vnto him, excusing herselfe of that which had happened concerning her sonne, and made him many great offers: which CHARLES gladly entertained, for hee was a gentle prince to the meeke, and sharpe and cruell to the proud and rebellious. All Italy being in peace vnder the shadow and protection of CHARLES the great, where now was no memorie of the Lombards, which were wont to oppresse it; the diuell, a sower of dissention, acted his part in the citie of Rome, which was, that Pope LEO sitting (as they say) in S. PETERS chaire, two priests Cardinals of great account, called PASCUAL and CAPVLVS, conspired against him, and held so strong an hand amongst their complices, that they vpon a day apprehended him going in procession, which they did with such an vprore and tumult, that they had almost killed him, and handled him in such manner, that as most writers affirme, they put out his eyes, and cut out his tongue, and so they committed him prisoner to a Monasterie of S. ERASMVS, publishing abroad that they did it for the crimes by him committed, and the errors which he maintained; and being there, as BIBLIOTHECARVS and some others affirme, he was miraculously restored to the sight of his eyes and his speech also, and a

Irene made her sonnes eyes to be put out.

chamberlaine of his vsed such secret meanes, or else by the permission of his keepers, that he was hidden in a certaine graue or sepulchre, and by night conueyed to the Duke of *Spoleto*, who then was Lieutenant to CHARLES the great in *Italy*, (which offices then were giuen for euer, or for terme of life) by whose aide hee went to king CHARLES in *Germany*, to complaine of the violence done vnto him; whither alreadie were messengers sent by the other two, PASCUAL and CAPVLVS, with informations and accusations against him. But notwithstanding the same, the Pope was solemnely receiued and honoured by him, and remaining there some few daies space, the king promised him to come in person to *Rome*, and appointed so many prelates and religious men to accompany him, as sufficed to bring him thither and to restore him to his seate and estate, with great processions which were made for him; and the two priests Cardinals aforesaid, which were so mightie, absenting themselves, euer gaue out in speeches that they attended the coming of the king.

King CHARLES the great hauing taken order for the affaires of *France* and *Germany*, wherein he was a most mightie prince, determined to come into *Italy*; and at his coming, by the hand of his sonne PEPIN, he pacified some commotions therein, and came to the citie of *Rome*, accompanied with many great Dukes and other princes his subiects; whither did concur out of *Italy* and other parts, many Bishops, prelates and other great men; and he was receiued with such entertainment as to him did appertaine; and kissing the Popes foote did him such other superstitious reuerence, as the custome was. And after this, hauing remained eight daies in *Rome*, he commaunded al the prelates and princes which then were in the citie to be assembled; and the pope and he, and all the rest being together, there were some which complained and accused the pope to the Emperour: and so the Emperour began openly to aske euery mans opinion concerning those accusations, and each of those to which he spake, answered: The highest chaire and head of the Church no man ought to iudge: which the king noting, forbore to aske any more questions. Then the pope, which thitherto had been silent, rose from the place where he sate, and went into the pulpit which was there, and with an high voyce said, That seeing that of his life and behauiour, no man would, or had authoritie to make enquire, or to giue sentence, yet he next day (following the custome of his predecessors) would purge and cleere himselfe, as it behoued: and therewith for that day the Consistorie was dissolued: And vpon the next day, they all being together assembled in the like manner, he againe went vp into the same place, and taking a booke of the holy Euangelists in his hands, said with so lowd a voyce as they all might heare him, that hee sware by God, and those holie Euangelists, that al that which his aduersaries had laid to his charge, was false and vntrue, and that he had neither committed or thought any such matter as they objected; but that they had of malice and enuie slandered him: and that he therefore publicly made this protestation, and confirmed and made the same manifest by his oth, sith that to them all the manner of his life and gouernment was well knowne. Hauing ended this his protestation, his oth was allowed, and himselfe commended; and the king commaunded his accusers, PASCUAL and CAPVLVS, to be sought out and apprehended, and would haue condemned them to death: but the Pope was contented to spare their liues, so as they might be committed to prison, and thence condemned to perpetuall exile. Eight daies after that this was past, the Pope hauing first considered how much the Greeke Emperours enuied his greatnes, together with the small affection they bare to the worshipping of

Charles the  
great came to  
Rome.

Pope Leo his  
speech in the  
Consistorie in  
his owne de-  
fence.

of Images, and other points, wherein they were contrarie to, and seperated from the Church of *Rome*; and how requisit it was to haue an Emperour which might maintaine the prouinces of *Italy* in peace, which vpon euery light occasion were disturbed: but chiefly to shew himselfe gratefull for the benefits which he and the Church of *Rome*, had receiued of him and the house of *France*, but aboue all and for accepting his protestation in his owne defence, for a sufficient proofe of his honestie, he resolved to make CHARLES the great, Emperour; and to passe the head of the Empire into the West. Wherewith as most writers affirme, he did not acquaint the King, deeming the greatnes of his minde to haue been such, that he neither had desired it, neither would haue accepted the same. And hauing ruminated hereupon against the day of the natiuitie of CHRIST, he commaunded all the Priest Cardinales, and all the other prelates to come to a Masse, whither CHARLES was also inuited, and came; together with all the other princes; and so about the middest of the Masse, the Pope then saying it, he turned about from the Alter to the people, and with a loud voyce said, That he did there elect, create, and publish CHARLES the great, the most mightie and victorious King of *Italy*, of the Germanes, and of the French-men, Emperour, and euer AVGVSTVS. Which being done, he set the imperiall crowne vpon his head, and all those which were present consented thereto, with acclamations and applauses, saying, To the most godly, euer AVGVSTVS, great and most victorious Emperour CHARLES, God graunt long life and victorie. This acclamation being ended, the Pope annointed him, and therewith annointed and intituled his sonne PEPIN (by the will and consent of his father) King of *Italy*; which coronations were performed, with such feastings and solemnities, as the discrete reader may well imagine; vpon the birth day of CHRIST, which was the twentie and fife of December, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred, foure hundred threescore and eight yeeres from the time that CONSTANTINE the great transferred the seate of the Empire into *Thracia*, to the citie of *Constantinople*, and three hundred and thirtie yeeres from the time that AVGVSTVLVS was the last Emperour in *Italy*. And so CHARLES remained Emperour, and the Empire was transported from the Greekes to the Germanes; for although that CHARLES was King of *France*, yet his originall, linage, and countrie was in *Germanie*, and so it appeareth by the histories; and notwithstanding that he was King of the French-men, he was borne in *Germanie*, and the French-men also had their originall and descent from *Germanie*; and the kingdome of *France* extended it selfe so farre in the time of this Emperour, that the most of the prouinces of *Germanie* were called by the name, and contained within the kingdome of *France*; so as there is no reason that any authors should say, that the Empire was first transposed to the French, and afterwards in processe of time to the Germanes; and so doe approue and affirme OTHO FRISINGENSIS, GODFRIDVS VITERBIENSIS, WESPERGENSIS ABBAS, and others, although of lesse antiquitie, yet of no lesse diligence, as PLATINA, MARTIANVS, ROBERTVS GAGVIN, and most diligently IOHANNES NAVCLERVS, and aboue all, BEATVS RENANVS, HENRICVS MCVIVS, in his notable bookes of the state of *Germanie*, and CVSPINIANVS in the life of the same CHARLES. These matters being thus ended, the new Emperour returned towards his kingdome and countries; leauing his sonne PEPIN King in *Italy*, which he left in very good order. In this his iourney (the authors write) that he did many graces and fauours to the citie of *Florence*, and that he commaunded the decayed walles and buildings thereof to be reedified, and many o-

Charles the  
great crowned  
Emperour and  
his sonne Pepin  
King of Italy by  
Pope Leo.

Anno Dom.  
800.

The originall of  
Charles the  
great.

Fauours be-  
stowed by  
Charles the  
great vpon the  
citie of Flo-  
rence.

ther faire edifices to be erected; and that he procured gentlemen to come and inhabit the same. The fame of this his election being spread over the world, the manly Emperesse YRENE, which ruled the Empire of the East, sent Ambassadors vnto him, desiring peace with him, and (as some write) to treat of a marriage betwene them, seeing that they both were single: and although that the treatie of marriage tooke no effect (for the princes of Greece perswaded YRENE to the contrarie) yet a peace was concluded betwene the two Empiers: The Empire of *Gracia* containing that which it then held in *Asia*, which I haue already repeated; with that countie which now is the kingdome of *Naples*, or the greatest part thereof; the Iles of *Sicilia*, *Candia*, and the rest; with *Albania*, part of *Slauonia*, and all *Gracia* and *Thracia*, the citie of *Venice* and the dominion thereof, which is not lightly to be regarded, remained friend to all, and subiect to none. This being concluded, YRENE the Emperesse enjoyed the same but a little while after it: for in the end, as she was a woman, men of haucie mindes holding it for basenes, disdained to be commaunded by her, and found meanes that a man of high degree, great power, and of noble parentage, whose name was NICEPHORVS, should rise against her, and take vpon him the title of Emperor, which tooke effect, so as by a stratagem she was taken, and dispossessed of her Empire.

*Venice* ever a  
free citie.

*Nicephorus*  
made Emperor  
of *Gracia* in  
place of *Yrene*.

## THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE GREAT, AND THREESCORE AND SIXTEENE ROMANE EMPE- ROR, AND OF NICEPHORVS in Constantinople.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**W**hen Charles the great was made Emperor, he was of the age of fiftie and eight yeeres, and returning into Germanie, he wholly converted the Saxons to the Christian faith, and made an accord with Nicephorus Emperor of the Greekes, which afterwards was broken, for that Nicephorus aided the Venecians, against him and his sonne Pepin; but Charles finally making peace with the Venecians, left them in that libertie, wherein they haue maintained themselves until this present, and came to a full peace with Nicephorus

phorus. He diuided the Empire betwene his three sonnes, and commaunded Pepin to goe to *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, to defend the same against the Infidels which went thither to inhabit. And under the gouernment of Charles his sonne overcame many other nations, rebels, and Infidels; and he became so great, that the King of the *Mahometists* sought his friendship. Two of his sonnes died, to wit, Pepin, and Charles, so as his whole hope remained in *Lewes*, whom he made his successor. And being now very olde, departed out of this world, overcome with a paine in his side, hauing gouerned the Empire fourteene yeeres; and his kingdome, senen and fortie.

**C**onsidering the great paines that I haue taken in writing this historie (I take God to record) that I stand in more neede of some rest; and to be eased of so great a burthen, by abbreviating the historie, and leauing out so much as may be, without reprehension, then to redouble my trauell and to enter into a new band, through the occasions which now present themselves. I say this much, for that the Pope in this time passed the Empire to CHARLES the great; and it hath ever since continued in *Germanie*: And in *Gracia* also remained princes, which in like manner were called Emperors, and pretended good right to be so; so as we may say that the Empire and the title thereof, was diuided, and came to be two Empires and to haue two Emperors. But I finde my selfe in a great confusion, to thinke how this matter may be handled; for first to write of one, and then to returne to write of the other, as did BAPTISTA IGNATIUS, in the short epitomie which he wrote of the Emperors; it seemeth to be inconuenient to bring one of them to an end, and then to make the reader turne backe againe seauen or eight hundred yeeres in the historie. And to write one or two liues of the one Empire, and then as many of the other, as did IOHN CYSPIAN, that liketh me as ill: for it greatly confoundeth the historie, and so in a manner neither the one nor the other can be vnderstood; and well to discover all together at large (for the many occasions which are offered, and the diuersitie of the times and places) I see not how it can be. To treat onely of the one (as some haue done) and wholly to leaue out and forget the other, I also hold it for an iniurie and crueltie: to let sincke and die in obliuion a matter of so great importance as is the dominion of the Greeke Emperours, which continued so long time afterwards, and to leaue the successours of CHARLES the Great, in which at this day the Empire remaineth, were to leaue the right way which leadeth to the place whither I am bound, and to take another whereby I should neuer attaine to my iournies end whither I am to trauaile. Wherefore seeing that I cannot goe both waies, after some considerations, I haue resolved to take for my principall subiect and historie of the Empire, that which the Church of *Rome* approued and then established, which is that of *Italie* and *Germanie*, in the person of CHARLES and his successours, recounting their liues and actes with such order as I haue obserued in those which are already past; and by the way of discourse euer to make some mention of the Greeke Emperors, as occasion shall be offered, whereby he that shall reade this historie, may vnderstand the successe of both Empires, vnder the name and title of one only. And hauing resolved vpon this course, let vs returne to our CHARLES the great, whom we left newly made Emperor; and to NICEPHORVS who tyrannically vsurped the Empire of *Constantinople*, by deposing the Emperesse YRENE. I say then that CHARLES was fiftie eight yeeres old, when in such maner as I haue set downe, he was by Pope *Leo* the third crowned Emperor in the citie of *Rome*; and had reigned three and thirtie yeeres the mightie King of *France* and *Germanie*; all which time he had spent in the warres, against rebels and Infidels (whereof in *Germanie* were many) with great felicitie and

Charles the  
great subdued  
the Saxons.

Nicephorus  
sent an ambaf-  
sador to Charles  
the great.

and victorie, taming and subduing people and provinces. CHARLES being come into *Germany*, wholly subdued the Saxons, and reduced them to the faith, wherein as the other nations of *Germany*, they euer were inconstant and negligent. NICEPHORVS which then reigned in *Constantinople*, knowing his great power; after that he had setled himselfe in his throne, and was well assured of those which hee had dispossessed, and had most cause to suspect, and had banished YRENE; sent Ambassadors of great account to CHARLES the great, very louingly desiring him to hold him for his brother and friend. The Emperour CHARLES who was a benigne prince, knowing how mightie the Sarazins were, and the great danger that all Christendome should encurr through discord betweene the two Empires, graunted and concluded a peace with NICEPHORVS; and with his Ambassadors sent others of his owne, to conclude and confirme the same: which was established in the same manner and with the same conditions, as it was made with the Emperesse YRENE: the citie of *Venice* remaining friend to both parties (neutrall) without any subiection to either. There was also a peace concluded betweene him and GODFREY king of *Denmarke*, which some call *Dacia*: whereupon the said GODFREY departed out of his kingdome, royally accompanied, to see and speake with the Emperour, although that this interuiew tooke no effect; for his people dissuading him, counselled him not to see him: neuertheless the peace was made, and tooke place.

After this, it followed that for some matters which the Venetians attempted against the Empire of CHARLES, in the behalfe of NICEPHORVS Emperour of *Constantinople* (yet some affirme that it was through the false information of FORTVNATVS Patriarch of *Grado*) CHARLES the great commaunded his sonne PEPIN king of *Italy*, to make warres against them: which he began very resolutely, and tooke the cities and fortresses which they held in the maine land, and besieged the citie of *Venice* it selfe both by sea and land; to the reliefe whereof the Greeke Emperour NICEPHORVS sent a flecte. Of these warres of *Venice* the ancient authors doe write so diuersly, that a man can hardly well say which was the truth: for some say that *Venice* was wholly taken; and others say that but some Ilands thereof, and that that which is called *Rio alio* defended it selfe: howfoeuer it was, the warre continued many daies, and CHARLES graunted peace and libertie to the Venetians, to liue after their lawes and customes, for that he was to renew the peace with the Greeke Emperour, which he had broken by reason of the Venetian warres,

Charles his will  
and testament.

CHARLES liuing in this prosperitie, made his will and testament, wherein he diuided his kingdomes betweene three legitimate sonnes which he had, to wit, CHARLES, which was his eldest sonne, PEPIN, and LEVVS; wherein he made his sonne CHARLES king of the greatest and best parts of *France* and *Germany*; PEPIN he made king of *Italy* and *Bauaria*, and other prouinces; and LEVVS of *Prouance*, and of that part of *France* which bordereth vpon *Spaine*, and other prouinces. Which his testament he sent to be ratified by Pope LEON; and shortly after gaue to his sonnes the names and titles of Kings: but all happened afterwards after another manner; for God otherwise disposed thereof at his pleasure. This testament I haue seene written by some authors. It afterwards happened that a great flecte of Infidels which inhabited *Spaine*, with the aide and assistance of the *Africans*, inuaded the Iles of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*: for the defence whereof the Emperour CHARLES sent commaundement to his sonne PEPIN, that he should send thither a captaine, whose name was BVCARDVS; who tooke so good order

der that he draue the Infidels out of those Ilands, and slew fise thousand of them in one battaile. And with no lesse good successe, he waged another warre with the Dukes of the Bohemians, and of the Polonians, which is part of the ancient *Sarmatia*, which infested the countries vnder his dominion; against which he sent his son CHARLES, with great forces of Burgonians, Saxons and Germanes. And the young CHARLES imitating his father, warred valiantly and with discretion: and coming first to a battaile with the Bohemians and LEON their Duke, hee ouercame them, and slew LEON; although that therein passed many daies, and there was an intermission in this war: and in the end he had the like successe with the Polacres, so that they all became subiect to his father. For which his victories he was so much feared and renowned through the world, that a great king in the East, and AMVRATES the greatest of all the MAHOMETISTS, sent their Ambassadors with rich presents vnto him, desiring peace and his friendship; and the like did all the kings christian.

Ambassadors  
sent to Charles  
the great.

Whilest as these and other such like matters happened vnto CHARLES the great, NICEPHORVS Emperour of *Constantinople*, shewed himselfe to be very couctous, imposing new taxes and tributes vpon his countries and subiects; hauing euer a desire and a conceit to disturbe the Empire of CHARLES the great, which he neuer forbore to doe; endammaging his countries, by robbing and spoyling the same, and secretly fauouring his enemies, wherby he gat little honour, & lesse profit: for this enuie and malice being fixed in his heart, he not only left to make wars against the Infidels, as he ought to haue done, but knowing that they would warre with him, he bought his peace of them; and to his great shame and disgrace bound himselfe to pay them yeerely a great summe of money; and for that instant sent them great gifts and presents, hauing his purpose wholly bent against the Christians, which cost him his life, as presently shall be declared. CHARLES liuing in this tranquillitie, GODFREY king of *Denmarke* made warre against him, who was a mightie prince, and commaunded a large dominion: and with great forces came into *Friseland* and into *Saxony*, wherein he did great harme. Against whom the Emperour addressing himselfe (although now old and vnweldie) speedily departed with a great armie, and by the way newes was brought him, that the said king was dead, and his armie returned; which was held for great newes, considering how great warres were expected. And vpon the same day, newes came also how that his sonne PEPIN, which in great prosperitie reigned in *Italy*, was also dead in the citie of *Milan*: whereof he was sorrie, and returned to the citie of *Aken*, whither Ambassadors came to him from HERMIGVS king of *Denmarke* which succeeded GODFREY, humbly desiring peace; the like came from NICEPHORVS Emperour of *Gracia*, and the like petition also came from AMBLAT a king of the Moores, which reigned in great part of *Spaine*: to all which hee made gracious answeres, and granting their petitions, gaue hartie thanks to God, for that he was generally so well esteemed. But after this prosperitie, a great punishment and scourge ensued; which was, that it pleased God to take away his other sonne called CHARLES, who lay in the borders of *Germany*, for the defence thereof: so that now his whole hope rested in his third sonne LEVVS.

The death of  
the King of  
*Denmarke*.  
The death of  
Pepin king of  
*Italy*.

NICEPHORVS the Emperor of *Gracia* being assured of CHARLES the great, and hauing bought his peace of the Infidels, tooke his sonne STAVRATVS for his companion in the Empire; determining to make warre against his neighbours the Bulgarians, whose king was then called CRVNVS, with whom hee fought

fought some battailes, wherein hee had the victorie, and slew many of his enemies. By reason of these victories hee grew so proud and insolent, that making small account of his enemies, he warred with little care or discretion: which this CRVNVs perceiuing, raised the greatest and best power that hee was able to make, and the most secretly that might be marched by night, and before that it was day assaulted the Emperours campe, who being vnable to set his people in order, they were broken, and the Emperor was there slaine: and his sonne STAVRATIVS being sore wounded, escaped by flight: and so ended the life and raigne of NICEPHORVS. At this ouerthrow great wealth was lost, and much of the Greeke nobilitie then perished: which happened in the yeere of our Saviour CHRIST eight hundred and fife, he hauing then raigned nine yeeres. His sonne STAVRATIVS coming to *Adrianople*, and saluted and sworne Emperour, was so ill inclined, and so insufficient, and therewith about all so deformed, ill fauoured, and churlish in behauiour, that there was no man pleased with his succession: so that within foure moneths after that he came to the Empire, he was dispossessed thereof by his brother in law MICHAEL, who apprehending him, put him into a Monasterie; & this MICHAEL remaining peacefull Emperour, was a virtuous man & a good gouernor, but so inclined to peace, that afterwards through his excessiue feare of warre he lost his Empire, as we will tell you. Now, so soone as he was chosen Emperour, he with all expedition sent his Ambassadors to the honourable old Emperour CHARLES the Great, desiring friendship and peace with him, which was concluded in such manner as it was with his predecessour NICEPHORVS. And CHARLES the Great being now very old, desiring to take order for the estate of the Empire, called a most solemne parliament in the citie of *Aquisgran* or *Aken*, where he made his sonne LEVVE to be intituled CESAR, and his successor; and his nephew BERNARD sonne of his sonne PEPIN king of *Italy*, with the consent of Pope LEO, which vntill then liued. And this being perfourmed, the rest of his time hee spent in almes-giuing, enriching the Churches and clergie, and relieuing the poore people: and reforming abuses, ordained good lawes and statutes. The yeere following, the Infidels Sarazins of *Spain* and *Africa*, invaded the Iles of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, wherein they made cruell warre, and did the like in the coast of *Italy*; but yet (although not without great trouble) they were repelled and scattered by the Emperours captaines, and by his nephew BERNARD king of *Italy*. It followed that MICHAEL the Emperor of *Constantinople* being assailed by CRVNVs king of *Bulgaria*; against his will was forced to take the field, and to fight with him; and in the first battaile gat the victorie: but fighting againe the second time, was ouerthrowne, and therewith lost both the day, and the mind to rule: so as he voluntarily renounced the Empire: or (as some say) a principall captaine of his called LEO, rebelling, and he not daring to make head against him, deposed himselfe from the Empire, and went into a Cloister, hauing raigned not fully three yeeres. And this LEO who was the sonne of a gentleman called PARDVS, was made Emperour, and presently in the like manner as MICHAEL had done, he sent his Ambassadors to CHARLES the Great, to establish and confirme the peace concluded with his predecessours; which was perfourmed. In the meane time that LEO was chosen and crowned, CRVNVs king of *Bulgaria*, following the victorie, which he obtained against the Emperour MICHAEL; marched with his armie the direct way towards *Constantinople*, whither the Emperour LEO had drawne his forces, and had raised new; and CRVNVs came so neere to the citie, that he might well see the same. Which disgrace

The death of  
the Greek Em-  
peror Nicepho-  
rus.

Anno Dom.  
805.

Stauratus suc-  
ceeding Nice-  
phorus was  
deposed by Mi-  
chael who  
succeeded him.

Michael Em-  
perour of Con-  
stantinople de-  
posed himselfe  
from his Em-  
pire.

LEO

LEO could not with patience endure (being as he was a valiant man) but tooke the field with all his forces, in very good order, and made head against his enemy; who with the ioy of the late victorie attended him: & there was fought between them a cruell battaile, which lasted a great part of the day, and many men were slaine of either partie: And therein happened a notable matter seldome seene in other encounters, which was, that in the furie of the fight the Emperor and the King chanced to meete, and to know each of them his aduersarie, and the one charging the other, the Emperor carried himselfe so well, that he felled the King dead to the earth; so that within a little while after, the Bulgarians began to retire, and presently to runne away, in such manner that LEO had a full complet and noble victorie, together with the spoile of their campe; and so returned to *Constantinople* with great ioy. And the Bulgarians being now contented to defend their owne limits, the Greeke Emperor remained in peace, as CHARLES the great did in *Germanie*. But as all things in this world haue an end; so ended the good fortunes and great power of CHARLES the great, together with his life: for being then of the age of threescore and eleuen yeeres, he was taken with a paine in his side, whereof within the space of seuen daies he died, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred and fourteene, when he had raigned Emperor fourteene yeeres, and seauen and fortie King of *France* and of *Germanie*; and of *Italy* fortie two.

This noble prince was endued with so many excellent vertues, that we reade of very few in auncient histories that excelled him, so as iustly he may be compared with any of the most excellent who so euer; for in martiall discipline, in manly valour, and dexteritie in armes, I know not any that hath surpassed him: he obtained so many victories, fought so many battailes, and tamed and subdued so many fierce & warlike nations, before, & after that he was Emperor, as any of the most famous that euer was in the world. He was tall of stature, very well proportioned in all parts, passing strong, of a faire and graue countenance, valiant, gentle, mild, pitifull, a louer of iustice, liberall, very affable, pleasant, well read in historie, a great friend of Arts and Sciences, and sufficiently well seene in them, and a man which about all honored and rewarded learned men. He was very charitable and a great almes giuer; and so good an harbourer of strangers, that in *Siria*, in *Africa*, in *Egypt*, and in other prouinces of the Infidels, wherein Christians liued, he found meanes to haue hospitals, and publike almes houses, for such of them as were poore; and in his kingdomes, and euen in his court also, he harboured and relieved strangers and pilgrimes. Concerning his faith and religion, he was very zealous; and the most of the warres which he made, were to enlarge the Christian faith. He superstitiously honored and obeyed the Church of *Rome*, and the Pope Bishop thereof, and other Bishops and prelates, and commaunded his subiects to doe the like; whereof besides the histories, some chapters in the Decretals bare record. He was likewise very deuout, and spent great part of the time in prayer, and hearing diuine seruice. In his diet he was very temperate, and a great enemy to all riot and excess; for at his table were neuer serued about fower or fiue dishes, and those of such meate as best pleased his taste; which he vsed to the same end that God created them, which was for his sustenance, and not for a shew and vaine glorie, as now a daies is vsed; in such sort that the meates which naturally are but to please the taste, or at the most the sauour or smell, they will now haue them to satisfie all the other senses; and likewise finding new inuentions, the greatest part of their life time is spent

Crnus King  
of the Bulgari-  
ans slaine by  
the Emperor  
Leo.

The death of  
Charles the  
great.  
Anno Dom.  
814.

Zz

at

at the table; and so they ate of a greater number of exquisite meates, drest in such manner and with such sauces, that it is hard to know of what taste they are; so as they seeme strange and rare: and sometime meate is made of such things as were not created of God to such purpose, no more then he made Goates to draw carts, or to till the earth. Our CHARLES was not as some are at this day; for as he was rich and mightie, so he was temperate and vertuous; and maintained his body with what was needfull and wholefome. His ordinarie exercise was hunting, when he had leasure, in time of warres; and in time of peace, he gave care to such as did reade histories to him; and sometimes he heard musick, wherewith he was much delighted, and had good skill therein. He was much condemned for hauing many bastard sonnes and daughters, but this was in time of his youth; for afterwards it is to be supposed, that he contented himselfe with his wife; and for remedy of this imperfection, although he was three or foure times a widower, yet he euer married againe the daughters of mightie Kings and princes. Finally, to make an end of that, wherof I haue treated at large, he was an excellent Emperor, and feared and loued God, and died, as I said, very olde and honorable; and in peace with the Kings of *Spaine, England, Denmarke, Bulgaria*, the Greeke Emperor *LEO*, and with all the princes of that time. His body was buried in a sumptuous temple, which he caused to be builded in the same citie of *Aquisgrane* or *Aken*.

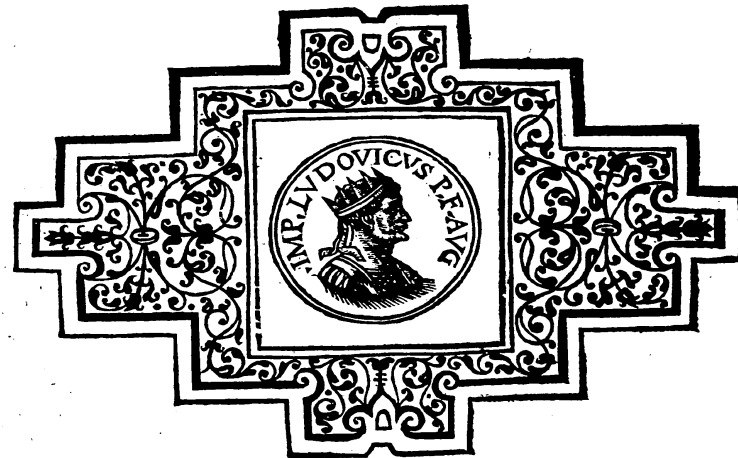
Where Charles  
the great was  
buried.

The authors from which I haue drawne all that I haue said, and where the reader may see and reade all the rest, concerning CHARLES the great, and the other Emperors, and the histories of those times, are those which ordinarily I vse to alleage, since that the most auncient authors haue failed, to wit, the *Annales of Constantinople* in the twentie three booke, where they make an end, *BLONDVS* in his second booke of his *Decades*, *ZONARAS* a Greeke author, and *SIGISBERTVS*, and the Abbot *WESPERGENSIS*, and *MATHEV PALMERIVS*, all three in the proesse of their *Chronicles*; *PLATINA* in the life of the Popes, *CYSPINIAN*, *BAPTISTA IGNATIVS*, *BENEVENTANVS DE ROMALDVS*, *JOHN CARRION*, *JOHN EYTICHIVS*, *RAPHAEL VOLATERRANVS*, all these in their Emperors, *VINCENCIVS* an Higoriographer in his *Mirror*, besides the which it shall be necessarie to see, and so may he doe which shall be a curious reader: The French Historiographers, in matter concerne the time of CHARLES the great, which are *PAVLVS EMILIVS* a singular author, *ROBERT GAGVIN*, and *MARTIN*, *OTHO FRISINGENSIS* in the fifth booke of his histories, wherein he treateth at large of CHARLES the great, and likewise *RICHARD* of Saint *Victor*, and the Archbishop *TURNPIN*.

THE



# THE LIFE OF LEWES THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, SVRNA- MED PIVS, AND THREESCORE AND SEVENTEENE ROMANE EMPE- ror, in whose time LEO and MICHAEL raigned in Constantinople.



## THE ARGVMENT.



LEwes being come to the Empire, confirmed the peace with the Emperor of *Gracia*, and made warre in *Dacia*; from which it was requisite that he should returne in person, for redresse of certaine accidents which happened in *Italy*; which he easily pacified by meanes of his nephew *Bernard*, then King of *Italy*. This Emperor renounced to haue any authoritie to confirme the Popes election. *Bernard* King of *Italy* rebelled; but being overcome, was led prisoner into *France* by his Vncle *Lewes*, who gave to his eldest sonne *Lotharius* that government. He overcame some tyrants which rebelled against him, and confirmed to the Church the donation made by his father. There happened unto this Emperour one pitifull case, which was, that his owne children rebelled against him, and deposed him from the Empire: but they afterwards repenting, restored him to his estate. In which time befell an extreame great disaster and ruine to *Rome* and *Italy*; for the *Mahometists* vnderstanding of the discord betweene Christian princes, and standing in no feare of *Michael* the Greeke Emperour, hauing prepared a good navy, scaled *Ciuita Vecchia*, and robbing and burning, came so farre as to besiege *Rome*: from whence

(so soone as they saw succours come out of Lumbardy) they returned to their home. They also did much harme in Sicilia. After which ruine, Lewes falling sick of a grievous infirmittie, died within fortie daies, leaving first in order the state of the Empire.



Peace between  
the Emperours  
Lewes and Leo.

IN such manner as I haue recounted in the historie of CHARLES the Great, his sonne LEVVS was by him in his life time nominated, & chosen Emperor: wherefore so soone as his father was dead, he was by all men peaceably held and obeyed for such, and proued a vertuous prince: and for his vertue and goodnesse was called PIVS. The first thing that he tooke in hand, was to come to the citie of Aken, where he held a generall Diet or Parliament, and tooke order for all things, concerning the peace, and gouernment of the Empire, and the kingdomes which hee inherited; whither came Ambassadors from LEO Emperour of Greece, to ratifie the peace made with his father: for the better assurance whereof, he sent Ambassadors with those which came, to the end that LEO should confirme the same in Constantinople. He determined also, as a new Emperour, and greedie of honour, to make warre against the Danes, in the behalfe of EROALDVS, and RANFREDVS, two kings which were friends and subiect to the Empire, and were deposed from their kingdomes by the sonnes of GODFREY. For this enterprise he made great preparation, sending for his nephew BERNARD king of Italy, as is before said; and for the better defence of his countries hee left his three sonnes, to wit, LOTHARIVS, PEPIN, and LEVVS. LOTHARIVS which was his eldest sonne, hee made gouernour of Bannaria, and the marches thereof; and to PEPIN he left the gouernment of Aquitania, and other places thereabout: in the other prouinces, he confirmed the Dukes thereof, and in all he set very good order. And departing with his armie, and being come into Saxony, the weather grew to be so cold, that in all that winter he could march no further forwards; so as he was constrained to winter in a citie in Saxony called Parburnia, or Parbarina; for the cold was so extreme, that the seas in all that coast were frozen, and the warre was afterwards made by his captaines. LEVVS returning into France, by reason of other accidents which happened: for it was so, that in Rome some great men seeing Pope LEO old and sickly, conspired against him, against which he proceeded, determining to haue done iustice vpon them; for which cause there was a tumult in Rome, and in some parts of Italy: whereof when LEVVS was aduertised, he sent commandement to king BERNARD, speedily to goe thither, to preuent rebellion in those parts: and BERNARD did so with all possible expedition, and fully pacified all matters in Rome, and in all Italy also. And within few daies after Pope LEO died, hauing bin Pope one and twentie yeeres, and in his place was chosen STEPHEN the fourth, who presently after his election went into France to the Emperour; and finding him in the citie of Arles, was honourably receiued; and he with very great ceremonies and solemnities, crowned and annointed LEVVS Emperor, and then returned to Rome.

The Emperour  
Lewes crowned  
by Pope Stephen.

The coronation and solemnities being ended, there ensued some insurrections in the kingdomes of this LEVVS; for the Gascons and other people their neighbours, rebelled; for that LEVVS had taken from them their Duke and gouernour, called SIGVINVS; for it seemeth that then Dukes were made gouernours of prouinces, and that they for the most part, continued their whole life time in their gouerne-

gouernments, or at least a very long time; from whence afterwards proceeded the estates, and great houses of Germany, and other parts: some by the Emperors gift; and others by force, making themselues tyrants; which in proceesse of time were ratified, and confirmed in their dignities. These aforesaid gouernments were also giuen with the titles of Earldomes, and Marquesses, as it appeareth by the histories: for there was giuen to them a marke of land, or land (contained within certaine bounds or markes) to gouerne; so as they diuied their titles in such manner as did the Dukes. At this time another king of certaine Ilands in the North sea, taking part with the king of Denmark, warred also against the Emperour LEVVS: vpon these two occasions LEVVS raised new armies. The matters of Gascony were ended in few daies with little difficultie; but the warres with the Danes were more doubtfull, for in the beginning the Saxons and the Imperialists had ill successe: but in the end the Emperour provided such captaines and souldiers, that they not onely obtained the victorie, but restored EROALDVS to his kingdom, who liued in subiection to the Empire, hauing been before depriued. This happened in the third yeere of the raigne of the Emperour LEVVS, in the beginning of which, newes came that Pope STEPHEN was dead, who had been Pope but seuen moneths onely; whom PASCUAL the first succeeded, and executed his authoritie in the Popedom, without the Emperours confirmation, being thereto vrged by both estates of Rome, ecclesiasticall and secular: whereupon he sent to excuse himselfe to the Emperour; for Pope ADRIAN and the clergie had graunted that preheminence to his father CHARLES the great, and to his successors, which was obserued vntill this time; which authoritie LEVVS renounced, as it appeareth by the chapter *Ego Ludonicus* in the distinction 63. LEVVS accepted this excuse, and ordained that from thencefoorth the imperiall authoritie should be obserued in this manner, viz. that so soone as the Pope was chosen, he should giue the Emperour to vnderstand thereof, as to a friend deuoted to that Church; but not that he should stay vntill the Emperour had confirmed his election. Yet this notwithstanding, the Popes afterwards vsed to sue to the Emperors to approue their election, vntill the time of LEVVS nephew of this LEVVS, who voluntarily left this custome, which had continued from the time of ADRIAN the second, as shall be declared in time and place, if our memorie faile vs not. Whilest that these things passed in France, in Germany, and in Italy, LEO (as I haue aboue said) ruling the Empire of Constantinople, and through his victorie obtained against the king of Bulgaria, liuing some space in peace and prosperitie, and highly esteemed; waxed so proud, and therewith so seuer and cruell to his subiects, that he purchased their hatred; whereto this was a furtherance, in that he sought to put down the images in their Churches, as some of his predecessors had done. And it afterwards happened that one MICHAEL, a man of meane parentage, whom he had aduanced and preferred to great estate, and had placed neere about himselfe, and then held in prison, with a determination to haue cut off his eares, was of power with the fauour of many men of great reputation which tooke him out of prison, and assisted him herein, to murder the Emperour LEO, and to seize vpon the Empire; when he had reigned seuen yeeres and certaine moneths. He left behinde him foure sonnes, which afterwards had diuers aduentures; but none of them obtained the Empire. In this manner MICHAEL gat the Empire of Constantinople, wherein we will leaue him, to the end to make a conclusion of the historie of LEVVS the Emperour of the West. And thus it passed, that hauing vntill then had good successe in his affaires, in the parliament which he lately had

From whence  
the title of  
Dukes and  
Marquesses are  
deriued.

Leo cast the  
images out of  
the Churches of  
the Greeke  
Empire.

The Emperour  
Leo murdered.

Michael suc-  
ceeded Leo in  
the Greeke  
Empire.

The Emperour  
Lewes made  
his sonne Lo-  
tharius his  
companion in  
the Empire.

Bernard king  
of Italy rebel-  
led against his  
uncle the Em-  
perour Lewes.

Bernard king  
of Italy being  
condemned to  
die was execu-  
ted.

Lewes paci-  
fied the in-  
trants in Han-  
garie.

A new dona-  
tion to the  
church of Rome  
made by the  
Emperour Lu-  
dovicus Pius.

commanded to be held in *Aken*, among other matters which therein were ordained, one was, that his eldest sonne *LOTHARIUS* was made his companion in the Empire, and his second sonne *PEPIN* king of *Aquitania*, which containeth *Languedoc*, *Gascony*, *Vienne*, and *Aniow*: and his third sonne *LEVES* was made king of *Bavaria*: and these three brethren presently tooke vpon them the gouernment of their principalities. But (as nothing in this world is permanent) after this there befell some troubles and warres betweene the Emperour and the Danes, which began to rebell: through which occasion, by the counsell and perswasion of certaine wicked persons, whereof some were prelates, his nephew *BERNARD*, king of the greatest part of *Italy*, rebelled also, and denied the dutie of superioritie, which he owed to his vnckle *LEVES*; and leuying an armie, held the Alpes and the passages into *Italy*, thereby to defend himselfe. Whereof when the Emperour had aduertisement, adiudging him in the parliament for an open enemy, he departed towards *Italy*, and by the way leuied men of warre; whither when he came he was of such power, that *BERNARD* durst not stand to his defence, but yielded himselfe into the Emperours hands; who after that hee had pacified the state of *Italy*, returned into *France*, and leading *BERNARD* with him prisoner, would that his doing should be determined by iustice, as so great an offence required, and he was condemned to death, and so was executed. And *LEVES* in *BERNARD*'S place made his sonne *LOTHARIUS* king of *Italy*, whom before he had made *CÆSAR*, and his companion in the Empire: and he departing thitherwards, at his arriual was therein annointed and crowned by Pope *PASCUAL*. After this little dangerous warre, there followed another against the Duke, or gouernour of little *Britanny* (a prouince of *France*) which also rebelled, with the people of that prouince, intitling himselfe an absolute king, and not subiect to the Emperour; and his heart was so great, that hee leuied an armie, and came with him to a battaile, wherein this tyrant whose name was *VIOARCHVS* was ouerthrowne, but not without great difficultie and effusion of blood; but the Emperour had the victorie. After which, ensued the death of his wife the Emperesse called *HERNIGAR*, for whom he was exceeding sorrowfull; but yet he shortly after married the second time. After this, the Emperour *LEVES* liued two or three yeeres in peace; at the end whereof, a Duke, gouernour of *Hungary*, moued with the desire to raigne, rebelled, and began to warre in *Austrich*, which in ancient time was called the vpper *Pannonia*, and in *Dalmatia* and in *Slauonia* likewise; against whom *LEVES* raised a great armie, and the tyrant being in sundrie skirmishes and battailes ouerthrowne, submitted himselfe, and the Emperour graunted him his life; and so those prouinces remained in peace. After this, certaine Romanes came to complaine to the Emperour against Pope *PASCUAL*, alleaging that hee had caused certaine principall men to be slaine, for that they were his followers, and desirous to do him seruice: whereof the Pope excused himselfe by his Ambassadors, which the Emperour not only accepted, but much fauoured & honored the Papall sea. And forasmuch as there arose sundrie doubts & questions about, which of the townes and cities of *Italy* appertained to the Empire, and which to the Pope; the Emperour *LEVES* made a new donation to the Church of *Rome*, ratifying the charters of his father, and grandfather; which *RAPHAELL VOLATERRANVS* writeth in the third booke of his *Geographie*, as hauing seene the originall in the Popes library, in the Vatican; the tenor whereof, as he setteth it downe, is as followeth, at whose perill I write the same. In the name of God almightie, the father, the sonne, and the holy Ghost, I *LEVES* the Emperour, doe graunt vnto thee

thee *PETER* the Apostle, prince of the Apostles, and for thee, to thy vicar, the Lord *PASCUAL* the highest Bishop, and to his successors for euer, the citie of *Rome*, with all the iurisdiction thereof, and lands and marches thereabouts, the confines, cities, ports and places vpon the *Tuscan* and *Mediterranean* sea side, *Civita*, *Vecchia*, *Valneo*, *Reggio*, *Viterbo*, *Sauona*, *Papulonia*, *Rosello*, *Perugia*, *Maturano*, *Sutri*, *Nepe*, and towards the countrie called *Terra di Lanoro*, *Amanina*, *Segnia*, *Sessentino*, *Alano*, *Patrico*, *Frusino*, with all the lands and places in their subiection, and also all the gouernment of the citie of *Rauenna* wholly, accordingly as my father the Emperour *CHARLES* of holy memorie, and also our grandfather *PEPIN*, in time past graunted the same to *S. PETER* the Apostle, that is to say, *Rauenna*, *Bonio*, *Emilia*, *Foropopuli*, *Forli*, *Faenza*, *Imola*, *Bologna*, *Ferrara*, *Comacchio*, *Adeia*, *Ceruia*, and in the *Marca*, *Pefero*, *Fano*, *Senigaglia*, *Ancona*, *Ausino*, *Numana*, *Esio*, *Fossombrone*, *Feltro*, *Vrbino*, the territorie *Valnense*, *Cagli*, *Luceola*, *Ogobio*, and also in *Terra di Lanoro*, *Asola*, *Aquino*, *Arpino*, *Theano*, *Capua*, and all the lands therein appertaining to our iurisdiction, to wit, the dukedomes of *Beneuento*, *Salerno*, and *Calabria* the superior and inferior, and that of *Naples*, of *Spoleto*, *Tuderto*, *Oricacio*, *Narnia*, and all that iurisdiction; and also the Ilands in the sea called the inferior, *Corfica*, *Sardegna*, and *Sicilia*. All which lands and cities, *PEPIN* our grandfather of holy memorie, and afterwards our father *CHARLES*, by their prerogatiue in writing, gaue and graunted by their Ambassadors, *ATHERIVS* and *MAYNADVS* Abbots, of their owne franke and free will, sent to *Saint PETER* and his successors, and we also doe graunt and allow the same. Moreouer we will and declare, that the power and authoritie to chuse the Pope, is, and shal remaine free to the Romane counsell and collage, to be made without any schisme or discord; and that after that hee is chosen and consecrated, for the preservation of loue and friendship betweene vs, he shall send his Ambassadors to me, and to my successors which shall be kings of *France*, as the custome was in the time of my great grandfather *CHARLES*, and *PEPIN* my grandfather, and of my father *CHARLES*, and this our will and grace which wee doe, we giue in writing, and confirme with an oth, and send the same to Pope *PASCUAL* our Lord, subscribed with our owne hand, by *THEODORE* the Legate of the holie Church of *Rome*. Signed, *Ego Ludouicus*. This donation was likewise attested by the Emperours three sonnes, tenne Bishops, eight Abbots, fifteene Earles, one Secretarie, a chamber-keeper, and a doore-keeper. The which donation the same author *VOLATERRANVS*, affirmeth to haue seene confirmed by the Emperour *OTHO* the third, in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred seuentie and two, in the time of Pope *JOHN* the twelfth. Of this donation (although not so much at large) mention is made in the Decretall, in the chapter *Ego Ludouicus*, in the distinction 63. In which chapter is expresse, the citie of *Rome*, with all that Dukedome, which then contained all the lands, townes and cities vpon the sea side, and the Hauons thereto appertaining, with all the other townes and cities of *Tuscane*, but their names are not set downe, neither the Ilands aboue named. This donation being made, the Pope within few daies after it died, hauing been Pope eight yeeres, and *EVGENIVS* the second was chosen, after that there had been a schisme, wherein two were chosen, which were perswaded by mutuall consent to renounce their election, and in their steede was chosen *EVGENIVS*, in the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred, foure and twentie, and in the eleuenth yeere of the raigne of the Emperour *LEVES*. At the same time the Emperour with three armies inuaded *Britanny* in *France*, which againe rebelled, and with effusion of

much blood subdued the same. And in the like manner the yeere following, he defended the kingdome of *Hungary* against the king of *Bulgaria*, which warred therein, and compelled him to sue for peace. He also sent an armie to the reliefe of *BERNALDVS* Earle of *Barcelona*, against the Infidels of *Spaine*, which made cruell warres vpon him. And so the Emperour *LEVVS* liued cuer (although not without some troubles) in prosperitie and with good successe.

Thomas rebel-  
led against Mi-  
chael the Em-  
perour of Gra-  
cia.

The Bulgarians  
came to aide  
the Emperour  
of Constanti-  
nople.

Thomas a ve-  
bel put to death  
by the com-  
manderment of  
Michael Empe-  
rour of Con-  
stantinople.

In the meane time there were no lesse warres and troubles in the East Empire, wherein the Emperour *MICHAEL* reigned, a wicked and misbeleuing prince, which held absurd and wicked opinions, fasting the Saturday, with the Iewes, and denying the resurrection of the dead; and it pleased God that the whole time of his raigne was infested with warres and troubles, and the Infidels abridged both his honour and empire. First hee had very dangerous warres with a great Lord called *THOMAS*, who taking part with *LEO*, whom *MICHAEL* had put to death, being in *Asia* amassed together much people, and with the aide of the Infidels tooke many cities; and comming into *Europe* against the new Emperour *MICHAEL*, tooke many cities in *Gracia*, and besieged the cite of *Constantinople*, wherein the Emperour was, and did put him so to his shifts, that hee hardly escaped from being either taken or slaine. But being thus distressed and in despaire, he resolved to trie the last and most perilous remedie; which was, that hee arming the greatest number of souldiers that he could get, sallied into the fields, and with such furie assailed his aduersaries vpon the sudden, that he slew a great number of them, in such sort that within very few daies *THOMAS* was driuen to raise his siege and to retire: And it followed also that his flecte at sea was ouerthrowne by the Emperours naue; so as his power euery where began to decay. And shortly after this, the king of *Bulgaria* came with an armie to the aide of the Emperour, whom *THOMAS* determined to encounter, before that hee should ioine with him; and comming to a battaile *THOMAS* was ouerthrowne, and the Bulgarians returned to their countrie, rich, with the spoiles of their victorie. Whereupon the Emperour aduentured to take the field, wherein his force so much encreased, that *THOMAS* daring not to fight with him, suffered himselfe to be besieged in *Adrianople*; where after many chances of warre, he fell into the Emperours hands, by whose commandement he was put to death: and pardoning some, and punishing others, he subuerted all his enemies, and his people returned to their obedience. Neuerthelesse, the Infidels in the warres and enterprises past became so hardie, that they euery where inuaded the lands of the Empire, robbing and taking many places: principally there came a great flecte of them into the Ile of *Candia*, wherein they made great slaughter, and obtained a notable victorie by sea against the Imperialists. They likewise came into the Ile of *Sicilia*, and tooke a great part thereof, as *IOHANNES MONACVS*, *BLONDVS*, and *SABELLICVS* doe write.

The Emperour *LEVVS* was required by Pope *GREGORIE* the fourth (*EVGENIVS* being dead, after whom *VALENTINIAN* was chosen, who enioyed the Papacie but fortie daies, and after his decease this *GREGORIE* was made Pope) to relieue *Sicilia*; which *LEVVS* hauing other occasions, refused; alleging that the Emperour *MICHAEL* ought to rescue it, for that *Sicilia* was in his empire. By reason whereof the state of the East Empire at that time endured many disasters, and *MICHAEL* the Emperour of *Constantinople* living in great vnrest, continued but a while, as hereafter wee will declare. And although that for that time the Ile of *Sicilia* was relieved by the Venetians, which then were very mightie

mightie by sea; yet that had not sufficed, if that a mightie man called *BONIFACE*, Earle and gouernour of the Ile of *Corfica*, with the aide of a brother of his, and other great men in *Italy*, had not leuiued a good armie, and sailing ouer into *Africa*, made so cruell warres in the marches of *Carthage*, ouerthrowing the Infidels in foure battailes, so as they were constrained to recall their armie from *Sicilia* (as they did in the time of *SCIPIO* the Africane, and *HANNIBAL* of *Carthage*). By this meane was the Ile of *Sicilia* deliuered from the Sarazins: for constrained by this necessitie, they abandoned what they had therein gotten, and returned into *Africa*.

The Emperour *LVDOVICVS PIVS* liuing in great honour and prosperitie, it pleased God to lay some affliction vpon him: for his owne sonnes, vpon which he had bestowed kingdomes and prouinces, conspired against him, and began to refuse to yeeld any superioritie; and leuying souldiers, raised armies against him. The causes that moued them thereto, or as they falsely alleaged the same, *Historians* write sundrie: some say it was, that for as much as he so tenderly loued his young sonne called *CHARLES*, whom he had by his second wife, his eldest sonne *LOTHARIVS* fearing to be disinherited, fought the destruction of his owne father. Others say that it was, for that he retained into his seruice a valiant Spaniard called *BERNALDO DEL CARPIO*, nephew to king *ALONSO*, of whom Spanish *Historians* write wonders; of whom hee made so great account for his valour in the warres, that in all matters of importance he was wholly led and by his counsell. Others say, that his wife *IVDITH*, which was a woman very ill conditioned, only ruled and bare all the sway with him: so as charging him with these defects, and others as vntrue and vniust as these, they opposed themselues against their father. And some great prelates interposed themselues to pacifie so dishonest a controuersie; and seeking to reconcile them, the gentle Emperour loued his sonnes so tenderly, and was so desirous of peace, that to grace his sonnes, he repudiated his wife (although much against his will) and bestowing many great rewards vpon *BERNALDO DEL CARPIO*, he discharged him. But the certaine cause was ambition and arrogancie, which encreasing in them, this fained agreement endured not long: for the sonnes, by the consent of certaine great men which ioyned with them, apprehended their father; and bereauing him of the robes and ensignes of Emperour and King, and generally of all gouernment and authoritie, did put him into a Monasterie, which hee endured with so exceeding great patience, that when (being prisoner) he saw any of them, he neuer vttered any euill speeches, but willed them to take heed, that those their priuate friends and fauourites did not one day deceiue them: and to remember what dutie and obedience they ought vnto him being their father. Finally, there passed many treaties about this matter, and he liued one whole yeere depofed, and as a prisoner; at the end whereof, his sonnes acknowledging their error (although some write against the will of his eldest sonne *LOTHARIVS*) restored him to his former estate, and he forgave them: and as for the rest of their confederates, he was content with giuing them a very light punishment. The Emperour *LEVVS* being restored, his second sonne *PELIN* (whom he had made king of *Aquitania*) deceased, and left one sonne called after his name. This domesticall and ciuill disention betweene the Emperour and his sonnes, was very deepe and costly to all Christendome: for the Sarazins of *Africa* being of great power and very mightie, and making small account of *MICHAEL* the Emperour of *Constantinople*, and seeing that the Emperour *LEVVS* was prisoner, and *Italy* abandoned; they with

The Emperour  
Leues his  
sonnes conspi-  
red against  
their father.

The Emperour  
Leues depofed  
and put into a  
Monasterie by  
his sonnes.

The Sarazins  
came into Italy  
and besieged  
Rome.

The Vatican  
in Rome taken  
and sacked by  
the Sarazins.

The death of  
Michael Em-  
peror of Con-  
stantinople.

The feast of all  
Saints ordai-  
ned by Pope  
Gregorie the  
fourth.

Pope Swines  
face, after-  
wards called  
Sergius the  
second.

The death of  
the Emperor  
Lewes.

an exceeding great naue, and a great number of men of warre came into *Italy*, and at their first landing tooke the citie of *Ciuita Vecchia*, and dispersing sundrie companies of horse and foote into diuers parts, they robbed and burned many townes in *Italy*. And not content therewith, they besieged the citie of *Rome* it selfe round about, and battered the same for many daies space, whereby Pope GREGORIE the fourth, and the townesmen and inhabitants thereof were much distressed, and many of them were slaine. And notwithstanding that VINCENTIVS VILVACENSIS, GINARDVS, and some other Historiographers say, that they entred and tooke the citie; it was not so, for the citie defended it selfe; but they took all the Suburbs called *Vaticane*, & burned the Church of S. PETER. Which comming to the knowledge of GVIDO, an excellent Captaine, Marqueffe of *Lombardy*, and gouernour thereof for the Emperour, being thereto moued by letters from the Pope, and sundrie other considerations, he raised a great power, and tooke his way towards *Rome*: which when the Infidels vnderstood, being laden with the riches and spoiles of *Italy*, they raised their siege; and doing all the harme that they could, went to *Ciuita Vecchia*, where they embarked themselves, carrying with them an infinite number of captiues and butin, and returned into *Africa*; and in their way they made what spoile they could in *Sicilia*.

At what time as *Italy* endured this calamitie, the Emperour MICHAEL died in *Constantinople*, when hee had reigned nine yeeres: and (as it had not of long time before been scene in that empire) his sonne THEOPHILVS succeeded him; who although that in conditions he was a better Emperour then his father, yet was he no better affected to the Pope, nor to the adoring of Images; for which cause he put many to death: what befell him we will hereafter briefly declare.

But returning to the matters of *Italy*, which was deliuered from the daunger and oppression of the Infidels. Pope GREGORIE the fourth died, hauing been so aboute fiftene yeeres. This Pope instituted the feast of All Saints, which is celebrated in the Church vntill this day. After the decease of this Pope, a Cardinall called SVVINESFACE was chosen: and for as much as it was a very vnseemely name for so high a dignitie, by a generall consent it was chaunged, and he was called SERGIVS the second. This was the cause why it hath been euer since vntill this day held for a custome, that the new chosen Popes leaue their old names, whereby they were called before, and take the name of some of their predecessors. Within few daies after the death of the Pope, within the same moneth LEVVES the Emperour of *Rome* and king of *France* fell sicke and died; so as within the space of foure daies died three the most famous heads of the world, viz. the two Emperours, MICHAEL, and LEVVES, and Pope GREGORIE. LEVVES before he died, made his youngest and well beloued sonne CHARLES, King, and Lord of *Austrich*. And LOTHARY who was Emperour elect, remained his heire generall of all the rest, excepting *Banaria*, wherof his other son LEVVES was king. And so ended the life and Empire of LVDOVICVS PIVS, in

the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred and fortie, when he had reigned full 26. yeeres, and had liued 64. SERGIVS

SVVINESNOVT being then Pope in *Rome*, and

THEOPHILVS son of MICHAEL, reigning Emperour in *Constantinople*.

THE



THE LIFE OF LOTHARIVS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND EIGHTEENE ROMANE EMPEROUR: and of THEOPHILVS Emperour in *Constantinople*.



After the death of LVDOVICVS PIVS, the West Empire descended to his eldest sonne LOTHARIVS, and ioyntly therewith his father left vnto him those kingdomes, which he, and his father CHARLES the Great, possessed in *France*, in *Germany*, and in *Italy*, excepting those prouinces which were giuen to his brothers LEVVES and CHARLES, which were *Bauiere* and *Austrich*, with some other thereto adioyning. So soone as the father was dead, these two sonnes dis-

content with their portions, determined to rise against their elder brother LOTHARIVS; and LOTHARIVS in like manner pretending all to be his, for that hee was the first borne, meant therefore to depose them: whereupon there presently began betweene them a very cruell warre, either partie being aided by sundrie Dukes and great personages. Some writers affirme, that these two brothers LOTHARIVS and LEVVES, which were sonnes of one mother, held together in this warre against CHARLES, who was the Emperours sonne by his second wife. But there is no reason why it should be so: for it seemeth not likely, that CHARLES alone could haue power sufficient to make head against the other two; and also for that LOTHARIVS fought to be Lord of the whole, allowing neither the one

Kingdomes  
left to Lotharivus.

nor

Warres be-  
twene Lo-  
tharivs and his  
brethren.

nor the other. And it afterwards plainly appeared, that LOTHARIVS in the peace which they made, entred not as a partaker, but as absolute and alone: wherefore I follow the most common and most likely opinion, which is, that LOTHARIVS warred against the other two; and was thus. LEUVES and CHARLES came out of *Germany*, with many valiant men of warre against the Emperor LOTHARIVS, who in like manner out of *France, Germany, and Italy*, leuied the greatest and best armie that of long time had been seene: so that all authors which write thereof affirme, that since the warres betwene ECIVS and ATTILA, there had not been gathered together in Europe the like number of good men of warre. And the hatred and enuie betwene these brothers was so great, that they could not auoide a battaile, which was fought neere to a little towne called *Fontano*: and as the capitaines and souldiers of either partie were valiant and expert in armes, the fight was the more cruell, and one of the most bloudie that hath been in the world, and wherein most men were slaine and most bloud spilt, and lasted great part of the day; the victorie euer shewing it selfe doubtfull, inclining sometimes to one side, and sometimes to the other, vntill that towards the euening, the Emperour LOTHARIVS his forces being vnable to endure the furie of their aduersaries, began to faint; wherewith courage encreasing of the one side, and failing on the other, LOTHARIVS & his people were driuen to flie, and LEUVES and CHARLES remained with the victorie. All those which write of this conflict, affirme, that therein were slaine the greatest part of all the Nobilitie and flower of the French nation; and that in number more men died, then in any other that in *France* hath happened euer since the battaile which was fought betwene ECIVS, and ATTILA king of the Hunnes, in the fields of *Catalonia*, as before wee haue recounted. LOTHARIVS escaped thence by flight to the citie of *Aken*, and holding himself to be there in no safetie, he by sundry waies came to *Vienne* in *France*, where he again gathered head, and leuied new forces out of *Italy* and other parts; and his brothers resolu'd to pursue him. And notwithstanding that from the Pope came the Archbishop of *Rauenna*, and many other prelates voluntarily, to treat of peace betwene them, yet it auailed not, but that LOTHARIVS would the second time trie the fortune of the warres, and his brothers fought no lesse: And they fought, and he was againe ouerthrowne (and the Archbishop of *Rauenna* also with him, who came as an Ambassadour of peace, and was that day in LOTHARIVS his armie with three hundred horse, which he brought with him out of *Italy*) and in despite of himselfe was constrained to flie, the greatest part of his people being first slaine. After these cruell battailes betwene these brothers (which as it is to be beleued God permitted for a punishment, for the contumacie and disobedience which they shewed towards their father) and after they had broken and diminished their forces, they gaue care to a peace, and the said Archbishop of *Rauenna*, and many other prelates, brought them to an agreement; wherein the Emperour (as a man forced and overcome) lost much. The conditions were, that the kingdomes should be parted betwene them; which diuision so much diminished the power of *France*, that it neuer after recouered that greatnes, which vntill then it held: the accord was made in this manner. That LEUVES should be Lord and King of all that part of the kingdomes and prouinces which lie ouer the *Rhine*, in the east side of *France*, containing all *Germany*; to wit, *Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Frisia, Banaria, Saxony, Suenia*, and all the rest, and should be called king of *Germany*: And that CHARLES the youngest brother should be called king of *France*, and should be sole Lord thereof, excepting *Gallia Narbonensis*, now called *Pro-*

The nobilitie  
of France  
slaine in a bat-  
taile.

Lotharivs over-  
throwne the  
second time.

The diuision  
of the kingdome  
of France be-  
twene Lotha-  
rius and his  
brethren.

nence:

nence: and that those lands which lie betwene the riuers *Rhine*, and the *Maze*, (which euer since that time are called *Lotharingia*, or *Lorraine*, after LOTHARIVS) and part of *Burgundie*, should be subiect to the Emperor LOTHARIVS, together with *Lombardy*, and all that part of *Italy* which was in his subiection; with the title and dignitie of Emperour. After this peace was made with LOTHARIVS against his will, he reinforcing his troupes, tooke his way towards *Italy*, and so to *Rome*; where after some icalousies betwene them, Pope SERGIUS crowned him Emperour; and his Sonne was chosen his Successor. Yet some writers say, that onely his Sonne was crowned: but this in my opinion seemeth to be most likely. But let vs leaue both the Father and the Sonne, (for in truth LOTHARIVS was of small power after that he was overcome, and yet liued in greater peace then those times permitted) and we will say somewhat of the Emperour of *Constantinople*, who then was THEOPHILVS, and of the harmes which ensued in *Christiandome*, by reason of the warres betwene these three brethren.

Lotharivs  
crowned Em-  
perour by Pope  
Sergius.

The Greeke Emperour THEOPHILVS dissented not from his Predecessours in points of Religion, and concerning his gouernement, he tooke very good order, and maintained himselfe well in his estate: yet somewhat noted of cruelty. In the East he had great and cruell warres with the Sarrazins, which made incursions into his Dominions in *Asia* the lesse: in which warre two Capitaines did him especiall seruite: the one was called MANVEL, and the other PHEBVVS, and the Emperour himselfe in person went to this warre, wherein the victories were variable, sometimes of his side, and sometimes against him. And being in this manner busied, and on this side our Emperour and the house of *Fraunce*, (which then was the onely defence and refuge of all *Christiandome*) being weakened and diminished, by reason of the said warres, and dissention which happened; the Moores of *Africa* with a great Nauie came into *Italy*, and into *Sicilia*, and landing in many places, tooke sundry Townes. Lastly, a mightie King of *Africa*, called SABBA, with a great flecte of Shippes and Galleys entered *Italy*: And knowing that the Coasts neere to *Rome* was well Garrisoned and fortified, he assailed *Otranto*, and that place being taken and sackt, he did the like by other Townes in the same Coast: and returning from thence, he sayled into the *Adriatique* Sea, now called the *Gulfe* of *Venice*, and tooke and spoyled many places. The Emperour of *Gracia* THEOPHILVS seeking to redresse this mischiefe, sent thither a good Captaine, called THEODOSE, with a great flecte, to which, the Venecians ioyned theirs, which they had already rigged for the same purpose, (containing three score Galleys:) This Infidell King of the Moores was nothing afraid to come to blowes with THEODOSE, and they fought a most cruell battell, wherein the Christians were ouerthrowne, and the Venecian flecte fell into the hands of the enemies. But THEODOSE escaped by flight. The Mahometists became so haughtie by reason of this victory: and the same caused so great feare in *Italy*, that if God had not sent redresse, the infidels in short space might haue made themselves Lords thereof: for presently after this ouerthrow, they assailed *Ancona*, and tooke it, and burnt it, with sundry other Townes vpon that Coast. And their power was then so great, that neither the Emperour LOTHARIVS, nor the Pope, were able to make head against them, but contented themselves to keepe and defend what they had in possession: Neither was the Emperours brother CHARLES King of *Fraunce*, able to set any flecte to Sea, or yeeld any reliefe: for the Normans (a most fierce

Aaa

Nation)

North-men.

A fleet of the  
Fidels cast  
away in a  
tempest.The death of  
the Emperor  
Theophilus and  
his good resolu-  
tion.Michael suc-  
ceeded his fa-  
ther in the  
Empire.The Moores  
landed in  
Ostia with in-  
tent to haue  
taken Rome.The Moores  
burnt the Va-  
ticane and  
Saint Peters  
Church in  
Rome.

Nation) made warres vpon him, robbing and harrying his Countreies, with which he fought many battels. Of these Normans I find no auncient Authors that make any mention; whereby I coniecture that it was then some new name of the people and Inhabitants of those Countreies which rose in that manner: yet SABELLICVS, and NAVCLERVS, and some other affirme, that they came from *Denmarke*. When all other succours failed, it pleased God to send a remedy: for there happened so great a tempest vpon the Sea, that the greatest part of King SARRAS fleet was drowned, and cast away: and those which escaped, returned into *Africa*, rent, and fore weather beaten: and so *Italie* for that time was relieved, and restored to libertie: but yet afterwards they againe infested it. At this time died Pope SERGIVS, hauing bene Pope little more then three yeeres, and him succeeded LEO the fourth, in whose time PLATINA affirmeth this shipwacke of the Moores Nauie to haue happened: but the most say, as I haue recounted. In the beginning of Pope LEO's papacie, THEOPHILVS Emperour of the Greekes dyed in *Constantinople*, who before his death feeling himselfe deadly sicke, and that he could not escape; and considering also that he should leaue his Sonne MICHAEL very young; and that THEODOSIUS the Capitaine before named, was rich, and very mightie, he resolved with himselfe, first to dispatch him out of the world, to the end that he should not vsurpe the Empire when he was dead: which was a very good resolution, and signe of a good Christian in a Man so neere to his end. First, he caused him to be deteyned in his Pallace, and feeling his sicknesse so to increafe vpon him that he could not liue, he made his head to be stricken off, and within fewe houres after dyed. After his death, his Sonne MICHAEL was made Emperour, and forasmuch as he was very young, his Mother THEODORA the Empreffe (as heretofore did YRENE Mother of CONSTANTINE) tooke vpon her the gouernment, and ruled the Empire for her Sonne MICHAEL, and not ill, as it is written: but as he increased in yeares, so therewith grew in him the desire to gouerne alone, and his Mother became more ambitious: in such manner, that the young man setting all respect apart, compelled his Mother to goe into a cloister, and so he remayned sole absolute Lord.

Within a little while afterwards, the Emperour LOTHARIVS remaining in *Lorraine*, and Pope LEO in *Rome*; the infidels growne proud, by reason of their late victories; and coueting the wealth of *Italy*, trimmed vp the remainder of their fleet, and building other vessels a new, returned to make a conquest thereof, with greater power and resolution then at the first: And after harme done in some other places they sayled directly to the port of *Ostia*, where setting their Army on Land, they marched towards *Rome*, with an intent to haue taken the same, and afterwards all the Land: which as they hoped, so the poore Inhabitants feared. But it pleased God that they were repulsed, and decaued in their expectation. Neuerthelesse, they came and besieged *Rome*, and gaue a very great assault vnto it, but it was so well provided and furnished, and those which were therein did so valiantly defend the same, that losing all hope to get it, and vnderstanding that succours were comming; robbing and burning the *Vaticane* with great cruelty, they rayfed their siege: first burning and prophaning Saint PETERS Church which was therein, and where it standeth at this day. And forasmuch as the Moores raised their siege from before *Rome* without taking it, the French writers attribute the honor thereof to CHARLES King of *Fraunce*, who (they say) came to relieue it, and for feare of whom the Moores

Moores departed; and leauing their attempt against it, setting their Army in order, they tooke their way towards *Naples*, burning and spoyling all as they went. In the meane while, Pope LEO sallying forth of *Rome*, with the ayd of the Emperour LOTHARY, and his Sonne, whom in his life time he had made his companion in the Empire, and in the kingdome of *Italy*, which sent him great supplies; he rayfed a sufficient Army, wherewith he went to seeke his enemy, which laden with great riches and spoyle, were come neere to the port of *Ostia*, where the Pope considering how mighty they were, if they should remaine in *Italy*, (as they published that they would) and how much the countrey was sacked and ruynated, if they should embarke themselves with their prisoners and riches, and the Emperour staying longer then they would he should haue done; he resolved to vse the sword, and encouraging his Souldiours he set vpon his enemies, and fought with them a sharp and bloody battell, wherein many were slaine of either party. But in the ende it pleased God that the Christians had the victory: and a great slaughter was made of their enemies, and a great number of Captiues were released, and all that they had taken, recovered, and the greatest part of those which fled, were ouertaken and carried to *Rome* in great triumph. Those which remained in the harbour at *Ostia*, vnderstanding of this ouerthrow, hoising their sailes, with all the hast they could make, returned into their Countrey: And so was *Rome* freed from the great calamitie and miserable seruitude which it feared to haue endured. Great was the ioy which was concealed through all Christiandome for this victory, and the Pope was highly extolled, who speedily returned to *Rome*, where, with the consent of the Citizens, he determined to encompassse with a wall, all those Suburbs called *Vaticane*, wherein are Saint PETERS Church, and the Popes Pallace, to the end that they should no more endure the like, as they now twice had suffred. To the performance whereof, the Emperour LOTHARIVS and his brothers, LEVVES King of *Germanie*, and CHARLES the Bauld, King of *Fraunce*, sent thither much of their Treasure: and the worke began with such efficacie, that notwithstanding that it was very great, and the walles full of Turrets: yet in the space of five yeares it was perfected and fully ended: and so that part was made a Citie, and called *Ciuitas Leonina*, after the name of Pope LEO. The yeare following, the Emperour LOTHARY went to *Rome*, to see and speake with the Pope, the Pope for that he was informed that he purposed to haue reduced the right title of Emperour to *Constantinople*, whereof the Pope gaue him full satisfaction, and so contented; the Emperour returned into his Countrey. And seeing himselfe now old, and that his Empire had euer been unfortunate, aswell for that he was ouerthrowne and dispossessed by his brothers, as for other accidents in *Italy*, imputing it to the desert of his sinnes, especially for the disobedience and little regard which he had shewed to his Father; he resolved to put himselfe into a religious house, and to leaue his Empire to his Sonnes, and putting it in execution, he made a diuision thereof in this manner: to his eldest Sonne LEVVES, he gaue that which he held in *Italy*, and to the second, whose name was LOTHARIVS, he gaue the prouince of *Lorraine*, and other Lands which in the diuision were allotted to him in *Fraunce*, and in *Germany*, about the riuer *Rhine*, and to CHARLES his third Sonne, he gaue that part of *Fraunce*, which is called *Gallia Narbonensis*, and now *Prouence* and *Languedoc*, which fell to his share in the peace which he made with his brothers, when he was by them ouerthrowne. In these estates aswell as in others were afterwards

A battaile  
fought be-  
twene Pope  
Leo and the  
infidels.The victorie  
of Pope Leo.The Emperour  
Lotharius di-  
uided his Em-  
pire betwene  
his three  
Sonnes.

The Emperour  
Lotharius re-  
nounced the  
Empire and  
became a  
Monke.  
Pope Joane.

great alterations, which I haue no time to relate: this done, he became a Monke in the fiftene yeere of his raigne, in the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred, fiftie and fixe, and so he liued, and within a while died. MICHAEL continuing yet Emperour of *Constantinople*. And shortly after died Pope LEo the fourth, whom succeeded IOHN an English woman, as Historians affirme; who disguising her selfe in apparell, and chaunging her name, being excellently well learned, was chosen Pope, and hauing two yeeres liued in the Papall dignitie, died suddenly in *Partu*; and her succeeded BENEDICT the third.

## THE LIFE OF LEWES, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THRESCORE AND NINETEENE ROMANE EMPEROR.



**W**E haue already said, that the Emperour LOTHARIUS, voluntarily and of his owne free will, bestowed vpon his eldest sonne LEWES the name and dignitie of Romane Emperour; of whose life, and for some time after, Historians haue written very little; and in that little is a great confusion amongst them, which hath put me to much trouble, for that I haue been so carefull and haue vsed all diligence to write the truth. The difficultie is, in that this LEWES and his vnckle king of *Germany* were both of one name, by reason whereof authors attribute the acts and doings of the one, to the other, being deceived therein: And what is worst of all, there are some which of the raigne of this Emperour LEWES write nothing at all, of which BLONDVS is one, notwithstanding that in all the rest he hath shewed great diligence, ending in his father; so as presently after LOTHARIUS, they place CHARLES the Bauld, king of *France*, whereas to the contrarie they should first write the life and raigne of this his sonne LEWES: but I will follow the most approued authors, and (in the best manner that I shall be

be able) will bring the truth to light, and will rather chuse to say but little, and that certaine, then to please with many forged accidents. In the beginning of the raigne of this LEWES there happened a very prodigious portent; which was, that in the citie of *Brescia* in *Lombardy* for three daies it rained blood, so fresh and so perfect, as if it had bin of a Bull, or of some other beaſt lately killed. First of all, this Emperour was very zealous and deuout in religion; much affected to the Romish church, and the ministers therof (for he knew no other) and was very pitiful, gentle, sincere, vnspotted, of a good condition, and of his word and promise very iust. After the decease of Pope BENEDICT, NICHOLAS the first being chosen, the Emperour went to *Rome*, to confirme his election; where the Pope and he conuerſed together very louingly. It afterwards followed, that a great flecte of the Moores of *Africa* came into *Italy*: but the Emperour gathered together so good forces against them, that (with small hurt done) they were repulſed: for which his care and diligence he was highly extolled. And notwithstanding that this prince was so well inclined, yet ADVLGIFVS Duke of *Beneuent* rebelled, with *Capua*, and some other cities; and denying to be subiect vnto him, held for the Emperour of *Constantinople*. And whereas *Italy* in times past had been subiect to those Emperours, they had now lost it, as being vnable to defend the same; yet *Pulia* and *Calabria* were of long time after vnder their government. Against this Duke, the Emperour LEWES leuied an armie, and in person went to pacifie the rebellion: but ADVLGIFVS being vnable to defend himselfe against him, sent to make his excuse; alleaging, that what was done, was against his will, and that he had purposed to come to his seruice, and did so; and LEWES receiued and pardoned him: and then went to such places as rebelled, which hee easily tooke, excepting the citie of *Capua*, which stood at defence; but in the end crauing pardon, they yeelded. And thence he went to *Beneuent*, where ADVLGIFVS receiued and lodged him, in outward shew, as his soueraigne Lord, and whom hee loued; by whose perswasion and counsell (for hee seemed to speake from a loyall heart) the Emperour discharged his armie, and retained few more then the officers of his house: but within few daies after, ADVLGIFVS (as disloyall and a traitor) sought to put in execution what he had proiected, and getting together certaine armed men, he suddenly rusht into the Emperours lodging, with intent to haue killed him; and had done so, but that being perceiued, the Emperour & those few which were with him, so valiantly defended themselves, that they gat out of *Beneuent*, and went to *Rome*; from whence by the counſel of the Pope, he sent such an armie, that the traitor was constrained to forsake the countrie and to flie into *Sardinia*: and so LEWES remained in peace, Emperour in *Italy*.

In the meane season, whilst he was busied with these matters in *Italy*; in *Constantinople*, in *Gracia*, and in part of *Asia*, MICHAEL raigned; who deposed his mother from the government: but hee prooued retchlesse and vicious, and applied himselfe onely to feasting, disports on horsebacke, and other pastimes; his estate and house being ruled by fauourites: and in the warres which he made in *Asia* against the Infidels, he was twice shamefully ouerthrowne; yet PETRONAS a captaine of his obtained a noble victorie. In the end, one of his great fauourites, called BASILIUS (a man of base linage & condition, whom he had aduanced to great power and dignitie) killed him by treason, and gat the Empire to himselfe; for already in MICHAELS daies he was made CÆSAR. This happened in the thirteenth yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred seuentie and fixe. Yet the empire of MICHAEL was fortunate in one thing, which was

It rained blood  
in *Brescia* in  
the time of the  
Emperour  
Lewes the se-  
cond.

Basilus slew  
Michael, and  
made himselfe  
Emperour of  
the East.  
Anno Dom.  
876.

that the king of *Bulgaria*, and many other people which beleueed not in *Iesus Christ* (at the least in such sort as they ought to haue beleueed) in his time were wholly conuerted.

The Normanes  
inuaide France.

The death of  
Lotharius king  
of Lorraine.

In these daies also *France* escaped not free from warres, betwene *Charles* the Bauld, vncke to this our Emperour *Levves*, and the Normanes; a most fierce nation before named: neither was *Levves* the king of *Germany* without warres against other nations, which I am not bound to relate, neither such as happened in other kingdomes, but onely such as are for our purpose. I say then, that within certaine yeeres, *Lotharius* king of *Lorraine*, brother to the Emperour, died; and his vncke *Charles* king of *France*, would haue made seisure on *Lorraine*, and all the other lands which hee held: but the Emperour opposed himselfe against it, and vsed so good meanes, that hee tooke possession of all, as heire to his father: whereupon there arose great warres and controuersie betwene them, which lasted aboue fiue yeeres. And within a while after this, the Emperour being in *Milan*, was taken with an infirmitie, whereof he died: who in my opinion (so farre as I can gather out of histories) left no sonnes to succee him: wherefore those which say that *Charles* and *Levves* were his sonnes, are deceiued therein; for they were the sonnes of his vncke *Levves*, king of *Germany* and *Bawaria*: the cause of which error was, for that these two princes were both of one name; but hee that diligently readeth the histories, shall finde that which I say to be true, and the rest false. I doe not produce reasons and coniectures to verifie my opinion, which are to no other purpose, but to wearie the reader, and make the historie more obscure: presuppose that I say the truth, and then all is cleere. And to conclude with *Levves*, of whom I haue said little, and that confusedly (for that I could not cleerely discouer any more) I say that he died in the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred, seuentie and eight, when hee had reigned one and twentie yeeres; yet some say but nineteene, at

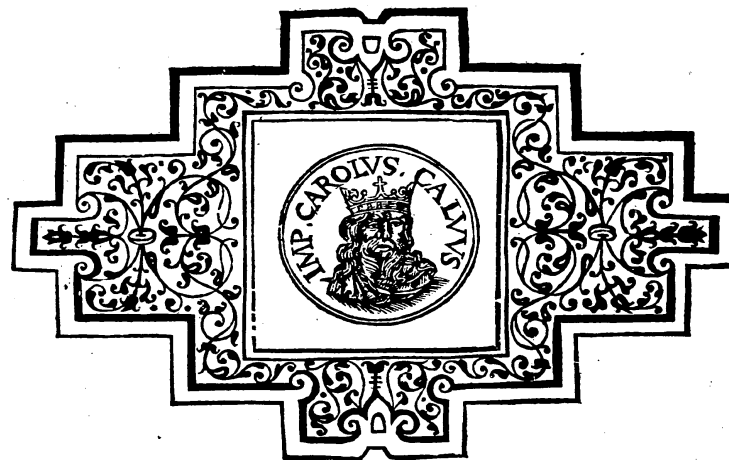
The death of  
the Emperour  
Levves,  
Anno Dom.  
878.

which time *John* was Pope of *Rome*, and in *Constantinople* *Basilivs* was Emperour, who although he entred into the Empie as a tyrant, yet he was no cuill prince or ruler.

THE



# THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE SECOND, SVRNAMED THE BAULD, AND FOVRESORE Romane Emperour. And of *Basilivs* Em- perour of *Constantinople*.



THE death of the Emperour *Levves* was soone knowne and published euery where, as vsually is the death of such kings and princes as hee was: but his vnckles *Charles* the Bauld, king of *France*, and *Levves* king of *Germany*, which were his fathers brothers, had soonest intelligence; all which were sonnes of the Emperour *Lvdovicvs Pivs*, the first of that name: and although they were now old and vnweildie (for they had been kings aboue thirtie yeeres) yet each of them pretended to be Emperour. *Charles* for that he was king of *France* seemed to haue the better title, for it was passed thither in the person of his grandfather: and *Levves* for that he was his elder brother conceiued as much. But *Charles* vsed greater expedition, and made better prouision, by reason of the neerenes of *France* to *Italy*, being thereto aided by his owne condition; for hee was naturally proud and ambitious, so that with greater celeritie then any man would haue thought, he had leuiued a great armie, and passing the

Alpes came into *Italy*, and tooke his way directly for *Rome*; but he sent his Son LEVVEs another way, to seise vpon that which the Emperour LEVVEs had taken in *Fraunce*, by the death of his brother, which was *Austrasia*, now called *Lorraine*. CHARLES being come to *Rome*, where he had already by messages and letters (and as some say by money and bribes) solicited, and gotten the goodwill of the Romanes, and of Pope IOHN the eight, or ninth, was presently Crowned by him, and held for Emperour, and in the meane time, his brother LEVVEs in *Germany* failed not to leuy forces to come against him: with a determination to deprivie him of the Empire, and of his life also if he could. But CHARLES hauing settled the affaires of *Italy* in very good order, (in great choler against his brother) returned into *Fraunce*, against whom he raised his whole power, and they beginning to march, the one against the other, LEVVEs was arrested by death, which ouertooke him at *Frankford*, leauing his Dominions. First, diuided betweene his three Sonnes, which were very valiant men, to witte, LEVVEs, CARLOMAN, and CHARLES, of which three names, the offspring of CHARLES the Great made great accompt: which causeth a great confusion and obscuritie in the history, if the Reader be not very attentiu. The diuision was made in this manner, by the mutuall consent of the three brothers; to LEVVEs was giuen *Saxony*, *Turingia*, *Freeceland*, and the prouinces within them contained, and that he should be called King of *Ostrofrancia*, or East *Fraunce*. To CARLOMAN, was allotted *Bauaria*, *Austria*, *Carinthia*, *Slauonia*, *Bohemia*, and *Moravia*, with the title of King of *Bauaria*. To CHARLES befell *Suenia*, *Franconia*, and all the rest of *Germanie*, and some Cities in *Lorraine*, which had beene vnder his vnclie LOTHARIVS, and he (as his Father had beene) was called King of *Germany*. Their Vnclie CHARLES the Bauld, and King of *Fraunce*, being hereof aduertised, making lesse accompt of the Sonnes, then he had done of the Father, being more proud and ambitious, then hardy or valorous, entred *Germany* with fifty thousand men, and went so farre as *Coleyn*, neere whereunto his nephew LEVVEs, the newe King of East *Fraunce*, stayed for him, with the greatest part of his Fathers Army, assisted by his brothers CARLOMAN, and CHARLES, and other great Dukes and Princes of *Germany*, first seeking peace: but seeing that the Emperour would not graunt the same, he ioyned in battell with him, which was fought of either side very obstinately. And the Emperour seeing his enemies fight with such resolution, fled from the battell, and his nephew LEVVEs remained with the victorie. In this battell and pursuit, was made great slaughter of the French Nobilitie: And so the Emperour returned into his Countrey, with lesse power, and more dishonour, where he reposed himselfe for a season: his nephewes taking no care further to trouble him. After this, it happened that one BALDVIN, then Gouvernor or keeper of that Countrey, which now is called the Earledome of *Flanders*, (and was lately so populous & so well inhabited, and then for the most part was nothing but wood and Forrest, with some few little villages) fell in loue with one of the Emperours daughters, and her Father being absent in the warres, he found meanes to conuey her out of the Pallace, and so hid himselfe with her in those woods: against whom the Emperour meaning to haue proceeded with all rigour, at the entreaty of many religious persons, and of estate, was perswaded to marry him to her, and doing so, gaue him that countrey, with the title of Earle of *Flanders*: and this BALDVIN proued to be so excellent a man, and vsed such industrie, that he replenished the countrey with

The diuision of King Lewes his Dominion betweene his Sonnes.

Baldwin Earle of Flanders fell in loue with the daughter of Charles the Bauld.

Inhabitants, which so manured the Land, that within few yeares it did abound with people and all other things necessary; And his Sonne ARNVLPHVS, and his successors, vsing the like diligence, it came to be one of the most flourishing countreyes of the world; of such power is diligence and humane industrie, this was the beginning of that estate.

The Emperour CHARLES being thus in his kingdome of *Fraunce*, in the meane time while that he warred with his nephewes, the Moores of *Africa*, which already had a taste of the wealth of *Italy*, came thither with a great Army, and did great harme in the Marches of *Capua*, and besieged that Citie: whereupon Pope IOHN sent to request the Emperour, to come to protect his lands of the Church, which he performed with the greatest speed that he could make, for he was very politike and cunning in leuying of men of warre; but before his going into *Italy*, (to satisfie his wiues humour) he made her brother BOSON, which was also his neere kinsman, King of *Prouence*. And coming to *Rome*, the Infidels leauing that coast, tooke another way, which was into *Sicilia*, which yet was vnder the Empire of *Constantinople*, whereof BASILIVS was Emperour, of whom we will presently make mention. When LEVVEs, CHARLES, and CARLOMAN, vnderstood that their Vnclie was in *Italy*, they vnited their forces together, with a determination to goe against him, in reuenge of former iniuries. Whereof, so soone as the Emperour had intelligence, he departed from *Rome* with his forces, to make head against them vpon the way: but it pleased God to faue him that labour, which was, that coming to *Mantua* with his host, being now old and decrepit, an infirmitie tooke him, whereof he feared not that he should haue dyed. But a Iew called ZEDechias (which was his Phisition) poysoned him, and so he presently died: and his affaires remained confused, & out of order: leauing for his heire in his kingdomes, his Son called LYDOVICVS BALBVS, and other three which he had, which also had ill successe: which appertaineth not to my history. They called this his Sonne BALBVS, for that so in Latin they call him which stuttreth, and cannot pronounce certaine letters, but haue that defect in their speech. At this time in the Empire of *Constantinople*, reigned BASILIVS before named, which (as I said) proued no ill gouernor; for he released many of the tributes and exactions, which his predecessors had imposed vpon the people, and defended the Empire with great valour and discretion, although that in some things he had ill successe. First, against certaine great troupes of Infidels, which came from *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, into the Ile of *Candia*, and had taken many places therein, he rigged a Nauie, and sayled thither in person, where he fought, and was ouercome, to the great damage of the Christians: and (by great hap) escaping, he returned by flight to *Constantinople*, but not daunted, neither discouraged, and prepared a newe flecte, and to try his fortune with a new Captaine, he sent therewith his wiues Father, whose name was CHRISTOPHER, a man very valiant, and of great experience; who had so good hap, that obtaining the victorie, he cleared that Iland. After this, he waged other warres in *Asia*, by his Capitaines, against the Infidels, Turkes and Persians: wherein for the most part he had good successe, and lastly, against the Africanes, which for feare of CHARLES the Bauld, (as I but euen now said) leauing *Italy*, went into *Slauonia*, or *Dalmatia*, and had taken some Townes of BASILIVS his Empire, he sent thither his Army and Nauy, and with the aide of the Venetians, draue them out of those Countries, and recouered what they had taken therein. And so he reigned with greater honor,

The Original of the Earledome of Flanders.

The Moores came into Italy and besieged the Citie of Capua.

The death of the Emperour Charles the second, poysoned by his Phisition which was a Jew. Lodonicus Balbus and truly so called.

The death of  
Charles the  
Bauld.

honor, and to the better liking and contentment of his Subiects, then many of his Predecessors. At which time the Emperour CHARLES the Bauld died in *Mantua*, when he had reigned little more then two yeares, JOHN the ninth being then Pope. Some Authors say that he reigned a longer time; but the truth is as I haue set downe.

## THE LIFE OF LEVVES THE THIRD, SVRNAMED BAL- BVS, AND FOVRE SCORE AND ONE ROMANE EMPEROR, TOGETHER with the life of BASILVS Emperor of *Constantinople.*



**I**N the time of CHARLES the Bauld there were warres and troubles for the Empire; there were no lesse after his decesse, as the reader may well perceiue by the proceffe of this historie; wherein, although it seeme that I vse breuitie, for that I waste lesse paper in one then in another, yet is it not so; for I seeke (so much as I may) to make an euen diuision of this booke betweene the Emperours, whose liues I write. But forasmuch as these Princes of whom I doe now treat, liued but a little while in the Empire, (to obserue an equalitie, and due proportion, so farre as possibly may be) I hold it reason, that the Storie and Chronicle of them be briefer, according to the time of their raigne, and to the end that more at large we may haue space to write of matters neerer to our time. The Emperor CHARLES being decesed in *Mantua*, as is aforesaid, his nephew CHARLES King of *Germany*, with his brothers, which already had entred *Italy* against him, stayed with their Army: for the enemy being dead, the warre was ended. His Sonne LEVVES, so soone as he in *France* was aduertised of the death of his Father, and how that his Cousins had laid downe their weapons: first endeououred to establish himselfe in his Fathers Kingdome, and also sent to entreat Pope JOHN to aide him and to stand his friend in attaining to the Imperiall dignitie. In the first he found some difficultie, being con-

tradicted by his mother in law the Emperesse, who was counselled and assisted by her brother B O S O N king of *Prouence*: but the matter was carried so cunningly, that within few daies hee was held and obeyed for king. Now concerning the Empire, he found greater difficultie; for CHARLES surnamed the Fat, being king of *Germany*, besides that he already had some townes in *Italy*, had also the good will of sundrie the most principall men in *Rome*; so that notwithstanding that Pope JOHN would haue had LEVVES king of *France* to haue been chosen Emperour, yet he could not so bring it to passe: for they not only denied to accept him, but were so bold as to lay hands vpon the Pope, to the end that he should not doe it. But he staid not long in prison, for some of his seruants, either by force or policie, released him, and he in great hast went into *France*, where he was honorably entertained by the king. And being there (of his own authoritie) he intitled LEVVES Emperour; and giuing him the Imperiall ensignes, crowned him with great solemnitie: & after this, remained one yeere in *France*, where he called a councell, and made certain orders concerning the state of the Church, and created a Bishop for the Countie of *Flanders*, wherein neuer had bin any before, being but lately inhabited. In which time the warres and troubles betweene the new Emperour, and his cousin germane CHARLES king of *Germany* ceased not; who was also so called by the will of the Romanes, which were the occasion of a worse matter: for the Moores of *Africa* (seeing *Italy* abandoned by the Pope, and that the defence came slow and slenderly) prepared a great nauie, and did much harine therein: whereof Pope JOHN being aduertised, with the aide of CHARLES the Fat, king of *Germany*, who was also called Emperour, came into *Italy*; at whose comming the Infidels retired, and the land was freed from the great danger wherein it was: And the Pope seeing how much *Rome* and all *Italy* had been better relieved by CHARLES, then by LEVVES, and how much CHARLES was more fauoured by the principall Barons in *Italy*; and to the end to come to agreement with the said Barons, altering his minde, he approued and confirmed the nomination and election made of CHARLES king of *Germany*, who for his corpulence was surnamed the Fat; and so he annointed and crowned him Emperour; disanulling the coronation of LVDOVICVS BALBVS king of *France*; for which cause it was thought that great warres and troubles would haue ensued: but by the intercession of certaine great personages, a peace was concluded betweene the two Emperours in this manner: That they both should hold the name and title of Emperours, and that the countie of *Lorraine* (about which was wont to be great contention) should be equally diuided betweene them two; and that for the Empire no warre should be made, but that in all parts peace should be maintained betweene the lands and subiects of the one and of the other partie; and that in *Italy* (vntill that equall partition were made) each of them should hold such lands and townes as he then had in possession: and if that the Infidels inuaded the dominion of either of them, the other was bound to aide him with his forces. This peace being concluded (although doubtfull and fained) the Emperour LEVVES died in *France*, whereof he was king, hauing reigned not fully two yeeres; in all which time hee neuer came to *Rome*, neither into *Italy*. But for as much as Pope JOHN crowned him in *France*, and afterward in *Rome* disanulled his election and coronation, some Historiographers leaue him out of the catalogue of the Emperours. He left when he died two bastard sonnes behinde him, the one called GARLOMAN, and the other LEVVES, and his wife great with a sonne, whereof she was afterwards deliuered, which sonne being posthumus (for so doe they call him which

Levvès made  
king of France.

The Pope ap-  
prehended.

The first Bishop  
of Flanders.

The Moores in-  
uade Italy.

The Empire di-  
uided.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Lodouicus Bal-  
bus king of  
France.

is borne after his fathers decease) he left for his heire of the kingdoms of *France*; wherein grew great discord, warres and miserie about the gouernment and the kingdome; and in the one and other were great alterations and chaunges, too long to be recited: for the bastard sonnes pretended title and right to the crowne, and so did *Boson* king of *Prouence*. Others would haue the child (wherewith the Emperesse was great at the death of the Emperour, who was afterwards called *CHARLES* the Simple) to be king. The gouernours also tooke vpon them the name of kings, sometimes one was a king, and sometime another, and each of them made himselfe Lord of what hee could get. In these troubles the kingdome endured great calamitie. This Emperour *LEVVES* died in the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred and fourescore, according to the computation which I hold for most certaine.

Charles the  
simple possu-  
mus.

Anno Dom.  
880.

## THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE THIRD, SVRNAMED THE FAT, AND FOVRESORE AND TWO Romane Emperour. And of *BASILIVS* and *LEO*, at that time Emperours of *Constantinople*.



Resently vpon the decease of *LEVVES* the Emperour and king of *France*, the king of *Germany*, *CHARLES* the Fat, without any contradiction possessed the Empire: for in the others life time he had in a manner robbed him of that maiestie, which (as the reader may well consider) was at that time but onely in name; for the authoritie of *CHARLES* the Great and his successors, consisted more in letters, and in the kingdomes which they wonne and possessed (which were the dominions of *Germany* and *Italy*) then in any part of the Empire, whereof there remained but *Italy* onely, and therein the Pope held the greatest part; and the Greeke Empire had euer some share: and that likewise which the Empe-

rours

rours held in *Italy*, was recovered by the said *CHARLES*, and by his father; yet the name of Emperour was in the highest degree desired, and the authoritie and maiestie thereof was very great, and so continueth vntill this day. *CHARLES* the Fat remaining then sole Emperour in peace, as his vertues deserued, leauing *Italy* in good order, went into *Germany*, to take possession of his brother *LEVVES* his kingdomes; who also at that time died without heires, whose dominion contained *Friseland*, *Saxony*, *Lorraine*, and other prouinces; and he had so good hap, that within short space after this, his other brother died also without sonnes or issue: which prouinces were afterwards diuided into fundrie houses and states (in proccesse of time) by the gifts of the Emperours, and through fundry other accidents, as it plainly appeareth. I say then that he remained Lord of all *Germany*, and king of *Italy*.

The next yeere after this died *BASILIVS* Emperour of *Constantinople* of a very extraordinarie death, for riding on hunting (as his custome was) he was slaine by a Stagge. *BASILIVS* in his life time had chosene and nominated his eldest son *LEO* for *CÆSAR*, after the death of his other eldest sonne *CONSTANTINE*: wherefore so soone as the father was dead, the sonne *LEO* was crowned and obeyed for Emperour; and was called the Philosopher, for that he was much inclined to learning: *BASILIVS* left also another sonne called *ALEXANDER*. And the Emperour *CHARLES* hauing good successe in his affaires; and knowing what warres and factions were in *France*, vnder colour to warre against the Normanes which harried the countrie, fought (as many others did, and had done) to make himselfe king thereof. He leuying then a mightie armie of Germanes and Italians, entred *France*, and went to the cite of *Paris*, which the Normanes held besieged; and hauing taken all the countrie and put the Normanes to route, he was called king of *France*: the young king *CHARLES* the Simple, or *BONOSVS* king of *Prouence*, hauing no sufficient power to make head against him. In this war were many great fights, which for that the authors handle the same so confusedly, I passe ouer in silence. And the Emperours partie became so mightie, that he not onely enioyed the title and name of king, but the kingdome it selfe also; and to the end that he might the better draw the Normanes to his seruice, he treated with them (after he had ouerthrowne them) of peace, and gaue to their king to wife a kinswoman of his, which was a Dukes daughter; and assigned to him that part of *France* which lieth beyond the riuer *Seine*, bordering vpon the English sea, which after them is at this death called *Normandy*, and is a very good countrie and well inhabited. Yet some Historians say, that the Emperour *CHARLES* did not this, but that *CHARLES* the Simple afterwards did it when he came to be king of *France*; who at that time was but an infant, and vnder the gouernment of *EDVONE*; but in my opinion that was too long a time, for they afterwards had wars with him. But howsoeuer it was, the Emperour *CHARLES* the Fat was Lord of the greatest and best part of *France*, and was called king thereof, being before that time king of *Germany*, and Lord and Emperour of *Italy*; and setting all things therein in good order, he retired himselfe into *Germany*: where being arriued, as the state of his dominion and empire was grounded vpon but weak foundations, so it suddenly fell from the heighth of that throne. Some alleage the cause thereof to be, for that he became foolish, proud, and vnfit to gouerne: others say, that a disease tooke him which bereaued him of his senses, which commeth all to one in effect. To conclude, the Princes, Dukes and gouernours of the prouinces of

Bbb

Germany

*Basilivs Empe-  
rour of Con-  
stantinople  
slaine by a stag,  
and his sonne  
Leo succeeded  
him in the Em-  
pire.*

*The coming  
of the Nor-  
manes into  
Normandie.*

Charles the Fat  
deposed from  
the Empire,  
and Arnolph  
chosen in his  
place.

Anno Dom.  
889.

*Germany* and of *France*, seeing his great insufficiencie and vnaptnes to gouerne, resolved to depriue him of his Empire and kingdoms: and for as much as he had neuer a sonne (being as they write of him, vnapt by nature for generation) by common consent they nominated and chose a great and valiant personage, called ARNOLPH, who was by CHARLES aduanced to the Duches of *Bauaria*, and *Carinthia*, and (as some write) was but of meane parentage, and no way allied to CHARLES: and so they account CHARLES the Fat to be the last of the linage and bloud of CHARLES the Great. But after some, which is the most common opinion, ARNOLPH was nephew to CHARLES the Fat, bastard or naturall sonne to CARLOMANKING of *Bauiere*; which seemeth most likely to bee true, seeing that he without any gainsaying attained both to the kingdome and to the empire; and was not onely entitled Emperour, but also king of *Germany*: but in *France* after ARNOLPHS first furie, they made OTHO (who was CHARLES the Simple Protector) king of *France*, whom CHARLES the Simple afterwards succeeded. After this many great matters ensued, which appertaine not to my historie: And so CHARLES the Fat lost both his empire and vnderstanding, when hee had raigned nine yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred, fourescore and nine; and liued afterwards about one yeere, in great penurie and miserie.

In *Constantinople* yet raigned LEO, not so ill as some others: for notwithstanding that he was somewhat cruell, yet he was a louer of iustice and equitie, and very zealous, and builded some stately Temples. He warred with the Bulgares, and ouercame them, and was overcome by them; whose death and actions wee will declare hereafter, for hee raigned fine and twentie yeeres.

THE

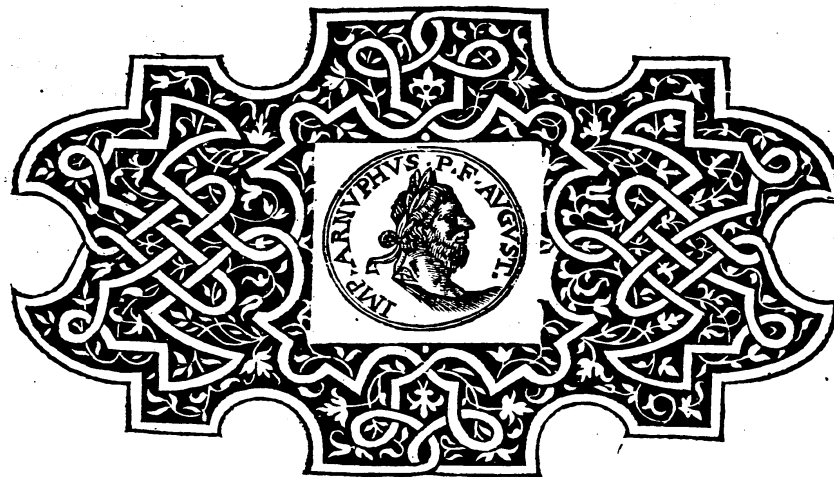


## THE LIFE OF ARNOLPH ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND

FOVRESORE AND FOVRE ROMANE

Emperour. And of LEO, ALEXANDER and

CONSTANTINE Emperors of *Gracia*.



IT is alreadie declared in what manner ARNOLPH attained to the Empire, who is placed amongst the good Emperours, for he was wise and vpriight in his gouernment, and had both valour and courage to defend and protect the Empire: yet in his time were great wars. So soone as he was Romane Emperour and king of *Germany*, it came into his minde to make himselfe king of *France* also: and he fought some battailes with the Normanes; which vnderstanding that CHARLES was depriued and dead, rebelled, and made warres in *France*, wherein he had the victorie: but constrained through some innouations in *Germany*, he returned thither and abandoned *France*: which I omit as a matter impertinent. Being come into *Germany*, his first busines was with a certaine people in the prouince of *Morania* called Magarens, which warred in all parts of *Germany*, and did so great harme, and put him in so great feare, that he sought to pacifie them rather by policie then by force of armes: and to the end that they should liue in peace and quiet,

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he

he agreed to giue them that countrey to inhabite; so that to them was assigned the prouince of *Moravia*, with part of *Bohemia*, where it bordereth vpon *Hungarie*, *Poland*, and *Slesia*. But neuerthelesse, this lasted but a small time, for this people waxing proud of their agreement, with greater presumption inuaded the countrey: against which ARNOLPH leuied an Armie of insolent valiant men at armes brought out of *Hungarie*; with which, and his other ordinary forces, he ouerthrew the Morauians in a notable battaile, and he cutting the greatest part of them in peeces, the rest fled and abandoned the countrey: but it being freed from the subdued, was much more oppressed by the victorious Hungars, which mutinying for want of their pay, sacked the cities and townes of *Germany*; and crossing ouer the countrey without any resistance came into *Friseland*, and thence into *Gallia Belgica*; part whereof at this day is the Earldome of *Flanders*. These Hungars as some affirme, were of the same countrey of *Hungarie*, and others, as VICENTIVS in his Mirror, and MARTIN affirme that they came out of *Scythia* into that prouince: but whence soeuer they came, it importeth not much, it suffiseth that they all agree, that ARNOLPHVS was much troubled with them, and that they burned and spoyled great part of *Germanie*; and ARNOLPH did all that was possible for him, and at length constrained them to returne into *Hungarie*, from whence (so long as he liued) they neuer durst to come thither againe.

Whilst these things passed in *Germanie*, *Italy* escaped not free from warres and troubles: whereof the Emperors long absence was the occasion; for he had neuer bene there but went thither being called by Pope FORMOSVS, who was chosen after the death of STEPHEN before mentioned, which FORMOSVS was chosen against the will of the most part of people of *Rome*, which fauoured a Cardinall called SERGIUS, to whom they had giuen their voyces: wherefore the Pope holding himselfe for greatly iniured, went to the Emperor, and was the cause of his comming into *Italy*: of whom before that we enter into any discourse, it shall not be amisse to speake (after our accustomed manner) of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, in the life time of LEO the fifth, who (as we said) at that time held that Empire: wherein ordinarily ensued great accidents; for the Emperor was euer at contention and variance (in *Europe*) with the Bulgarians, the Hungars, the Russians, and other Nations: and in *Asia* with the Armenians, the Persians, and other infidels. But I desire to be held excused in that I write not that historie at large, seeing I am bound to write but of the Emperors of the West onely, which are held for the right Emperors; and of the others to make but a brieue relation. LEO hauing then ended his warre with the Bulgarians, resolu'd to warre in *Asia* against the infidels, and did so; wherein although that many losses happened to either party, yet in the end (his Army being led by a good Generall) obtained a very notable victory; whereby his name came to be very famous and renowned: so as in these matters, and others which I write not, fise and twenty yeeres of his Empire were spent, in the end whereof he died of the cholicke; And after his death, his brother ALEXANDER was chosen Emperor, notwithstanding that he left a Sonne called CONSTANTINE; But forasmuch as he was of more yeeres and better beloued the brother had the Empire, and held it for thirteene, or fourteene monethes; during which time he did nothing that was good: and for abusing the Ambassadors of SIMON King of *Bulgaria*, warre was made against him: and he bestowed offices and dignities vpon ignoble and base personages, and in the end was taken with

Leo Emperour  
of Constantinople  
died of the cholick,  
and Alexander  
succeeded him.

a

a flux of blood at the nose which neuer left him, vntill he left the Empire; and his brother LEO his Sonne CONSTANTINE had the Empire, of whom we will speake hereafter, for this happened in the time of ARNOLPH Emperor of the West, whose life we now write, which ended (as I said) comming into *Italy*, in fauour of Pope FORMOSVS; and to recouer such Cities as were therein vsurped by certaine Dukes and Earles; betweene whom and them ensued many batailles; and in all *Italy* were factions, and dissensions, especially betweene GUIDO Duke of *Spoleto*, and BERENGARIUS Duke of *Frioli*, which were made Dukes by the old Emperor CHARLES; being men of the greatest account of any in all the Land, he thinking by this meanes to defend the Countrey against the Lombards and Frenchmen, and to hold the same in subiection, hauing such mighty Commaunders. But these men made themselves Lords of all that they could; and either of them was a great enemy to the other, and warred, and fought a great battaile, wherein GUIDO was ouerthrowne, and BERENGARIUS had the victorie; who vnderstanding of the Emperor ARNOLPHVS comming, sought to make a league with him and offred him his seruice; more to seeke his enemies destruction, then for any seruice he meant to doe to the Emperor. ARNOLPH being come into *Italy* with a great Army, sought meanes to make himselfe Lord of the countrey, assisted by BERENGARIUS, whose dukedome of *Frioli* was in his way; and he tooke many places which GUIDO had vsurped, and went to *Bergamo*, into the castle whereof, a certaine Earle (one of those which conspired against Pope FORMOSVS) was entred, who together with others of that citie, were therein besieged by the Emperor; and he taking it by force, made him to be hanged. And so he punished and did iustice vpon many others, and redressed many iniuries and wrongs done in *Italy*; and afterwards went with his Army towards *Rome*, where the Pope attended his comming: but his aduersaries were of such power, that whether the Pope would or not, they put the citie in armes, and shutting their ports would not receaue the Emperor; whereupon he besieged it, which caused great tumults and riots therein; but in the end the Popes authoritie and the feare of the Emperors power so much preuailed that he was receaued; wherein by his will and direction great punishment was inflicted vpon such as could be taken; and the Pope crowned him Emperor with great honor and solemnitie: and within few daies after he departed, with an intent to destroy GUIDO the Duke of *Spoleto*, who was of great power, and thought as well as BERENGARIUS to haue been king of *Italy*; and hauing taken certaine townes, he besieged his wife in a citie: and the Duchesse praetizing with one of the Emperors fauorites, to giue the Emperora certaine drinke, which she made him to belieue, would make him gentle, milde, and courteous; but so soone as he had taken it, he fell into a deepe sleepe, which held him so long, that they thought he would neuer haue awaked againe; for he slept three daies and three nights, without that any man could make him to mooue; but in the ende he awoke, and found himselfe so ill at ease, that contenting himselfe to settle the affaires of *Italy* in the best order that he could, he returned into *Germany*, in hope in his native countrey to recouer his health. At what time as the Emperor ARNOLPH departed *Italy*, Pope FORMOSVS died, and after him BONIFACE the sixt was chosen, who was Pope butt twentie six daies, and him succeeded STEVEN the sixth, who was so great an enemy to FORMOSVS and to his actions, that when he was Pope, he sought to defeat and disannull all matters done by him; which he put in execution, which

Alexander  
Emperor of  
Constantinople  
died bleeding  
at the nose.

Arnolph crowned  
Emperor  
in Rome by  
the Pope.

Bbb 3

was

The succeeding  
Pope condemn-  
ed the prece-  
dents actions.

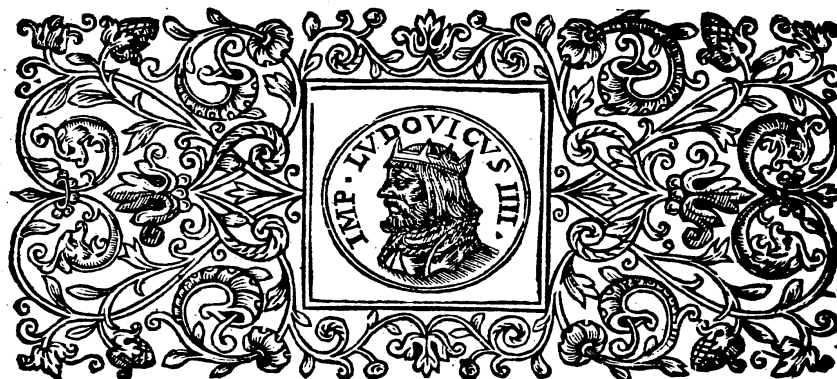
The miserable  
death of the  
Emperor Ar-  
nolp.  
Anno Dom.  
901.

was an euill example, and whereof afterwards many euils ensued: for some Popes did the like by such their predecessors, against which they had concealed displeasure. This being done, Pope STEPHEN dyed in the third yeere of his papacie, and him succeeded ROMANVS, a Spaniard borne, who was Pope but three monethes, and after him came THEODORE the second, who held the chaire but twentie daies, in which time his chiefest care was to confirme the doings of FORMOSVS, which STEPHEN had disanulled; and after his death JOHN the tenth was chosen: while these Popes ran in such haste to death one after another, the Emperor ARNOLPH with his Army went into *Germanie* and our liued them all, and reigned in prosperitie, without that any thing befell him worthy memorie; but in the ende he was assailed with a kinde of sicknes, which resolued in the worst disease that could be imagined, which was an infinite number of lice; wherewith he was so tormented and eaten, that he could not be cured thereof, and dyed; this happened in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred and one, and in the twelfth yeere of his raigne. ARNOLPH at his death left behind him three children which he had by his two wiues; by his first wife, he had ARNOLPH, whom in his life time he made duke of *Bauiere*, and BERNARD Earle of a certaine prouince: and by his second wife he had LEVVS, who afterwards was Emperor; he had another bastard sonne called ZENEALDVS, whom in his life time he made Duke of *Lorraine*; and one daughter called BERTA, married to the Duke of *Cleue*. In the time that ARNOLPH reigned, began the dukes of *Normandie*; for the King or capitaine of the Normans married the daughter of CHARLES the Simple, king of *Fraunce*, & making himselfe to be Christianed, was called ROBERT, whose sonne was the first Duke of *Normandie*. There were also Dukes in *Burgundie* of the house of *Fraunce*, which a long time after were called Kings: & in *Saxony* also, and in other parts, as hath been shewen, & hereafter shall appeare in this historie: for the Kings and Emperours of those times did vse to gouerne their citties and prouinces by perpetuall Dukes, so as at that time were very great Earles and Dukes, and the Emperours gouerned *Milan* by an Earle, who was called Earle of *Milan*; the like they did by other prouinces, whereof it afterwards ensued, that their estates became perpetuall, they holding the same by inheritance. At this time the principall Earles of *Castill*, through the many murthers and iniuries committed by DON HORDONIO in that countrey; chose among themselues two to be iudges betweene them, and to determine their differences and warres: which were HUNNO HUNNES RASVRA, and LAIN CALVO: after this followed DON ALONSO the Sonne of DON FRVELA, who became a Monke. And the same yeare that the Emperor ARNOLPH dyed, DON RAMIRES reigned: this DON RAMIRES performed great matters against the Moores. In *Fraunce* reigned CHARLES the Simple. There were then Kings in *England*, in *Denmarke*, in *Moravia*, in *Prouence*, in *Bulgaria*: and in *Polonia* were Dukes, and so were still vntill the time of the Emperor OTHO.

In *Constantinople* (as is abouesaid) CONSTANTINE the sonne of LEO, and nephew to the Emperour ALEXANDER, was Emperour, and reigned a long time, for he was Emperour thirtie nine yeeres: whereof fiftene were in the company of the tyrant ROMANVS: In the beginning of his raigne (for that he was a child) he was gouerned by certaine Princes, and by his mother ZOE, and had some warres with the King of the Bulgarians, which he ended with happy successe, PHOCAS being Generall of his Army, who was of greatest account of

of any man in his court. Afterwards, through treacherie, his souldiers abandoned him, and the Bulgarians became Lords and masters of the field, so as he was constrained to buy his peace of them for readie money. After this, in despite of himselfe and of his mother, one which of a pettie prince was come to be of great power, was made CÆSAR, and his companion in the Empire, and had the superiority the other fiftene yeeres that hee liued, notwithstanding that they both had the title of Emperours: as we will tell you hereafter.

## THE LIFE OF LEVVS, THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESORE AND foure Romane Emperour. And of CONSTAN- TINE the second, Emperour of *Constantinople*, and of the tyrants in *Italy*.



After the death of the Emperour ARNOLPH, there was great confusion in the Empire; the Italians and Romanes desiring to make one Emperour, that should be to their liking; and the Germanes desiring to doe the like, they fell at such variance, that the one partie held one for Emperour, and the other part another; so as rightly there was not any. And some Historiographers account none, from these Emperours of which wee now write, vntill the time of OTHO the second, which was for the space of threescore yeeres, little more or lesse; for that none of them were crowned by any Pope. Moreover, the historie is written so confused and abruptly, that it can hardly be explained. The worst of all is, that those times were most vnhappie, through want and defect of Emperours; for thereof infinite warres ensued; vices, wrongs and rapines abounded, little iustice was executed, learning decayed, vertue was nought set by, charitie languished, and the Infidels in many places had the vpper hand; vntill that it pleased his diuine Maiestie to bring matters to a better estate. I say then, that the Germane Princes chose for their King and Romane Emperour, LEVVS the sonne of the

Emperour

Leweschosen  
Emperour.

Emperour ARNOLPH: but he could not (so soone as he desired) come into *Italy*; without which they neuer held themselves for Emperours, holding *Italy* for the seate and originall of the Empire; for the Hungars in those daies were the most feared and redoubted nation in the world, and which did greatest harme in *Germany* and in *Italy*; for after they were freed from the feare of ARNOLPH, they brake the peace made with him, and warred vpon the new Emperour LEVVES in *Italy*: whereof the Princes of greatest power were the aboue named BERENGARIVS Duke of *Frioli*, and GVIDO Duke of *Spolet*, which of Dukes, gouernours, became tyrant Lords, each of them pretending to be Emperour: but BERENGARIVS being of great power in *Lumbardy*, put his designs in practise, and vsurped the whole countrie, and any place else that he could get, in despite of the Emperour, saying, That *Italy* was the true seate of the Romane empire, and that *Germany* might rather be said to be the marriage right of CHARLES the Great his successors, than the Empire. But LEVVES for that he was the sonne of an Emperour, and descended from CHARLES the Great, which restored the Empire, pretended that *Germany* ought to chuse the Emperour. Matters standing in these termes, the Hungars sallied out of their countrie, and began to robbe and spoyle the countries of *Austrich* and *Baniere*, vsing in them extreme crueltie with fire and sword. LEVVES being a courageous young man, was highly displeased with this their presumptuous audacitie, and gathering together such troupes of souldiers as he was able, with the aide of his brothers, went against them, and neere to the riuer *Licus* they met, where LEVVES greatly desired to come to blowes with them; which the Hungars and Morauians perceiuing, laid a baite for him; for offering to giue him battaile, they retired, vntill they had drawne him within the danger of an ambush which they had laid in a wood; and there they maintained the fight to their great aduantage, in regard of the place: but the fight was so well maintained by the Emperours people, that if the Hungars had not beene rescued by their ambush, he had that day obtained a most faire victorie: but when the aduantage was discovered, and that so great a number of men on euery side came rushing out of the wood vpon such a sudden, with so great force vnsuspected; the Imperialists began to retire, & afterwards to flie, in such manner, that the victorie manifestly appeared on the Hungars side, and the Emperor was driuen to saue himself by flight; & they afterwards did much harme throughout *Germany*, without that the Emperor was any way able to resist, or make head against them; but was constrained to withdraw himselfe into the land, and secretly to giue great summes of money to the captaines and principall men of the Hungars, to the end that they should treat of a peace; and he openly gaue great pay to their men of warre, and promised to allow them yeerely prouision for their houses: by these meanes he deliuered his countrie from that miserie for that time; but the peace continued not long.

After this exploit, the Emperor vnderstanding that his bastard brother ZENEBALDVS, gouerned the countrie of *Lorraine* cruelly, and as a tyrant, hee deprived him of that kingdome, and seised it into his owne hands; and tooke LVITGVARDA, daughter of OTHO Duke of *Saxony*, to wife; which prouince was then subiect to the Empire. In those daies *France* escaped not free from warres and troubles. And the Emperour thinking that he had settled all matters in peace with the Hungars, saw himselfe in a new perplexitie; for they not content with the promised pay (which was very duly paid them) a great armie of them againe inuaded *Almayny*, and the Emperour in person went against them, and twice fought with them

in

in the prouince of *Baniere*, and both times had the victorie, although with great losse of men, and with no small difficultie and daunger: but not knowing how to execute his victorie, or to follow his good fortune, giuing too much eare to some mens counsell; the Hungars fled into their countries, which (in most mens opinions) might haue been wholly extirpate and defeated: where they reinforced and refreshed their troupes, and did greater harme in the empire, then at the first, and were so expert in the warres, and so greatly feared, that crossing through *Germany*, sacking and burning many towns, amongst which the citie of *Basil* was one, they passed into *Lorraine*, which then contained the estates of *Flaunders*, *Brabant*, *Gelders*, *Cleue*, *Trenier*, and many other prouinces; in which they executed great crueltie, and with the like furie they returned by the same way which they went, burning and spoiling what before had escaped; and so they retired themselves into their countrie, loden with riches and spoiles; but fewer in number then they came from thence. This people at that time was growne so proud, and of so great power, that all nations bordering vpon them stood in feare of them, and did as the rest did: for after the same manner as they had entred *Baniere*, they afterwards inuaded *Bulgaria*, and the Emperours countries of *Gracia*, sacking and burning his cities; and constrained the Emperor CONSTANTINE to giue them pay and ordinary tribute to be at peace with them; and the Emperour LEVVES was driuen to doe the like, to assure *Germany* from this raging fire.

The Historiographers record, that in those daies were great warres in *France* and in *Italy*, betweene BERENGARIVS and other princes; and the like in other parts, and that princes vsed fraud and trecherie one against another; so as a man can write nothing that is good of those times; so much did malice, ambition, pride, and crueltie abound.

It afterwards followed that the Hungars moued with the fame of the wealth and abundance of all things in *Italy*, and through the ciuill diffention which was therein (the ordinarie gates by which destruction entred into any kingdome) and for that LEVVES withstood them mightily in *Germany*, they resolved to ransacke and make a conquest of *Italy*; for which their iourney they leuied greater forces, then at any time before they had done: the same hereof put all *Italy* into such a feare, that they chose BERENGARIVS for their captaine and defender, which was called Emperour, but vntill this time was not held for such. BERENGARIVS then with great diligence and expedition leuied many souldiers both of foote and horse; and at their comming into *Italy* opposed himselfe against the Hungars, and comming to blowes, fought a battaile with them: some authors say two, wherein being ouerthrowne he fled, and lost therein the greatest part of his armie, and retired himselfe into the estate of *Milan*, wherein consisted his greatest power. The Hungars after this victorie were masters of the field, and robbed all the countrie, taking and ransacking many cities, and in lesse then one yeere ouerranne all the land; in which time these Barbarians moued with the brute of the riches of the citie of *Venice*, made Barkes, Brigandines, and other vessels, therewith to haue assaulted it; and so they scaled the citie, and tooke some of those llands; but their comming was before hand suspected, and therefore provided for; so as although they took some part thereof, yet the Venetians so fortified the rest, with strong chaines, and some places with walles, that after some conflicts by sea and by land, they despairing to be able to take the citie, returned to *Padoa*, where they had left the remainder of their Cauallerie, and their luggage. BERENGARIVS seeing that by force he could not deliuer *Italy* from the Hungars, put that

redresse

A battaile betweene Lewes and the Hungars.

The Hungars inuaded Italy.

Berengarius  
bought his  
peace of the  
Hungars.

The Hungars  
came the se-  
cond time into  
Italy.

redresse in practise which LEVVES had vsed in *Germany*; which was, to treat of peace by way of money; whereto the Hungars gaue care, and it was concluded, and he gaue them a huge summe of gold and siluer, which by the industrie of BERENGARIVS was collected from all parts of *Italy*; wherewith, and with the rest which they had stolne, they departed rich and victorious; which had so good a taste that it made them to come thither againe. The comming of the Hungars into *Italy*, was in the time of Pope SERGIVS the third: for BENEDICT the fourth being dead, of whom it was said that he was a good Bishop (which ought not to be accounted for a smal matter, considering how few were so in those times) LEO the fift succeeded, who enioyed that dignitie but fortie daies; for a great Cardinall called CHRISTOPHER, tooke him prisoner, who within few daies died in prison, and CHRISTOPHER remained Pope, and within feuen moneths was deprimed, and put into a Monasterie; and then was SERGIVS the third chosen, in whose time happened this calamitie through the Hungars. But returning to our history, I say that the Hungars being retired into their countrie, *Italy* was not therefore free from troubles: for the Moores of *Africa* infested the same with their fleetes, and this notwithstanding the ciuill factions and discord, ceased not betweene the princes; for especially EDILBET Marqueffe of *Tuscane*, which vsurped that countrie, being of great power, rebelled against BERENGARIVS; and the Popes authoritie and pouer was not such now as it had been, neither were they of such force, by reason of their insufficiencie and little worth, and through the want of the accustomed succours from *France*, which they had in the time of the successors of CHARLES the Great: which considered, LEVVES the Emperor was of opinion, that *Italy* might easily be subdued, and that he might bereaue BERENGARIVS both of the name and dignitie of Emperour, which hee vsurped. Whereupon with a great armie he came into *Italy*, against whom came BERENGARIVS with a good number of men of warre, and they two fought a battaile, wherein BERENGARIVS was ouerthrowne, with little bloudshed, by reason of the small resistance made by his people; and LEVVES went to the citie of *Verona*, neere to which the battaile was fought, and lay there like a conquerour, and as one that stood in feare of no man, and therefore carelesse: whereupon BERENGARIVS, notwithstanding that he was ouercome, practised with some within the citie, and with some also of the Emperours owne people, to let him into the citie, and he entred it by night and tooke LEVVES prisoner. Others say that LEVVES had not the victorie, but that hee withdrew himselfe into the citie for feare; and so in the manner (as I said) fell into BERENGARIVS his power. But howsoeuer it was, BERENGARIVS had him prisoner, and put out his eyes, and so within few daies through griefe and sorrow he died; and BERENGARIVS remained sole Lord of the empire of *Italy*. In this manner ended LEVVES his empire, which he held with so much trouble, when he had reigned Emperour full eleuen yeeres, and died in the yeere of our Lord nine hundred and twelue, after the Abbot WESPERGENSIS his computation, which I follow: other authors (of no final authoritie) as BLONDVS and CVSPIAN recount this after another manner, saying, that this Emperour LEVVES neuer came into *Italy*, neither was ouerthrowne by BERENGARIVS; but that he died of his naturall death in *Germany*: and that, that LEVVES which was ouerthrowne and taken in *Verona*, was LEVVES the sonne of BOSON king of *Prouence*, which came into *Italy* against BERENGARIVS proclaiming himselfe Emperour; and that BERENGARIVS released him vpon his oath, that he would come no more thither; which oath he afterwards

The difference  
betwene the  
authors about  
the taking of  
the Emperour  
Lewes and his  
death.

Anno Dom.  
912.

brake.

brake. But in that manner as I haue declared it is written by PLATINA, HENRICVS MUCIVS, NAVCLERVS, IOHANNES VTICVS, S. ANTONY, VOLATERANVS and some others. In this time liued Pope SERGIVS the third, and in *Constantinople* CONSTANTINE. LEVVES left not any sonne that might succeed him. There befell also in his time (besides what is already recited) great warres and troubles betweene the princes of *Germany*; which was tyrannized, sometime by one, and sometime by another, wherby his Empire was weakned and came to be of lesse power. This was the last Emperour of the line of CHARLES the Great, yet in the kingdom of *France* the succession continued, although within a while after it ended also, & passed to another linage, which lasteth vntil this day. And in *Spaine* then flourished the flower of chiuallrie against the Infidels, conquering their countries & kings which raigned therein, the Earle FERNANDO GONSALVES.

In *Hungary* TASSON first took vpon him the authoritie of a king, which countrie in former time was gouerned by Dukes, and sundrie other Magistrates, from the time of ATTILA king of the Hunnes: This TASSON was grandfather to STEPHEN, which was canonized for a Saint, and the first confirmed king, by the authoritie of the Emperour FREDERICK.

## THE LIFE OF CONRADE THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESORE AND FIVE ROMANE

Emperour. And of those which in his time tooke the  
name of Emperours in *Italy*.

And of CONSTANTINE the Emperour of *Constantinople*.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**LE**wes being dead, there arose a contention betwene the French and the Germanes about the Empire; for either of these two nations pretended to haue rightfull title to chuse an Emperour, by reason of their ancient authority and custome: But in the end the Germanes preuailling, would haue chosen Otto Duke of Saxony, who for that he was already olde, and unfit to gouerne the Empire so much troubled, refused the charge, and counselled them

to chuse Conrade the Duke of Franconia, who by the consent of the Germanes, and of good part of the French being made Emperour, was euer ruled by the counsell of the old Duke Otho; and hee dying, left a sonne called Henrie, whom Conrade suspected and feared: And taking occasion of warre, bent his force against him, notwithstanding that his father made such account of him, that he preferred him to the Empire; and onely seeking meanes to bring him to destruction, took no care how matters went in Italy, which was extreemely turmoiled. And Conrades brother fighting a battell with Henrie, was by him overthrowen: whereupon Conrade seeing the losse, and the dishonour, reinforced his armie to be reuenged; and sending ambassadours to Henrie to submit and yeeld himselfe, they were not heard, neither could they come to any composition of peace. Whilest he was busied here abouts, Conrade fell very sore sicke, and knowing his end to be nigh, more regarding the good of the Empire, then his owne priuate passion, he chose his enemy Henrie for his successor, and commanded his brother to yeeld him obedience; which was a deepe (indeede) very heroicall, and befitting a Christian.



Contention betweene the Germanes, Frenchmen and Italians about the election of the Emperour.

The time of the Emperour LEVVEs was troublesome and tempestuous, and his death caused not any calme, but brought greater stormes in all estates; for in his life time the Imperial power was diuided into two heads, in Italy, and in Germanie, which were, LEVVEs and BERENGARIVs, and LEVVEs being dead, one alone pretended not, but many, to succcede him both in name and in dignity of the Empire: France would haue nominated an Emperour, alleaging that with that the line of CHARLES the Great was extinct in Germanie, and that in France the same remained, & that Germanie was conquered by the same CHARLES; in right therefore the title of the Empire appertained to his successors, and so it ought to returne to the Crowne of France; for CHARLES the Great had it not with the Empire as he had Italy, but it was giuen to him being King of France, and by the same title his successors held the same. The Princes of Germanie denied this, fearing to returne into the subiection of the French, and stood vpon the possession and authority to chuse the Emperour, alleaging for their reason, that the Empire was transported to the Germanes in the person of CHARLES the Great, and that Germanie was the Empire, and not the kingdome of France, and that they were in possession thereof. The Italians said, that Italy was the ancient true seate of the empire, and that they gaue it to CHARLES, and had authority to giue it to any other; and so they called & held BERENGARIVs for Emperour, notwithstanding his competitors. And in France LEVVEs the sonne of BOSON King of Prouence challenged the Empire, for that he was descended from CHARLES the Great. But the Germanes which seemed to haue the best right, and chiefest authority, and haue so therein continued, (hauing not any that might succcede LEVVEs, for that he had no sonnes) chose OTHO Duke of Saxony for Emperour, a man of great wisdom and valour, but he would not accept of that Empire, which others so much desired; for as he was now old, so he knew that the affaires of the Empire stood in such estate, that they needed a man of greater force, and of longer life then himselfe. The Lords Name be blessed, that in time of so great ambition, one man was found that refused to be an Emperour. OTHO then answered those which had chosen him Emperour, that hee had neither such health nor strength, as to be able to gouerne the empire, and therefore would not undertake a burthen which he was not able to beare; but he would assist them with his best counsel, concluding, that in his opinion CONRADE Duke of Franconia was worthy to be chosen, in whom all the qualities and vertuous conditions did concur, that might seeme requisite in an Emperour: And so by common consent of the Germanes,

Otho Duke of Saxony chosen Emperour refused the Empire.

Germanes, and part of the French, CONRADE was chosen and obeyed for Emperour, who (as some write) descended from CHARLES the Great. And he presently began to gouerne the empire, and in all things followed the counsell and opinion of OTHO, by whose meanes he attained thereto: and so the first yeere he liued and ruled very happily. But the great Dukes and Princes of Germanie waxing enuious, and desirous to raigne; ARNOLD Duke of Baviere rebelled against him, and went into Hungary, and induced the Hungars and their king to warre vpon the new Emperour; whereupon, in the second yeere of his raigne a sharpe and cruell warre began: but as he was very valiant and expert in armes, so he drew his forces to an head, and came to a battaile with the Hungars, and overthrowen and constrained them to flie into their countrie; and so deliuered Germanie from that perill. And although that afterwards it was sometimes molested, yet by his diligence and courage it was euer defended; and so hee maintained the same in peace so long as Duke OTHO liued, vpon whose counsell he chiefly relied, but neuer durst come to make warre in Italy. After the death of OTHO, who left one sonne behind him called HENRY, which was a very gallant yong man, and of great power, CONRADE began to suspect him; which was the occasion of the troubles which I will recount. BERENGARIVs being held in Italy for Emperour, besides CONRADE which with better title was Emperour in Germanie; LEVVEs the sonne of BOSON King of Prouence determined to come into Italy, to bereaue BERENGARIVs of that empire, who held the same, not without great vexation and trouble, aswell with the princes of Italy (whereof some rebelled against him) as with the Infidels and Hungars which infested the same. And (as I said before) some authors write, that this LEVVEs came the first time to the same purpose, and was overthrowen by BERENGARIVs, and this (as I beleue) was the first; and if it were the second, he came being called by some of BERENGARIVs his enemies: And notwithstanding that in the beginning of the warres he had good successe, yet in the end he was overthrowen, and constrained to flie. This much shall suffice for him, the matter being so doubtfull. Yet here is some diuersitie amongst the authors, whereof some say, that at that time rigned in Italy BERENGARIVs the second, with the title of Emperour, as his father had done, who was sonne of the other BERENGARIVs before named: others attribute it to the father alone; but to the end that we may the better vnderstand the matter, wee yeeld that this was the second BERENGARIVs, for that wee shall hereafter haue occasion to treat of another, which shall be the thrid. I say then, that at what time as CONRADE was Emperour in Germanie, and BERENGARIVs in Italy, poore Italy (besides domesticall and ciuill warres) was afflicted with other farre more grieuous and pitifull. This was, for that the townes which the Greeke empire held in Calabria and in Pulia, together with the partialities and factions which were in them, were not in subiection: whereupon CONSTANTINE, which at that time rigned in Constantinople, or (as others say) ROMANVS the tyrant, which with him gouerned the empire for a time, procured the aide of the Moores in Africa, and of the Arabians; of which a great number came into Italy, spreading a report, that they came to helpe the Greekes to recouer their right: vnder colour whereof, they became Lords of all Pulia, Calabria, and the rest which containeth now the kingdome of Naples; and they drew so neere to Rome, that they sought to haue taken the same, without regard of the Emperour of Constantinople, vnder whose name they first came into Italy: The cause of all which euils, were the wars and troubles betweene the Christians: for CONRADE Emperour of Germanie was busied in

The coming of the Moores into Italy.

Ccc

warrying

warrying against HENRY Duke of Saxony, sonne of OTHO: BERENGARIVS was perplexed with the wars against LEVES the sonne of BOSON king of *Prouence*, and others which for breuitie I ouerpasse: and another occasion was, the small authoritie and little worth of the Popes of *Rome*. But Pope Iohn the eleuenth, whom some call the tenth, seeing this so great a necessitie, sent to ALBERICVS Marquesse of *Tuscane*, or (as some authors say) to his brother, which was the greatest Lord in all *Italy* (BERENGARIVS excepted) with whose father BERENGARIVS had warre and controuersie; who promised him succour, and gathering all his forces together, with the aide of many others which followed him in that enterprise, hee went to *Rome*, wherein the Pope had already leuied an indifferent good armie, which he ioyned with ALBERICVS his forces; and so hee marched against his enemies: some write that the Pope in person went to this warre, which had so happie successe, that besides many encounters, ALBERICVS fought one battaile against the whole power of the Moores; wherein, notwithstanding that it was very sharp and doubtfull, yet in the end he gat the victorie; after which he was so absolutely master of the field, that he nowhere found any one to make head against him, and so in short time recovered all that the Moores held in *Italy*, excepting some little, and certaine fortresses neere to Mount *Garganus* in *Pulia*; whither the remainder of those Moores reduced themselves: which for that he then forbore wholly to destroy and ruinate (an error for want of foresight) was the occasion of many evils which ensued. ALBERICVS hauing obtained so noble a victorie, and leauing it in such estate, that it seemed an easie matter for any other to haue wholly effected the rest; returned to *Rome*, where hee was receiued with great pompe and triumph: but there within few daies arose discord and controuersie betwene him and the Pope, each of them attributing to himselfe the honour of that iourney: whereupon ALBERICVS went despighted out of the citie; whereof afterwards ensued great warres and mischiefes: and he was so ouercome with rage and desire to be reuenged, that so soone as he came into his countrie, he began to practise against the Pope, and to moue the Hungars to warre in *Italy*, promising them his aide and assistance, thinking it a small matter for him to haue made himselfe Lord of *Rome*. The Hungars came into *Italy*, and it pleased God that the greatest harme that they did therein, was in the said Marquesse ALBERICVS his owne countries, and amongst his subiects which called thither. In the meane while that *Italy* was thus oppressed, the Emperour CONRADE (whose life we now write) sought the destruction of HENRY Duke of Saxony, who was the sonne of that OTHO, by whose direction and counsell he was chosen and made Emperour, and was by him gouerned in the beginning of his raigne, as before hath been shewed.

The principall cause hereof, was the feare and ieaiousie which he conceaued of him, for this HENRY was a young man of very great courage and valour, and aboue measure desirous to rule; and in the warres of *Hungary* had done great seruice to this Emperour CONRADE, and to his predecessor LEVES, against ARNOLPH Duke of *Banier*, which fled into *Hungary*, as we haue before said: by reason whereof, HENRY was so much beloued and esteemed by all men, that CONRADE stood in feare to be by him despoiled of his empire, and that he would haue rebelled against him, and therefore determined (if he might) to make him away: first practising his destruction by fraud and cunning, and that taking no effect, he resolved not to dissemble any longer, but sent his brother EBERARD with an armie to destroy his countrie, and if he might to bereaue him of his life:

for

for which fact he became infamous, & all his doings were attributed to incomparable ingratitude: but his passion was such that he neuertheless proceeded. But HENRY gouerned himself with such discretion, & had already leuied such an armie of Saxons, which were his subiects & friends, that he met with EBERARD in the field, and offered, and gaue him battailes; wherein his people behaued themselves so valiantly, that the Emperours brother was ouerthrowne, with the losse of the greatest part of his armie, and himselfe escaped by flight. CONRADE being aduertised hereof (in extreme choler) raised the greatest power that he could make, and called all the princes against HENRY, first sending Ambassadors vnto him, to perswade him to yeeld to his mercie, and not to perseuere in his contumacie; which concluded nothing: but returning, reported that in their presence one of Duke HENRIES captaines whose name was DIEMATE, said, that the Duke had no reason to come to any agreement; for hee knew that thirtie legions of soldiers were comming to his aide. These words strake such a feare into the Emperours armie, that without any battaile, or sight of any enemy, the greatest part thereof disbanded; whereupon he was driuen to retire, with a determination to returne with greater force. But God, in whose hand are the hearts of princes, in very short time altered his purposes; for CONRADE was assailed with an extreme sicknes, whereof he afterwards died. And knowing that his end drew neere, hee in great haste sent for the princes of the empire, the principall of which at that time were BVCARD Duke of *Sueuia*, SIGISBERT Duke of *Lorraine*, & his brother EBERARD, whom he had made king of *Franconia*, and many others, excepting ARNOLD Duke of *Banier*, which remained in *Hungary*, and HENRY Duke of Saxony which rebelled. These princes being in this manner assembled, the Emperour as a wise and a good Christian, hauing more regard to the good gouernment of the empire, then to his owne choler or priuate passion (which is an extraordinary example) made vnto them a very set speech, wherein in conclusion he exhorted and counsellled them, that after his decesse (which so farre as he could comprehend would be shortly) they should chuse the same HENRY Duke of Saxony (which then was in his disgrace) for Emperour: for notwithstanding that he had a brother, whom he loued very well, and was worthy of great estate, yet he neuertheless chose HENRY, as onely worthie to be an Emperour, and his successor: for as he very well knew, he was an excellent man, and endued with vertue, and with all the conditions which were requisite in a good prince; and that he pardoned and restored him to his grace and fauour; and that this was his last will, counsell, and resolution. The noble minde and counsell of the Emperour was generally of all men infinitely commended; only his brother EBERARD shewed himselfe sorrowfull and discontented: but CONRADE perswaded him to patience and quietnes, and recommended to them all, peace and concord. Then he made the Sword, the Scepter, the Robe, and the other Imperiall ensignes to be brought before him, and by the consent of all the princes, he appointed and charged his brother to carrie the same to HENRY, and in his name to make his peace and friendship with him, and to yeeld him obedience as to his soueraigne Lord: which he performed, and continued in HENRIES good grace and loue so long as hee held the Empire; which truly was a most noble part of both these brothers: of the Emperour, in making choise of his enemy for his successor: and of his brother, in voluntarily obeying him which was chosen. This his good determination being concluded, and put in execution, within few daies after CONRADE departed out of this life, leauing neither sonne nor daughter; when he had raigned on-

The hearts of  
kings are in  
the hands of  
God.

Conrade chose  
his enemy  
Henry for his  
successor in the  
Empire.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Conrade in  
anne Dom. 920

ly seuen yeeres and somewhat lesse, in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred and twentie; CONSTANTINE yet holding the empire of *Constantinople*. In *Italy* raigned BERENGARIUS with the title of Emperour, notwithstanding that he held no part thereof but *Lombardy* onely, and some cities there about, and those not without warres and troubles, with LEUVS: sonne of the king of *Provence*. The state of *Italy* being such, as I said, the Hungars invaded it, being called thither by ALBERICUS Marquesse of *Tuscane*, and destroyed the countrie: and on the other side the Moores of *Africa* sallying out of such places as they held in *Pallia*, troubled the state of the Church of *Rome*, and the frontiers thereof. And betweene ALBERICUS and the Romanes was warre and discord.

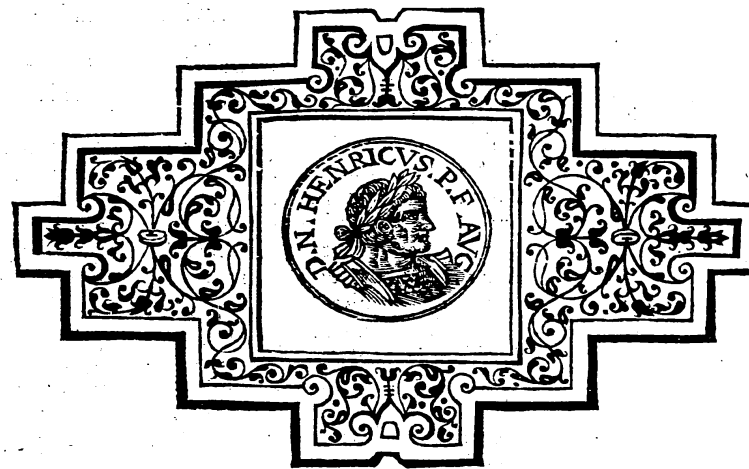
Forasmuch as in the life of this Emperour CONRADE, mention hath been made of ARNOLD Duke of *Baviere*, and for that heretofore this prouince hath been treated of, as of a kingdome, and so it is said, that LEUVS: king of *Germanie*, in the diuision made betweene his three sonnes, made CARLOMAN king of *Baviere*, and now wee call ARNOLD, Duke thereof, which seemeth to be a contradiction: let the reader therefore know, that in this prouince (as in all other of the world) there haue been great alterations: the last was, that after the said CHARLES, the Emperour ARNOLPH succeeded in the state of *Baviere*, and after ARNOLPH the Emperour LEUVS, who dying without issue, made this ARNOLD Duke of *Baviere*: and afterwards in proceesse of time, in this kingdome happened many alterations and changes, and in the end it ioyned with the state of the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*: and afterwards it was againe diuided; and so through sundrie accidents, it came to that estate wherein it is at this day.

THE



# THE LIFE OF HENRIE THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND FOUREScore AND SIXE ROMANE EMPEROVR.

And of CONSTANTINE Emperour of *Gracia*: And of those  
which in his time were called Emperours.



THE ARGVMENT.



Henry being chosen Emperour, first applied himselfe to pacifie the troubles of *Germany*, which were very tumultuous; but aboue all, to assure the high waies from theeuers, risen by reason of the warres; and to maintaine iustice. There arose against him one Arnold, which liued in *Hungary* as a banished man; and each of them hauing leuied a great armie, and being in a manner readie to haue come to the shooke, Henrie called Arnold to a parley, and knew so well how to perswade him, that he ouercame him with words, which peraduenture he should not haue done by armes; and Arnold became his obedient subiect. He tooke truce with the Hungars, and subdued the *Slauonians*: but the time of the truce being expired betweene him and the Hungars, and new occasions of warre arising, they came in the end to fight together; wherein the Emperour obtained so great a victorie, that all the Princes of *Christendome* sent to reioyce with him for the same. This good Emperour had set his minde upon the affaires of *Italy*, and purposed to haue freed the Church from *Hugh*, and other tyrants: but God

which had otherwise determined, when he was providing for his journey, visited him with a mortal infirmitie; and he knowing his life to be neere to an end, ordained, by the consent of all the Princes, his eldest sonne Otho for his successor, hauing reigned semeteene yeeres, and lined sixtie.



The Emperour  
Henry called  
Henricus Auc-  
ceps.

HE election which the Emperour CONRADE before his decease made of HENRY Duke of Saxony, naming him Emperour and his successor, is to be thought to haue bin done by Gods inspiration; for he proued a good Prince, & worthie the Imperiall maiestie. So soone then as CONRADE was deceased, all the States receiued him for their Emperour, and did him homage, calling him HENRY AVCEPS, that is to say, the Faulconer, for that he tooke such pleasure in hawking; and when the newes was brought him that he was chosen Emperour, he was found busie in that exercise, which he vsed at times of leasure for his recreation, without omitting any care for his busines. He then taking vpon him the government of the empire, applied himselfe to doe iustice, with a desire seuerely to punish the wicked; chiefly those which robbed by the high waies side, to the end that men might passe in safetie, which by reason of the warres had done much harme. He gaue himselfe also to abolish discord and dissention, and to establish peace and concord betweene the princes, which for matters past were at variance amongst themselues: for all which he provided a good remedie, employing his wit, authoritie and power; and being obeyed by al men, excepting BYCCARD Duke of *Suenia*, who with the fauour of *France* (for that he was sonne in law to the Duke of *Burgundy*) attempted some innouations: against whom the Emperour raised forces; but the matter was pacified, and the Duke acknowledged the Emperour for his Lord and Superiour. Besides this, it happened (which some recount before this time) that ARNOLD Duke of *Bauiere*, which (as we said) for feare of CONRADE, liued as an exile in *Hungary*, returned to his country; & gathering together a great number of Hungars, was so hardy as to call himselfe Emperour, and to denie his obedience to the Emperour HENRY; which he vnderstanding, leuying his old subiects of *Saxony*, & others of the empire, went with a mightie armie against ARNOLD, who likewise marched towards him; and as a good Christian, being much grieued for the troubles which were likely to haue ensued, forbore not to procure ARNOLD to giue ouer his attempt: and it pleased God that his good desire tooke effect in this manner: Both the armies being in a readines to fight, notwithstanding that it was apparant that the Emperour had the greater number, and better and more choise men; yet he sent ARNOLD word by a Trompet, that hee vpon sufficient securitie should come and speake with him; which ARNOLD perfourmed: where the Emperour, among many graue, good, and discrete speeches, said vnto him in these words: Take heed ARNOLD, and consider that what thou doest, is to oppose thy selfe against Gods ordinance, who is the giuer of kingdomes and worldly power. Thou maist know that I was chosen of him by the mouth of my predecessor CONRADE, before his death; and that to this election haue agreed all the estates of *Germany*, and thou onely seekst to resist the will of God, and the generall consent of all men. I say vnto thee, that thou take heed what thou doest, and counsell thee to come to my obedience, and I will vse thee as my sonne or my brother: and if thou wilt not doe this, I take God for iudge betweene thee and me. And one thing I will sweare and assure thee, that if it had pleased his diuine Maiestie that thou haddest been chosen

Speeches vsed  
by Henry to  
Arnold.

chosen Emperour, as I am, I would haue bene an obedient subiect, and haue serued thee faithfully: wherefore I pray thee, that sith I am so, thou wilt do the like by mee. Thou mayest see that I intreat thee for peace, at such time as my party hath the aduantage in the warres; consider wel what thou doest, for I wil not faile in anything, that I haue promised. These and such like speeches were of such force, that they marueilously touched ARNOLD at the heart, so that he presently submitted himselfe & his countrey vnto the Emperour HENRY, and from thence forth was euer most obedient vnto him, without any remembrance of matters past. There happened likewise discord betweene HENRY and the house and kingdome of *France*, about the soueraignty of the Prouince and Duchie of *Lorraine*; neuertheless comming to a peace and agreement, matters passed prosperously, and he continued Lord thereof. And so *Germany* (by meanes of his good government) tooke a taste of the fruits which Iustice and the tranquility of peace bring forth. But in *Italy* notwithstanding that BERENGARIUS was called Emperour, the want of such a Prince as was HENRY wrought the contrary: it shall not bee amisse therefore to speake of what followed, in the meane while that HENRY was busie about these matters.

Arnold sub-  
mitted him-  
selfe to Henry.

It is already said, how that betweene Pope IOHN and the Romanes of the one side, and ALBERICVS Marquesse of *Tuscane* of the other, were great warres, after the victory obtained against the Infidels; and how that ALBERICVS had induced the Hungars to come into *Italy* against the citie of *Rome*, and that the greatest harme that they did, was in his owne countreys, God permitting it for a punishment for his wickednesse; yet they did much harme in the Church lands also. The Hungars hauing in this maner robbed the countrey, BERENGARIUS which was called Emperour, came to a composition with them; which was, that they should depart out of *Italy*, in consideration of a great summe of money which was giuen them. And Pope IOHN and the Romanes (in reuenge of the iniurie receiued from ALBERICVS) leuiued an armie, which was broken and ouerthrowen by the Hungars, the Duke of *Spoleto* being Generall of that armie; and ALBERICVS was besieged in a towne of his called *Ortano*, and was therein taken and slaine. In the same time the Infidels which remained in *Pulia* leuying newe succours and supplies again began the warres, which was not foreseene in time by reason of the domestical discord, and they tooke many castles and citie, while the Pope applied himselfe to be reuenged of ALBERICVS; & their power so much encreased, that the people voluntarily yeelded themselues, by reason of the small reliefe which they had from the Emperour of *Constantinople*, in whose dominion the greatest part of those countreys was, or from BERENGARIUS, or from the Pope, vntill that feare seised *Rome*, wherein making a certaine Earle called GUIDO their General, they leuiued a good army, and it pleased God to giue him the victory, & he made the Moores to retire themselues into those holds which they held before the bringing in of this second war, and so the citie was deliuered from that feare. But this Earle GUIDO afterwards comming fro *Rome*, with a determination to make himselfe Lord thereof, apprehended the Pope and put him to death, and made another Pope; but his purpose tooke no effect: for hee whom he made Pope was presently deposed, and LEO the sixt was chosen, who was Pope but seuen moneths; and him succeeded STEPHEN the seuenth. Whilest these matters passed in *Rome* and the marches thereof, BERENGARIUS the Emperour (whom we may call Italian) liued not free from troubles; for through the instigation of certaine Italian Lords, RODOLPH Duke of *Burgundy* with a great armie came in-

Pope John the  
twelfth taken  
prisoner and  
slaine by the  
Earle Guido.

Rodolph deposed Berengarius.

The death of Berengarius.

Rodolph Duke of Burgundy Emperor in Italy.

The coming of the Hungars into Italy.

The coming of Hugh Duke of Orleans into Italy.

to *Italy*, with the title of Emperour, and hee therein found so many friendes, (especially in *Lumbardy*) that in very short space he despoiled BERENGARIUS, and was made Emperour and King of *Italy*; and BERENGARIUS fled into *Hungarie*, thinking there to haue found reliefe: and therein, as saith BLONDVS and some others, died, and that BERENGARIUS the nephew of the first BERENGARIUS, was he which came afterwards, as shall be specified. Some write that hee died in *Italy*, slaine by the treason of Countie FLAMBERT, which was his gossip: But howsoeuer it was, he died bereaued of his dignity, and he of whom we are to treat, was nephew to the first BERENGARIUS, sonne of his daughter, and of a Marquesse, which was his sonne in Lawe. I write thus much for that there is a great confusion amongst the Authors about these BERENGARIUS tyrant Emperours, for that they all were of one name. RODVLPH remaining with the victory in *Italy* was called Emperour, and held his Empire therein the space of three yeeres in prosperity: In which time the Emperour HENRY in *Germanie* ouerthrew & repelled the Hungars, which after their departure out of *Italy* went into *Germany*, wherein they did much harme: But (as I say) the Emperour put them to route, and chased them thence, and taking their Generall prisoner, constrained them to sue to him, and to make peace for ten yeeres; he restoring to them their General without ranfome, yet they offered a great summe of money for him. RODVLPHVS hauing reigned three yeeres in *Italy*, the Hungars whose ordinary qualitie was to robbe their neighbours and other Prouinces, solicited thereto by BERENGARIUS the nephew, vnder the conduct of a great man called FALARDVS, came into *Italy*, and encamped before *Pauia*, which they besieged: for reliefe whereof RODVLPHVS made so small prouision, that the inhabitants of the countrey discontent with his gouernement, conspired against him, and slew his father in law BOCARD Duke of *Saxony*, which came to see *Milan*; and then they called and solicited HUGH Duke of *Orleans*, a French man, to come to their defence, promising to receiue him for their King and Lord, and to make him Emperour, which he accepted, notwithstanding his neerenesse in blood to RODVLPH: and he came with so many good men of warre, and with such fauour of the Italians, that none of his enemies durst to encounter him: and RODVLPH leauing *Italy*, returned into *Burgundie*, where he afterwards had such successe, that he was for a space King of *France*; and HUGH continued in *Italy*, and subdued greater part thereof then they of the other tyrants had done; banishing such as he suspected, and rewarding his friends: he procured peace and friendship with the Emperour HENRY, which hee granted, thereby to settle peace in *Germany* with the Hungars, and with other nations and Princes. And he afterwards preuailed against ARNOLPH Duke of *Bauiere*: So that HUGH was a greater Lord, and of greater power then any of long time had been in *Italy*; where leauing him vntill his turne, we will returne to our Emperour HENRY.

HENRY hauing ouerthrowne the Hungars, and made peace with them for nine or ten yeares, as an ambitious Prince, and desirous to enlarge his Empire: after that he had taken care for the establishment of peace and iustice, and for the good gouernement thereof, leuied an Armie, and sent the same into the countreys of *Slawonia* and *Dalmatia*, from which he had been annoyed and endamaged: and ouerthrowing the inhabitants thereof in battaile, hee tooke many townes in those Prouinces, and doing therein great harme; victorious and laden with spoyle, he ioyfully returned into *Germany*. The next yeare after this victorie (which was the tenth yeere of his raigne) he marched with his power against the

the Bohemians, and WENCESLAUS their Duke, for that many of them held not the true faith, and also for that they refused to be subiect to the Empire, & against him had assisted the Hungars: wherein he shewed such valour, that ouerthrowing the Duke, he tooke *Prage*, which is the chiefe citie thereof, and brought that kingdome into such subiection, as was the rest of *Germany*, and so it continued all this Dukes life time. This warre being thus happily ended, another followed, which was against the Danes; which with a mighty naue came into *Freeceland*, and into *Saxonic*, and tooke certaine townes therein; but hee made them to flie out of al that countrey, to their great losse: and he also ouerthrew those of *Norway*, which then were called *Abroditi*. HENRY hauing obtained so great and so many victories, the time of the peace with the Hungars being expired, they presently sent their ambassadours to him, to require certaine pay granted to their ancestors, at what time as peace was made with them: whereto HENRY gaue no good answer; for he accounted it a matter vnworthy the Maiestie of an Emperour, to pay tribute for peace; wherewith the Hungars were so much despited, that with their Duke or Captaine (for at that time they had not the dignity of a King) they issued out of their confines with the most flourishing Armie that euer they had, and began to warre with greater fury and cruelty then euer they had done at any time theretofore, & neuer stayed vntill they came into *Saxony*, & into other places which were the Emperour HENRYS patrimony, wherein they did much harme, and shewed great cruelty; which was done so suddenly, that HENRY in the beginning could not redresse the same: But in short space he leuied a great Armie, and notwithstanding that he was extremely sicke, yet neither the Princes, nor his Phisicians could withhold him, but that he would goe with his Armie: and encountering the Hungars (being so weake that he could hardly sit his horse) he offered them battaile, which they refused not; where the Emperour, although with a weake and low voice, made a speech to his souldiers, which did so much encourage them, that they presently charged with such force; and the Hungars (being a most valiant nation) fought with such eagerneffe and fury, that it was one of the most bloody and cruell battels of the world: But in the ende the valiant heart of the Emperour HENRY so much preuailed, that hee obtained the victorie, and slew an infinite number of the Hungars, and many of them were likewise slaine vpon the way as they fled; and those which suruiued, fled scattered into their countrey; from whence they neuer after stirred one foote so long as the Emperour HENRY liued. He wan so great reputation and glory by meanes of this victory, that all the Princes Christian, sent their Ambassadours to him, as being glad thereof, and to desire his friendship: But with the greatest instance came Ambassadours from HUGH, which in *Italy* was called Emperour. HENRY was likewise called by his subiects, *semper Augustus*, *Pater patrie*, and other ancient names and titles of honour; and he as a good Christian gaue thanks to God; and the tribute which at other times he had payd to the Hungars, he made to be distributed among the poore, and so did other good deedes, and ruled the Empire in such manner that *Germany* enioyed both peace and Iustice, which are two benefits, which make mighty and rich kingdomes.

*Italy* in the meane time endured warre and miserie; for the empire of HUGH which last raigne, being turmoyled with warre and discord, was neither firme nor good, but tyrannicall and violent: by reason whereof the Infidels which in *Pulia* held certaine townes and fortresses, made ordinarie wars vpon their neighbours. And at that time a mightie Naue of Moores came out of *Africa*, vpon the coast

Henry brought the Bohemians into subiection.

The Emperour Henry his victory against the Hungars.

Genoa besieged  
and taken by  
the Moores.

coast of *Genoa* and of *Tuscane*; and taking land did great harme, robbing many places, amongst which they besieged the citie of *Genoa*: and the multitude and force of the Infidels was so great, that notwithstanding that the besieged fought very valiantly, yet they entred it by force of armes; all the *Genowaies* comming first to the fight in defence of their citie. After that the Infidels had entred it, they put all those to the sword which therein were able to beare armes, and robbing and ransacking it, left nothing therein that was worth the carriage: and all boyes, women and children they tooke prisoners, and carried abourd their shippes and galleys, which they led away with them; and so left *Genoa* desolate and without any inhabitants: yet some prisoners were soone released, and some were taken in their fleetes at sea, and elsewhere, which reinhabited the citie: neuerthelesse it was long before it could recouer it selfe of this calamitie: And some write that the Infidels horse troupes were taken vpon the way, and that the prisoners were not carried into *Africa*. The Emperour vnderstanding hereof, and being well informed of the state of *Italy*, and that setting aside that which the Church held by so many titles and donations, all the remainder of that Westerne empire, excepting some townes in *Pulia*, was held by the Greekes, hee therefore resolved to come thither in person with a mightie armie, to free *Italy* from the yoke of *Hvgh*, and of other tyrants; and to reforme and reduce the same to such order as it ought to hold, and as he had established in *Germany*. And beginning to make preparation for his iourney, and hauing mustred vp his men of warre, it pleased God to dispose thereof after another manner; for he was taken with a most deadly infirmities; and knowing that his end drew neere, vsing such diligence as a good Christian ought to doe, he gaue order that all the princes (if possibly it might be) might be assembled; with whose good will and consent he ordained his sonne *Otho* (whom he had by his wife *Mauud*) Emperour and his successor: and his sicknesse encreasing, within few daies after he yeelded his soule to God, being of the age of threescore yeeres, in the seuenteenth yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred seuen and thirtie. He left two other sonnes besides *Otho*, the one was called as he was, *Henry*, who was afterwards Duke of *Baniere*, for *Arnolds* sonnes were deprived of that estate, and he married his legitimate daughter *Ivdith*; and one other sonne called *Brvnvs*, who was Archbishop of *Colcin*; and he had one daughter whose name was *Gereirga*, and was married to a Duke; and another called *Adalcida*, which was married in *Africa* to Countie *Paris*; and another called *Mauud* which was a Nunne.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Henric.

Anno Dom.  
937.

The death of  
Constantine  
Emperour of  
Constantinople.

In *Constantinople* ended the empire of *Constantine*, when he had raigned eight and thirtie yeeres, in companie with the tyrant *Romanvs*; and part (as I said) alone; in which time hee had great conflicts in the Easterne parts, with the Infidels in *Asia*, and with the Bulgarians in *Europe*; amongst which he wonne one battaile by sea against the king of *Russia*, wherein were aboue a thousand faile of ships, which came to the coast of *Constantinople*, by the Sea called *Euxinum*: and other great accidents happened too long to relate: At the end whereof he died, leauing his empire to his sonne, which after his grandfathers name was called *Romanvs*; for *Constantine* had to wife the daughter of the other *Romanvs* which was the tyrant, of whom I haue already made mention. This *Constantine* was a good prince, very deuout, and excellently well learned in humane letters.

THE



## THE LIFE OF OTHO, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESORE AND SEVEN ROMANE EMPEROR.

And of *Romanvs* and the rest which were Empe-  
perours in *Gracia*.



### THE ARGVMENT.



Tho succeeding in the Empire, was in that his dignitie much troubled, for not onely the Princes of *Germany*, but even his owne brothers and kinsemen made warre against him, and fought bloudie battailes with him: of which, after long troubles he had honorable victorie. He also freed his brother in law *Lewes* king of *France* from certaine Dukes, which oppressed him. He was by the Pope called into *Italy* against *Berengarius*; and comming with a great armie, forced him to flie. Afterwards his sonne, and one *Conrade* his sonne in law, which he had left for the defence of *Italy*, rebelling against him, and in the end the sonne comming to a battaile with the father (a thing more fit for Turkes and Infidels then Christians) was the loser, and his fathers prisoner; who seeing with how great humilitie, and with how many teares he sued for his life and pardon, he restored him at length to his grace: and he afterwards became most obedient. After this warre there grew a greater, made by the Hungars and Slauons, which the Emperour happily ended. He againe came into *Italy*, by reason of *Berengarius*, which tyrannized the same, and forced him to flie; and comming to Rome was crowned Emperour by Pope *John*. Many other rebellions ensued by the Popes and the Romanes against the Emperour, whilest he warred against *Berengarius* and his sonne: of which, hauing for fortunate victorie, he returned into *Germany*.

*Germany, and ordained his sonne Orho for his successor; where being now old, and busied in vertuous exercises, he yielded his soule to God.*

*This Orho is called the first, for that he is first of the Germane Emperours called by that name.*



Being come to write the life of O T H O the first of that name of the Germane Emperours, of which I am now to treat; me thinketh it fareth with me, as with one which hath wandred, and is now againe returned into his right way. I make this comparison, for that there are some which account not those amongst the Emperours, which I haue placed after A R N O L F, the sonne of C A R L O M A N, vntill this O T H O; of whom I say, that after the death of his father, he found no contradiction in attaining to the name and dignitie of Emperour of *Germany*; for his father H E N R Y before his death had nominated him for his successor, as I then said. Truly this O T H O was very well worthie of the empire, for he was a prince of an excellent wit, and of a wonderfull great and noble minde; and his great valour was accompanied with singular humanitie and clemencie: but notwithstanding all these deserts and vertues of a good prince, yet there were many great insurrections and rebellions against him; and hee was a prince which had greater warres then any other then in the world, for the space of thirtie and odd yeeres that he held the empire; in which time he passed many aduentures, and obtained great victories: and notwithstanding that he incurred sundrie daungers and hazards, yet hee euer shewed himselfe gentle and pitifull to the vanquished; which (in my opinion) in the end made his empire more stable and firme, then all the victories which he obtained. I say then, that so soone as his father was dead, he was in the citie of *Aken*, or *Aquisgran* chosen Emperour, and annointed and crowned by O L D E R I C V S Archbishop of *Mentz*, all the Princes of *Germany* (which could come) being there present, and the rest which could not, wrote their letters, and sent their Ambassadors, acknowledging their obedience: And so his beginning was very peaceable and highly esteemed, and hee shewed himselfe iust, and valorous, and gouerned the estate with wisdom and clemencie. It happened presently after this, that B O I S L A V S brother of the Duke of *Bohemia* (which at that time had not the title of King) by treason slew his brother W E N C E S L A V S (for so was hee called) to the end to haue the Soueraigntie; and rebelled against the Emperour: whereof when O T H O was aduertized, moued with the hatred and vilenes of the fact (for W E N C E S L A V S was a iust and faithfull prince, and his father H E N R Y had receiued him, for his seruant and subiect, after that (as we said) he had subdued him, he resolved to send a good armie, vnder the leading of a valorous captaine against him, and did so; which the tyrant Duke attended in the field, and therewith fought a terrible battaile; and was ouerthrowne with so great losse of his people, that the Imperiall Generall assuring himselfe of the victorie, was lesse carefull and circumspect, then he ought to haue been; and B O I S L A V S within few daies reinforcing his armie, gathered courage from the others retchlesnes; and charging him suddenly in disorder and at vnawares, brake and ouerthrew him, and slew the greatest part of his people: where-with O T H O was highly displeased, and sending thither a new supply he sufficiently reinforced his armie: But B O I S L A V S was growen so haughty, and had such reliefe from the Huigars, that the warres grew to be doubtfull, and of long continuance, and in the meane time others happened; but O T H O his mind and resolution was so great, that he neuer forgot to prouide for this warre; in the middest of the

*Boislaus slew his brother Wenceslaus by treason.*

the furie of all the other, as we will declare: yet it lasted fourteene yeeres, before that he could obtaine any complete victory; and then B O I S L A V S yielded as you shall vnderstand. The Emperour then proceeding in this warre of *Bohemia*, in the greatest fury thereof, there began ciuill and domesticall Commotions and Insurrections, which resolved in a very cruell warre, the beginning whereof was this. E B E R A R D which (as I remember) was brother to the Emperour C O N R A D, and caried the Imperiall ensignes to the Emperour H E N R Y, father of this O T H O, being a great Lord, rich and mighty, did an iniury to an Earle, a man of lesse account then himselfe, and burned a towne of his; which for that the new Emperour would not suffer to escape vnpunished, hee condemned him in a certaine summe of money, and to bee imprisoned and banished: with which sentence E B E R A R D was highly displeased, expecting opportunitie to shew his discontentment.

It happened also that a bastard brother of the Emperours called D A V Z M A R, found himselfe griued, for that the Emperour had not giuen him the gouernment of the Prouince of *Saxony*, with the title of Earle, which was O T H O S patrimony by the death of Earle S I P R F R I D E, lately deceased. In like manner the sonnes of A R N O L D Duke of *Bauiere*, which then died, were discontent, for that O T H O had giuen that estate to their elder brother B E R T O L D, and they would not accept of the Earldome, and of that part which the Emperour had assigned them: wherefore vpon this occasion E B E R A R D made a league and confederacie with them, and with S I G I S B E R T Duke of *Lorraine*, notwithstanding that he had married one of the Emperours sisters; and contending with H E N R Y the Emperours second brother, which was a very yong man, about the bounds of certaine lands, he besieged him in a citie, and very shamefully tooke him prisoner. And his bastard brother D A V Z M A R, with the ayde of the said E B E R A R D, at the same time tooke a citie in *Saxony*, and sacked it, thinking to haue gotten the Earldome, which he required perforce. The Emperour vnderstanding thereof, marched against his brother; and entring the citie by assault, D A V Z M A R was slaine in a Church, whither he was brought by E B E R A R D the motor of this treason. And after other practises, E B E R A R D agreed with H E N R Y the Emperours brother, whom he held prisoner, to release and serue him, alleaging that the empire appertained vnto him, for that his father begat him after that he was Emperour, and O T H O before. H E N R Y moued with the desire to raigne (a thing which leadeth men to greater euils) resolved to rebell against his elder brother and soueraigne Lord; whereto S I G I S B E R T Duke of *Lorraine* yielded ayde and assistance, who was a mighty Prince, and had the sister of the Emperour and of H E N R Y to wife. And as the report went, that H E N R Y should be Emperour, each of them desired to haue the Empire for himselfe, and so practised the same in secret, for amongst the wicked there is neither faith nor trueth: But they all agreed together to ruinate O T H O; and that let being remooued, each of them thought to haue been a soueraigne Lord, and to haue had the Empire. The power & armie which they leuiued was so great, that they tooke many townes, and as it vsually happeneth, fame and feare aduanced the effect, so as O T H O was in great danger. Neuertheless the other Princes of *Germany* did well and faithfully helpe and relieue him; and hee, with the courage and diligence of a good captaine, leuiued his forces, and marched against his enemies; and being come with his armie to the banks of the river *Rhine*, and part thereof being transported in boates to go against his enemies, which were encamped on the other side, whereof his brother H E N R Y was General;

The Emperours  
victory against  
his brother  
Henry.

nerall; his enemies hauing marched with great haste, were gotten thither before them, and charged his people in such manner, that they were likely to haue been ouerthrowen in the Emperours fight, who was not yet passed: but in the end, the Emperour making his prayers to God, obtained the victorie, and his brother in ill plight, and wounded, saued himselfe by flight. After this victorie, the fame went, that the Emperours brother HENRY was dead, which brought the Emperour this profit, that the most of the cities which held for his brother, yeelded to him: which when HENRY vnderstood, he gat him into the citie of *Meresbergh*, which is in *Saxony*, and fortified the same in the best manner that hee could, and the Emperour followed and besieged him, and brought him to that extremitie, that he was driuen to giue vp the citie vpon condition, that hee should suffer him freely to depart whither he would. After which he went into *Lorraine*, and renewed the warre, ioyning with Duke SIGISBERT, and with Duke EBERARD his kinsmen, which with greater rage and power then at the first, inuaded the Emperours countreys, who then was busied in besieging a towne of Duke EBERARDS, called *Stisaca*, before which he lay longer then was fit that he should haue done, through the deceit and treachery of the Archbishop of *Mentz*, who secretly was a traitour to him, & had intelligence with his enemies, to the end that HENRY and his confederates should in the meane time make themselves Lords and Masters of the land: which when HERMAN Duke of *Saxonia*, and his brother OTHO, and CONRADE called the wife, and other great Lords and Knights (which were the Emperours loyall seruants and subiects) perceiued, they ioyned all their forces together, and by his direction, with a good armie went to seeke their enemies, and meeting them, fought a very terrible and cruell battell: But in the ende the Imperialists had the victorie, and EBERARD, the ringleader of this rebellion, was slaine fighting, and SIGISBERT Duke of *Lorraine*, flying from the fight, was drowned in the *Rhine*, neere to the place where they fought: yet some say that he died in another battell, and that HENRY the Emperours brother was not that day in the field, but warred elsewhere. In this ouerthrow were slaine, and taken prisoners, all those which held with these Lords; amongst which were many Earles, and principall personages. This great victory being obtained by OTHOES faithfull friends and subiects, the citie which hee besieged yeelded to him, and he prepared himselfe to pursue his brother HENRY, who fled into *France*. And then the Emperour went into *Lorraine*, where his sister gaue her selfe into his power, together with her sonne: And hauing set good order in that estate, and made peace with LEVES King of *France*, and recovered certaine townes which hee theretofore had lost, he returned into *Germany*. In this manner he wholly subdued and tamed all the rebels, and in the end his brother HENRY with his leaue humbly yeelded himselfe into his power, and he forgau him, and gaue him lands and reuenues for his maintenance, and likewise pardoned the other Earles and great men which had been his aduersaries, together with FREDERICK Archbishop of *Mentz*, who was a traitor vnto him, and was now in his power; but in the end hee pardoned him also. And forasmuch as his brother HENRY persecuted loyall vnto him, he made him Duke of *Bauiere*, after the death of BERTOLD, who died without issue male, whose brethren lost their right to that estate, for that they had conspired against the Emperour; and HENRY had his legitimate daughter to wife, & so in good Grace remained in his brothers seruice: Who hauing brought these matters to an ende, determined to make an end of the troubles in *Bohemia*, which through the aide of the Hungars still continued, without any one dayes intermission,

Duke Eberard  
slaine fighting,  
and Duke Sigisbert  
drowned in the  
Rhine.

Henry fled into  
*France*.

Boislaus over-  
throwen by  
the Emperour.

intermission, from the first beginning of his raigne, which was a long time. Finally, in some battels, wherein he was himselfe in person, BOISLAUS was ouerthrowen in such maner, that he submitted himselfe, and became subiect. And hauing in this maner subdued the Hungarians, the Bohemians, and such as rebelled, he determined to relieue LEVES the French King, who was his brother in law, and had sued vnto him for succours, whom for some occasions, too long to be recited, certaine Dukes and great Lords of *France* oppressed. Yet some authors say, that this his going into *France* was before the warres of *Bohemia*: but at what time, or in what order soeuer it was, he went thither with a great armie, and relieved his brother in law, and so againe returned into *Germany*, where we will leaue him to enioy his victories and good successe, and will briefly declare, in what estate *Italy* then stood, & the accidents which the happened therein, which appertaine to our history, aswell for that it was part of the Empire, as also for that HUGH before named, raigned therein with the name of Emperour, although a tyrant. HUGH hauing for certaine yeeres space possessed *Lombardy*, and great part of *Italy*, with that any man sought, or went about to bereaue him of his estate; for OTHO (as is already sayd) was busied with the troubles of *Germany*: in the ende BERENGARIUS the third after many long iourneys, hauing a desire to recouer the kingdome which his father and vnclie had possessed, and of all *Italy* also, whereof the Emperour RODOLPHVS had bereaue him, with the aide of certaine Princes of *Germany*, and of *Italy*, he resolved to make warre against HUGH, and to that effect, waged a great number of selected men of warre, and tooke his way towards *Italy*. And HUGH holding himselfe vnable to make his party good against him, for that he found, that such as were of greatest power and authority in the cities, did not fauour his faction, he resolved therefore to come to any composition: and so finally they agreed, that HUGH should leaue the title of King of *Italie*, and returne to his Duchie of *Orleans* in *France*, vpon condition that his sonne LOTHARY should remaine King in *Italy*, together with BERENGARIUS. BERENGARIUS accepted these conditions, & HUGH returned to his old Dukedome, and left his sonne a King, and companion with BERENGARIUS. This LOTHARY was married with ADELHAIDA, which by some was called ALVADA, daughter of ARNOLPH Duke of *Burgundy*, who had reigned for some certaine time in *Lombardy*, as wee said before, and was expelled by HUGH. It happened that HUGH afterwards died in *France*: and within a short time after (and after other matters which ensued, which I leaue to relate) LOTHARYS died in *Lombardy*. And BERENGARIUS seeing himselfe freed from company, tooke to wife the widow Queene ADELHAIDA, which was a very excellent Lady. And sith that he found no contradiction or resistance in the Estate of *Italy*, against the dignity of the Emperour OTHO, (from whom he had receiued many benefits and fauours) hee tooke vpon him the name and title of Emperour, and instituted his eldest sonne, called ALBERT, King of *Italy*, and began to intreat the people very ill, and in other matters to behaue himselfe like a tyrant.

The death of  
Hugh, and of  
Lothary, two  
tyrants.

At this time AGAPETVS the second was Pope, who was held for a vertuous, religious, and an innocent man (which amongst men of that coate, was a matter not slightly to be regarded) and he considering the violence and tyrannie vsed by BERENGARIUS, hauing now bin Pope the space of fixe yeeres, sent to sollicite OTHO the Emperour of *Germany* to come into *Italy*, to free the same from so pernicious a tyrant. The like was done by sundry other Prelates and great men. OTHO at that time was a widower of his wife EDITHA, by whom he had a sonne whose

name was LVITOLPHVS, a valiant and high minded young man, and hauing heard the Italian ambassadours, at such time as he had ended the warres before mentioned, moued by their perswasions, and through the desire he had to marrie Queene ADELHAIDA, whom BERENGARIVS held prisoner in *Pauiā*, and to make himselfe Lord of *Italy*, hee leuiued an armie of fiftie thousand men, and came downe against BERENGARIVS; who hauing no sufficient power to make head against him, in the best order that he could, gaue ground, still defending the strongest castles and fortresses. And OTHO marching forwards, taking townes and cities, comming to *Pauiā*, set ADELHAIDA at liberty, and with her good liking married her, holding solemne nuptials: by reason whereof, his sonne LVITOLPHVS was very sory; and after it ensued many inconueniences. This being done, and OTHO hauing settled all matters concerning the State of *Italy* in good order, he returned into *Germany*, leauing CONRADE for his Lieutenant in *Lombardie*. This CONRADE was called the wise, and was Duke of *Franconia*, and sonne in law to the Emperor by the marriage of his daughter LVIGVARDA: but his sonne LVITOLPHVS was gone before into *Saxony*, which was his fathers house and patrimony, where he raised some Commotions against him, for hee was much grieued and discontented with his fathers late marriage. OTHO being returned into *Germany*, and BERENGARIVS seeing that by warre, hee could not recouer what he had lost, came into *Germany*, and brought with him his sonne ALBERTVS, and desiring pardon, yeelded himselfe into the Emperours power, vowing to be his loyall seruant and subiect; which he protested in such manner, that the Emperour thought himselfe well assured of him, and thereupon made him his Lieutenant in *Milan* and all *Lombardy*, the auncient inheritance of the Empire, and gaue certain lands to him, and to his said sonne ALBERTVS; where with his sonne in law CONRADE, which before held that charge, being greatly discontented, ioyned with LVITOLPHVS the Emperours sonne, and so the sonne and sonne in law rebelled against him. BLONDVS and other Italian writers, make no mention of CONRADES abode in *Italy*, neither of BERENGARIVS his going into *Germany*; yet they mention his pardon, and the offices that the Emperour bestowed vpon him: But ABBAS WESPERGENSIS writeth in the same maner as I haue recounted; and so do NAVCLERVS and other Dutch writers. *Italy* remaining in this estate, the Emperour did not so soone abandon it (as I suppose) without some suspition conceiued of his sonne LVITOLPHVS, who departed from him and rebelled: truly hee had reason to mistrust him, for LVITOLPHVS being accounted for his successor, found many friends to ioyne with him against his father; amongst which was his brother in law CONRADE, and ARNOLD, and the other sonnes of BERTOLD late Duke of *Bauiere*; who dying, the Emperour gaue to his brother HENRY that Estate: wherefore all those which were called Dukes of *Bauiere*, were so much grieued at him, that they raised an armie, and tooke many townes and castles, meaning by force of Armes to defend the same, with a determination to depose him from the empire, without regard of the faith and loyalty which they, as his sonne and sonne in law, ought to him. OTHO making such account of this warre as the importance thereof required; leuiued his forces, and went against his sonne; who daring not to keepe the field against him, fortified himself in the citie of *Mentz*, wherein his father besieged him the space of threescore dayes, after that hee had recouered many of those townes which had giuen their voices against him: the citie in the meane time being battered, and most valiantly defended, in the end the besieged made a motion of peace,

Otho made Berengarius his Lieutenant in Lombardy.

Luitolph and other rise against Otho.

Luitolph besieged by his father Otho.

peace: and to the ende to haue time to treate thereof, a truce was granted; in which time, the forces brought by the Emperours brother HENRY to his seruice, through the secret perswasion of ARNOLPHVS, and his brethren, which were called Dukes of *Bauiere*, came to an agreement with LVITOLPHVS; with which, and with those which already were in *Mentz*, in a night hee found meanes to depart the citie, & to get into *Ratisbone*. The Emperour without making one daies tariance, raised his siege, and went to *Ratisbone*, which was better fortified and furnished then *Mentz* was, and so the siege was more hard and doubtfull; and in the assaults and sallies many men lost their liues, of the one and other party. And although that LVITOLPHVS desired peace, and his father to pardon him, yet the Emperour would neuer yeeld thereto, vntill that by the importunacie of some Prelates, he limited a certaine time, wherein his faults and offences should be examined, and a treaty should be held concerning what was to be done; and so LVITOLPHVS gaue vp the citie: And going thence, absented himselfe from his fathers presence, vntill that vpon a day, within the time prefixed, the Emperour being on hunting in the fields, his strayed sonne acknowledging his error, and being very sory for the same, without any security or safeconduct from his father, came before him vpon the way, bare headed and bare footed, and kneeling at his fathers feete, wept; who being amazed at the strangenes thereof, expecting no such matter, stood still: and the sonne recouering spirit, in this maner entreated him to haue compassion on him, acknowledging his faults and offences to be very great, rather deseruing a thousand deaths then any pardon; and therefore being heartily sorie for the same, (like the prodigall childe) hee presented himselfe before his father, who also had a father in heauen, by whom he hoped to be forgiuen; and if it might please him to grant him his life, he should be assured of him, to be euer after a loyall and obedient sonne, and one which liued, and would liue, in continuall sorrow for what was past: if he meant to doe otherwise by him, he should yet consider that he was his owne flesh and blood, and although that the offence were onely his, yet of the punishment inflicted vpon the culpable sonne, the Iust father would beare part of the sorrow for the same; and that in shewing him mercie, there could no inconuenience ensue thereof; but if he did to the contrary, he should rather lose the most obedient sonne that euer father had. Hauing ended these speeches, and other to the same effect, with great humilitie he prostrated himselfe vpon the earth, expecting his fathers sentence of life or death. This strake so great an impression into the Emperours heart, to heare and see his sonne to shew such humility, and to shed so many teares, that he could not forbear from doing the like: and commanding him to arise from the ground, with ioy mixt with teares from himselfe, and the rest which were there present, he presently pardoned him, and restored him to his grace and fatherly fauour, and to the same place and dignity which he held before; and so he continued constant in that loyalty and duty which he ought to his father and soueraigne Lord. This is a notable example to be read with consideration, whereby sonnes and subiects which haue erred and offended their soueraigne Lords, may learne to repent and amend; and Princes to pardon those which truly desire to bee reduced to their grace and seruice: for although that it be most certaine, that it is expedient for the good of the Common wealth, that offences be punished; yet generally it ought not to be held for so rigorous & cruel a rule, that no exception be made, seeing that sometimes for the comon good, clemencie is as profitable. Moreouer, the shame & sorrow for the offences committed is no smal punishment to him that is pardoned.

Luitolphus submitting himselfe to his father entreated him.

The pittie of Otho towards his sonne Luitolphus.

O T H O then hauing pardoned his sonne, and recovered *Mentz*, and *Ratisbone*, and all the other strong holds which had rebelled, and (according to the most and best authors) reclaimed his sonne in law *CONRADE*, (yet some say the contrary) when he should haue taken rest, and haue reposd himselfe, there arose new warres, more dangerous then the former; for on the one side the *Dalmatians* and *Slauons* entred the lands of the Empire; and on the other side, the *Hungars* (which now had liued some time in rest) gathering together an infinite number of them, began against him the most dangerous and cruell warre that they euer had made; for besides that they were a most valiant and proud people, they were so many in number, that they reported of themselves, that the skies might fall and so kill them, or the earth might open and swallow them; but the power of no nations, or of any Kings of the earth was sufficient to make head against them. Against people so valiant and resolute, the valorous Emperour leuied the best and mightiest armie that euer he had done; for it consisted of eight legions, vnder the leading of excellent Captaines, and those Dukes and Princes of the Empire. In this warre were many conflicts and feates of Armes worthy to bee recited, which I omit for breuities sake, which I am bound to obserue.

In the end these two mightie armies ioyned, and fought a battaile neere the river *Danubius*, which began about noone, and continued vntill night, without any signe of victorie to either side; the fields lying full of dead bodies, and died with the bloud of the slaine and wounded; and the darknes of the night parted the armies, and made them leaue fighting: but the Emperour spent the whole night in dressing the wounded, giuing them meate, and in encouraging the rest; and so soone as it was day, setting his troupes in order, he tooke the field, where they againe began the fight, with as great furie as the day before: But the Hungarians began to giue ground, and within short space were ouerthrowne, and the Imperialists made an exceeding great slaughter of them, and obtained one of the most famous victories that hath bin in the world: wherewith the Hungarians were so much daunted, that they neuer durst after that time attempt to make wars in *Germany*. There died that day of the Emperours side some principal men, among which was his sonne in law *CONRADE* Duke of *Franconia*, of whom all authors write, that he was the best and most valiant captaine of his time. Of the Hungarians died in a manner all the Nobilitie, and three Dukes or Reguli, were taken prisoners, which the Emperour commaunded to be hanged, for an example and punishment of the rebellion and pride of that nation. This battaile was fought in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, after which he spent many daies in processions, and in shewing himselfe thankfull to God for so noble a victorie: which being ended, he sent the greatest part of his armie against the *Slauons*, and other nations which warred against him; all which he tamed and subdued with the like felicitie, and then went to visit sundrie townes and cities of his empire, to the great ioy of his people. Great matters in these times passed in *France*, &c in *Spain*, and in other parts of the world, which I haue not time to relate. In *Italy* *BERENGARIUS* and his sonne *ALBERT*, seeing the Emperour busied in those dangerous warres, forgetting the good which they had receiued from him, committed many tyrannies and insolencies, as well against the Church of *Rome*, as against the people of the countrie: and therein also were other tyrants in diuers other parts. At this time died Pope *AGAPETVS*, who had held that seate almost tenne yeeres, and by meanes of his death (by sinister meanes more by force and fauour, then by any iust forme of election) *OCTAVIANVS*, a Roman borne, sonne of a man of great

Otho his victorie.

great power and authoritie in *Rome*, was chosen Pope, and called *IOHN* the twelfth, a most vicious wicked man, and giuen to all kinde of dissolusion and ribauldrie; and aboute all, extreme cruell and couetous.

At this time died also in *Constantinople* *ROMANVS* the Greeke Emperour, who was a Prince farre vnworthie therof; for he was both wicked and of a base mind, and suffered his seruants to rule him. In his time were two great warres in the East empire; one against the Mahometists Infidels, which had taken the Ile of *Candia*; and the other in *Asia*, against the Turkes and Persians: In the first, *NICEPHORVS* (nephew of that *NICEPHORVS* which in the time of *BASILVS* was so excellent a captaine) was General, and won great victories: In the other, *LEO* was General, cousin germane to this *NICEPHORVS*; both which had happie successe: In the rest of his gouernment he was a wicked and cruell Emperour; for although that he had an excellent sharpe wit and vnderstanding, yet hee abused the same. *ROMANVS* being dead, notwithstanding that he left two sonnes, *BASILVS* and *CONSTANTINE*, and one daughter called *THEODORA*; yet by reason of their young yeeres, and the hatred borne to their father, they then obtained not the empire; but yet afterwards in processe of time they gat it: and the said captaine *NICEPHORVS* was chosen Emperour, who in the warres was very fortunate, and both valiant and carefull, but in peace retchlesse and couetous.

Returning now to our Emperour *O T H O*, I say, that it was aboute fixe yeeres after his first comming into *Italy*, in which time hauing ended the wars with his sonne; with the Hungarians and with the *Slauonians*, as we haue declared; when as besides other times, that he had been prayed and entreated, Ambassadors came vnto him from *Rome*, and from sundrie cities of *Italy*; entreating him to come thither, and to free them from the force and tyrannie done them by *BERENGARIUS*, and the cruell tyrannous Pope *IOHN*, who also sent Ambassadors to him: whereto *O T H O* consenting, resolved vpon his iourney into *Italy* with strong hand; and staying to set some things in *Germany* in order, he sent his now louing and obedient sonne *LVITOLPHVS* before him with the greatest part of his forces against *BERENGARIUS*; who after some victories obtained against him, and the taking of many cities, died of an infirmite: whereupon his father hastened his iourney; but first he made his then eldest sonne called *O T H O* of the age of seuen yeeres, whom he had by his second wife, *CÆSAR* and his successor. And being come into *Italy*, neither *BERENGARIUS* nor his sonne *ALBERT* durst to keepe the field, but fled to their holds and castles; and *ALBERT* gat into the Ile of *Corfica*, and *BERENGARIUS* put himselfe into a most strong castle in Mount *Leon*: And so *O T H O*, without shedding any drop of bloud, tooke all *Lombardy*, and marched towards *Rome*, where Pope *IOHN* attended his comming, and had by all meanes possible fought his friendship; his conscience accusing him of his vices. In matters which passed at *O T H O* his second comming into *Italy*, there is some difference betweene the Historiographers which write the same: but I will follow that rule which the most of them haue set downe, and that which by many coniectures seemeth to be most true. Being come to *Rome* (where of long time they had not seene any Emperour) he was receiued with great solemnitie and incredible pompe, by Pope *IOHN* and the Romanes; and with the like was by him crowned, hauing first sworne those things contained in the Chapter *Tibi Domine* in the thirteenth Distinction. The Emperour being enformed in what manner Pope *IOHN* had attained to the Papacie, and of his loose kind of life; after that he had remained there certaine daies with him, in friendly sort he secretly

The commendation of Pope Othoianus, called Iohn the twelfth. The death of Romanus the Greeke Emperour.

The death of Luitolphus.

The Emperour Otho crowned by Pope Iohn the twelfth.

admonished him to amend his dissolute behaviour, and the manner of his government in the Church; and seeing that his secret warning prevailed not, hee spake to him in the Consistorie before his Cardinals, with greater authoritie and severity, then the other would that hee should haue done: which being ended, in hope that the Pope would haue reformed himselfe, he departed from *Rome*, to seeke *Berengarius*; and besieging him in a citie which hee had fortified, hee daily assailed it with great force and resolution: in the meane time that he busied himselfe herein, Pope *Iohn*, with some of his confederates (shewing himselfe an enemy to the Emperour) called *Albert* the sonne of *Berengarius* into *Italy*, and made an insurrection against him: whereupon, *Otho* leauing to besiege *Berengarius*, returned towards *Rome*, wherein the Pope had vsed great cruelty to those which held for the Emperour; among which (it is said) that he cut off the noses, and put out the eyes of some of the Cardinals and citizens: but knowing with what furie the Emperour came, he durst not stay his comming, but fled, and so lurked in sundrie parts: and *Otho* being come, the greatest part of the Cardinals, clergie, and people of *Rome* informed him of the Popes indignitie, and the insufficiencie of his election; desiring him to place a new: whereto he answered, that if their informations were true, they had authoritie of themselves to chuse whom they listed: And they holding *Iohns* election to be of no effect, made choise of another, whose name was *Leo*, and the eighth of that name, who was presently receiued for Pope, the Emperour holding him for such: And leauing him seated in his throne, *Otho* went from *Rome*, returning to his enterprise against *Berengarius*, and his sonne *Albert*; wherein he vsed such diligence, and had so good hap, that *Berengarius* despairing to be able to defend himselfe, yeelded to his mercie; and his sonne *Albert*, with his wife and children, were taken prisoners: And the Emperour *Otho* (vsing his accustomed clemencie and magnanimitie) would not put them to death, but contented himselfe to banish them: *Berengarius* he sent prisoner, and banished into a strong Castle in *Saxony*; and his sonne *Albert* to *Constantinople*, and so ended the tyrannie of the *Berengarii* in *Italy*. Well I know, that *Blondus* and other authors recount this their imprisonment to haue been so soone as *Otho* came into *Italy*: but I follow the Abbot *Wespergensis*, and the most part of all the other Historiographers.

Within few daies after that *Otho* was departed from *Rome*, wherein hee had left *Leo* the eighth for Pope, the *Romanes* people, by the perswasion of Pope *Iohn*, and of his allies and kindred (with the like lightnes as they vsually are moued) altered their minds, and determined to cast out *Leo*, and to receiue *Iohn*; and so *Iohn* was restored, and *Leo* driuen to flie, and to complaine to the Emperour at *Spoleto*. When the Emperour was aduertised hereof, making an end of such busines as he then had in hand, he concluded to come within few daies with his forces to *Rome*, against his enemy Pope *Iohn*, who died therein before his coming: some writers say, that a *Roman* taking him with his wife, slew him, when he had continued Pope nine yeeres. The *Romanes* abhorring Pope *Leo*, which was now with the Emperour, chose another called *Benedict* the fifth; and he and they presently sent their Ambassadors to the Emperour, to entreate him to be pleased with his election: wherewith the Emperour was worse offended then before, and gaue them a very sharpe answer: But the *Romanes* (which by this time loathed the *Germanes*, murmuring against the Emperour) persued in their opinion of holding *Benedict* for Pope: for this cause, *Otho* remoued with

*Berengarius* condemned to perpetuall imprisonment, and his sonne *Albert* to be exiled, by the Emperour *Otho* the second.

with his armie, and came to *Rome*, where Pope *Benedict* and the *Romanes* had made prouision of men and munition for their defence; and he first spoyling the territorie thereof, besieged the citie, and brought it to such distresse, that they write wonders of the famine and want which the besieged endured; which was such, that being vnable to endure the extremitie thereof, they gaue vp the citie to *Otho*; who being now Lord of that citie, deposed *Benedict*, whom he held for no Pope; and therefore reestablished *Leo*, whom hee brought with him: which being done, he staid some daies in *Rome*, setting all things in such order as was most expedient, and carrying *Benedict* with him, whom they had chosen in contempt of him, together with the sonnes of many the most principall men in *Rome* for his better securitie; he departed thence, and came into *Lombardy*; wherein, placing gouernours and garrisons in all the cities which appertained to the empire, he returned into *Germany*; where he was so lemnely receiued by all the princes and estates thereof: And within few daies *Benedict* (whom the Emperour brought with him) died of sorrow and grieffe, fixe moneths after his election; so that Pope *Leo* remained sole Pope without any competencie: but his prosperitie continued but a little while, for within little more then one yeere after that hee came to be Pope, he died also; and through his death they chose Pope *Iohn* the fourteenth of that name, but hee was not receiued; for the President of *Rome*, who then was called *Peter*, rose against him, and with the fauour and assistance of the *Decarconi*, which were Rulers for one yeere; and of the two Consuls of the city (this was the manner of their gouernment at that time) & a certaine prince which was Earle of *Campania*, whose name was *Gofredus*, rising against the Pope, they became so mightie, that they apprehended him, and committed him to the Castle *S. Angelo*; and afterwards, being masters of the citie, they released him thence; so as he liued exiled eleuen moneths: which being passed, with the aide of *Iohn*, Prince or Duke of *Capua*, he was restored to his estate, and the afore said *Gofredus* was put to death: this was in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred, sixtie and seuen. *Otho* hauing reigned Emperour thirtie and odde yeeres; and being in *Germany* aduertised of what passed in *Rome*, and much grieved therewith, he determined presently to take his way towards *Italy*, to punish so great a contempt, and to supplant other tyrannies which were therein; and putting the same in execution, he came thither with great forces of foote and horse, and brought with him his eldest sonne and successor; and comming to *Rome*, inflicted notable punishment vpon this Prefect *Peter*, and the rest of the most principall offenders. This being ended, he sent his sonne *Otho* with part of his armie against the *Moors*, which possessed many townes in *Pulia*; and this *Otho* draue them thence by force of armes, and was then contracted by his Ambassadors to *Theophania* daughter to *Nicephorus*, at that time Emperour of *Constantinople*: And for as much as her father would not send her vnto him, he determined to make a conquest of those lands which were subiect to that empire in *Italy*, and did so: for which cause (as some authors write) the *Greekes* rebelled against *Nicephorus*, and depriuing him of his empire slew him, taking *Iohn* for Emperour, whose sister or cosine germane *Otho* afterwards married. Others say that the cause of this warre was, for that the *Greekes* which dwelt in *Pulia*, held peace and friendship with the Infidels which dwelt amongst them, and did assist them. But whatsoeuer was the occasion, *Otho* and his sonne bereaued them of the most and best lands which they held in *Italy*: wherein *Pandulfus* Duke of *Capua* did him especial seruice. At which being brought to a wished

*Rome* besieged and taken by the Emperour *Otho*.

*Pope Iohn* prisoner in the castle *S. Angelo*

Anno Dom. 961.

*Otho* his second comming into *Italy*.

The death of the Greek Emperour *Nicephorus*.

ed end, Pope I O H N with the consent and good will of O T H O, crowned and made his sonne O T H O his companion in the empire, with great feasting and solemnitie; and so very ioyfull and victorious, both the father and the sonne returned into *Germany*, leauing the Pope in peace absolute Lord of *Rome*; and so was *Italy* maintained seuen yeeres in peace without any tyrannie. The Emperours being come into *Germany*, were with great ioy receiued; and to them came Ambassadors of amitie and friendship from all the Princes christian. The rest of his life, which was not long, he spent in doing iustice, in building of Churches and Monasteries, and in such like exercises: In which, in the fixe and thirtieth yeere of his raigne in *Germany*, and the thirteenth yeere after his coronation in *Rome*, it pleased God to take him out of this world, in the moneth of May, in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred seuentie and foure.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Otho.  
Anno Dom.  
974.

A little before the death of O T H O, N I C E P H O R V S Emperour of *Constantinople* was depofed and flaine, who had reigned fixe or seuen yeeres, and had obtained great victories against the Infidels; but through his euill gouernment in time of peace, they rebelled and slew him: And an excellent Captaine, whose name was Z I M I C H S, was chosen Emperour; who, the better to confirme himselfe in the empire, chose for his companions the two sonnes of R O M A N V S, which was Emperour before N I C E P H O R V S, whose names were B A S I L I V S, and C O N S T A N T I N E; and married himselfe to a sister of theirs called T H E O D O R A: This proued an excellent and valorous Emperour, and subdued the Russians, and others Northerly nations, together with P H O C A S A tyrant, which rebelled against him; of whose end you shall heare more hereafter.

THE



# THE LIFE OF OTHO, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND FOUREScore AND EIGHT ROMANE EMPEROR.

And of I O H N, B A S I L I V S and C O N S T A N T I N E, Emperours of *Constantinople*.



**O** T H O the sonne of O T H O (and therefore called the second, yet in truth hee were the third) so soone as his father was dead, aswell for his fathers worthines, as for that in his life time he was elect, and crowned in *Rome* by the Pope, as we haue recounted, was without any contradiction receiued and obeyed for Emperour. This O T H O was a man of a great spirit, and very valiant, and so shewed himselfe in all his actions; although in the latter end of his raigne he was unfortunate, as you shall vnderstand. He beginning to rule the empire, all the Princes christian sent Ambassadors vnto him, to condole the death of his father, and to congratulate his succession, and the Princes of *Germany* came to do him homage; onely H E N R Y Duke of *Bauerie* (who was his cosine germane, sonne of the other H E N R Y, brother to his father O T H O, of whom wee haue made some mention, and whom his father made Duke of *Bauaria*; being a man of great power, and therewith very proud) refused to yeeld obedience to the new Emperour: but O T H O raised an armie, and went against him, and compelled him to submit himselfe, and to yeeld his obedience; this befell in the first yeere of his raigne: from thence

This Otho was according to the order of the Romane Emperours the second, but the third Romane Emperour of that name.

thence he marched against some townes in *Slauonia*, which warred against him. In the meane time, in the prouince of *Lorraine* were some insurrections, procured by *LOTHARIVS* King of *France*: vpon the newes whereof, *O T H O* returned into *Germanie*, but the French King had raised such forces, and was so suddenly entred *Lorraine*, that he made himselfe Lord thereof; pretending, that that prouince did appertaine to the crowne of *France*; and not content to haue subdued all that countrie, within few daies after he marched forwards, spoiling and wasting the land, euen to *Aken*, wherein *O T H O* then was with small forces, nothing mistrusting that the King of *France* would haue proceeded so farre in that warre, where hee was likely to haue been taken, and was driuen to depart thence in more then haste: but the French King retyring with great pray and spoiles, the Emperour much displeased with his doings raised a very mightie armie, and the next yeere following, with great courage, and equall power, entered the kingdome of *France*, in such manner that the French King neither durst, or was able to fight with him; but retired, and fortified himselfe in the citie of *Paris*; whither *O T H O* came (the King being therein) and spoiled the countrie, in reuenge of the harmes receiued: and in comming within sight of the Citie, he lost some of his people in a skirmish against the French; and seeing that the King sallied not to giue him battaile, and that he could not besiege him with any aduantage; he resolved for that winter to returne into his countrie; and in his retreat, the King of *France* sent the Duke of *Burgundy*, and other princes to charge him in the rear guard (as write *GAGVIN*, and other French Historians) and at the passage ouer a riuer, which was growne so high by reason of the raine, that as it could not be waded, he receiued great harme by his enemies, and they slew great part of his armie; which the Germanes doe not so brauely depaint; (yet they acknowledge to haue lost some of their people at that passage) and the Emperour being returned, purposed to haue prosecuted that warre; but it happened otherwise, for he gaue care to a treatie of peace, betweene him and the French King, moued by certaine prelates; which was concluded, as we wil shew you; whereof the warres in *Italy*, made by the Greeke Emperour, were the chiefe occasion; which passed in this manner.

*JOHN ZIMICES* (as is before recited) hauing obtained the Empire of *Constantinople* by the death of *NICEPHORVS*, and taken for his companions therein, the two sonnes of the Emperour *ROMANVS*, whose names were *BASILVS* and *CONSTANTINE*; and hauing obtained many victories, and gouerned the Empire very well, was poisoned in *Constantinople*, when he had reigned fixe yeeres and a halfe, and *BASILVS*, and his brother *CONSTANTINE*, which were his brothers in law, remained Emperours; but *BASILVS* bare the chiefe stway in the gouernment, being now twentie yeeres old; who in processe of time wannne many great victories, as well against tyrants which rebelled, as other people, and reigned fiftie and odde yeeres; in which time many reigned in *Germany*, the storie whereof I am to recount, although I euer make some mention of *Constantinople*, as I haue done hitherto. In the beginning of the raigne of *BASILVS*, and of his brother *CONSTANTINE*, they being both young, and of great power, and seeing that *O T H O* was busied in the warres of *France*, and forrowing that he and his father had taken the lands belonging to the Greeke Empire in *Pulia* and in *Calabria*, determined to recouer the same; accounting the time fit thereto, considering that *O T H O* was pestred with these troubles, and that the Popes were of small power, by reason of the great tyrants which were

The Emperour of Constantinople poisoned. Basilus and his brother Constantine succeeded him in the Greeke Empire.

in *Rome*, and in a manner through all *Italy*, through the Emperours absence. The two brothers hauing placed good captaines and garrisons in the prouinces of *Asia*, and of *Gracia*, tooke their passage into *Italie*, and brought in their armie many Infidels, as well such as were newly entertained, as such as in former time had warred in that countrie, and began to take Cities and Castles, and in short space tooke all the rest of *Pulia*, and *Calabria*, and *Rome* it selfe and all the countrie there about it stode in great feare of them. *O T H O* hauing intelligence hereof (at what time as he was in parley of peace with *France*) and grieuing much that the Greekes should recouer what he had conquered, at the time of his fathers coronation in *Rome*, with a resolution to recouer and to defend the same, he concluded a peace with the French, wherein was graunted to him the supreme iurisdiction, and all the prouince of *Lotharingia*, otherwise called *Austrasia*, which afterwards was deuided into sundrie estates, as *Brabant*, *Gelders*, *Clene*, *Gulicke*, and that which now is called *Lorraine*; whereof he gaue the dominion to the French Kings brother, whose name was *CHARLES*, with the title of Duke, the more to binde the King of *France* to obserue the peace: And hauing taken such order herein, and in the rest of *Germanie*, as was expedient; he went with great power into *Italy*, where his comming was long expected; and taking his way towards *Rome*, was therein againe crowned by the Pope, notwithstanding that he was so in the time of his father; and he required the Cities of *Italy*, that at a certaine time and place appointed, they should send him their men of warre, which was performed accordingly: and staying but a very little while in *Rome*, he drew all his armie to one head; and so in order went to seeke his enemies, which refused not the battaile; and both parties desiring the same, it was fought, wherein *O T H O* had very ill successe; for hauing a greater number, and better men, then were the Greekes, the Romanes, the Beneuentanes, and others which had the auantguards, at the first encounter charged so cowardly, that without making any resistance, they abandoned the field in such confusion, that they disordered the other Battallions and Squadrons of the Germanes; so as the Greekes encouraged hereby, followed the chace of them which fled, in such manner that *O T H O*'s people being vnable to doe as they would, and ought to haue done, were broken and ouerthrowne, and a very great number of them slaine. The Emperour seeing no hope of better refuge, fled from the battaile; and comming to the Sea side (which was not farre from thence) put himselfe into a small boate, which he found there by chance, thinking so to escape, but hee was taken vnkowne by a pirate, and carried into *Sicilia*, where he was discouered by a Merchant of *Slauonia*, who vpon promises of rewarde made by the Emperour, bewrayed him not, but agreed for his ransome. This is reported in sundrie manners; but in the end he was soone deliuered by the Merchants meanes, they nothing knowing that he was an Emperour; and so he returned into *Italy*, and came to *Rome*, whereof the Greekes might haue been masters, if they had knowne how to haue followed their aduantage; for their enemies being ouerthrowne, they had not found therein any resistance: but God hauing otherwise ordained, they left the warre, contenting themselves with the victorie. *O T H O* being come to *Rome*, gathered together the remainder of his armie, and adding thereto new supplies; the first enterprize that he attempted, was to goe to *Beneuent*, where he put the greatest part of the inhabitants to the sword, and sacked the Citie, because they fled from the battaile. It is written of him, that he inflicted cruell punishment in *Rome* for the same cause; so as he was therefore called bloudie: the

The Emperour made peace with France.

Otho taken by a Scavener.

Ecc

cause

cause whereof, was the great grife and sorrow which he conceiued for the losse of the battaile, and his flight; considering that through the fault and cowardize of his friends it had happened; so as they write of him, that euer after so long as he liued, his countenance was euer sad and penfue, and that he often gaue great grones and sighes; and finally in his apparell, and in all other things shewed continuall sorrow and extreme heauines; and all his speeches and discourfes were, kow he might be reuenged, and recouer this losse. After this, liuing in this care and sorrow in the Citie of *Rome*, he was taken with a mortall infirmitie, which (as some say) came through sorrow (but not without suspition of poisoning) which encreased so fore that he died thereof, hauing raigned tenne yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred fourescore and foure. He left behinde him when he died, one sonne called O T H O (as was himselfe) of the age of twelue yeeres, who was afterwards Emperour, and another called H V G H, which was Duke of *Saxony*, and one daughter called A L A S I A, which afterwards was married to a prince of *Saxony*, whose name was A L R A N E or A L E D R A N E, and was Marquesse of *Monferrato*, in whom that house and state had beginning. All these he had by his first wife, whose name was T H E O P H A N I A, who had been late wife of I O H N Emperour of *Constantinople*. He had also another daughter called V I L H V I D A, by his second wife, which was the Marquesse of *Austrich* his daughter, which was married to T H E O D O R I C V S, the first Earle of *Holland*; and O T H O being dead, the Greekes for that time continued Lords of *Pulia* and *Calabria*.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Otho the third.  
Anno dom.  
984.

## THE LIFE OF OTHO THE FOURTH OF THAT NAME, AND FOURESORE AND NINE ROMANE EMPEROVR.

And of BASILIVS and CONSTANTINE, Em-  
perors of *Constantinople*.



THE ARGVMENT.

After long disputations and contentions about the election of the Emperour, betweene the Romanes and the princes of *Germanie*; in the end Otho the sonne of the deceased Emperour, was chosen,

chosen, being a childe not fully twelue yeeres old; and so one *Crescencius* in the beginning of his raigne rebelled against him in *Rome*; which aspired to the Empire, and made himselfe a tyrant ouer many countries, and persecuted the Pope, drining him to flie, but finally for feare of the Emperour, which came into Italy to protect the Pope, he made his peace with him, and became his subiect: the Emperour being departed, *Crescencius* againe took armes and made a new Pope, and persecuting the Pope made by the Emperour, he constrained him to flie to the Emperour, who conducting him into Italy, took *Rome*, and slew *Crescencius*; and the other Pope died miserably. In this time, an order and forme was set downe for the chusing of the Emperour, and the honor being given to the *Germanes*, the *Romanes* were therewith much displeased, and conspiring against the Emperour, put him so to his sisters, that he was driuen to flie disguised; but in the end, unable to eschew treason, he died of poison, when he had raigned eightene yeeres.



In such manner as I haue declared, the Emperour called O T H O the third deceased (yet in truth hee was the fourth) and in the Citie of *Rome* was great contention and controuerfie about the election of a new Emperour, betweene the princes of *Germanie* which were there, and came with him; for some would haue his sonne to succcede him, whose name was O T H O, as was his, being then but a childe of eleuen and halfe yeeres old. Others were of opinion (by reason of the childes nonage) to make H E N R Y Duke of *Bauaria* Emperour, who was his fathers cosine germane, the first O T H O his brothers sonne; who being a mightie man and there present, sought to haue gotten his young cosine into his power, to the end that he should not haue been chosen; and did so, and tooke vpon him the title of Emperour: and the *Romane* and *Italian* princes (desiring to be exempt from the gouernment of the *Germanes* which they naturally hated) sought by all meanes that an *Italian* might haue been chosen; and they named one which was a very mightie *Romane*, called C R E S C E N C I V S N Y M E T A N V S, who at that time was gouernor, & Confull in *Rome*, for (as it is said) they had established a new manner of gouernment, imitating the auncient custome; for at this time they had a certaine kinde of Consulate. The princes of *Germanie* standing in feare of the *Romane* and *Italian* people (in a manner) by common consent, mauger H E N R Y Duke of *Bauaria* (which thought to haue been Emperour) determined to chuse O T H O, sonne of the last O T H O; for although that he were but young and scarcely twelue yeeres olde, yet he gaue great signe and hope of a future excellent prince; and taking him out of the power of the said H E N R Y of *Bauiere*, they departed with him from *Rome* towards *Germanie*, and came with him to the Citie of *Aken*, where he was crowned with great solemnitie, and obeyed and held for Emperour; and so he was in *Milan*, and in other parts of the Empire. But in *Rome* C R E S C E N C I V S N Y M E T A N V S, who (as we said) sought to haue been Emperour, possessed himselfe of the citie, and of the territorie thereof: and forasmuch as Pope I O H N tooke part with O T H O, he made him to be apprehended in the third moneth of his papacie, and committed him prisoner to the Castle Saint Angelo, wherein within fve monethes after he died of sorrow. Afterwards I O H N the sixteenth came to be Pope, who was a couetous wicked man, and consented to the tyrannie of C R E S C E N C I V S afore named, and rebelled with *Rome* against the Emperour O T H O (whereof the Emperours nonage gaue the chiefe occasion, and for the same cause some princes of *Germanie* likewise rebelled against him) but within short space, hauing attained to the age of fourteene yeeres, he was of

Observing the  
ordinarie  
course, this O-  
tho was the  
fourth of that  
name, although  
the third of the  
Germane Em-  
perors.

*Crescencius*  
apprehended  
Pope Iohn the  
sixt, and com-  
mitted him pri-  
soner to the  
Castle Saint  
Angelo, where  
he died of sor-  
row.

such courage and discretion, as hee might well be accounted for a perfect staied man: and with the aide of those which continued his loyall subiects he subdued and ouercame (although long first) al such as rebelled against him, with such happines and good successe, that he was held for the wonder of the world, seeing in him so great valour and so ripe a wit in so greene yeeres. What rebellions these were, and in what manner he had so great good fortune, none of the Historiographers doe write particularly, that I could euer see; so briefly doe they passe ouer this place: wherefore I can relate no more then what I finde written; onely this they affirme, that for the space of tenne yeeres, he was busied in pacifying and ordering the state of *Germany*: in which time CRESCENTIVS tyrannized *Rome*, which passed in this manner. Pope IOHN the sixteenth, who (as I said) succeeded IOHN the fifteenth (as it pleased God) liued Pope but seuen moneths, all which he spent vilely; and hee being dead, a learned man was chosen, whose name was IOHN also, which was IOHN the seuenteenth, but much vnlike his predecessor, for he was an honest man, and for being so, was soone at variance with the tyrant CRESCENTIVS; who was of such power, that Pope IOHN was driuen to leaue *Rome*, and to giue place to his tyrannie: and he oftentimes sent to the Emperour OTHO for succours, and to come and reforme the state of *Rome* and of *Italy*: But the Emperour could not then performe his request, by reason of his other waighie affaires; yet afterwards he did it, as you shall heare. In the meane time, CRESCENTIVS fearing the Emperours comming, acknowledging his error, practised with Pope IOHN to returne, promising him to be obeyed and respected: and hee so effectually handled the matter, that a peace was concluded betweene them; and the Pope came, and was receiued with great solemnitie. But this notwithstanding the Emperour held on his way, and came into *Italy* with great power; which was in the eleuenth yeere of his raigne, and was receiued euery where as he passed with great ioy and feasting: and so hee came to *Rome*, where the Pope and CRESCENTIVS (after some treaties and ambassades which passed) made great preparation to receiue him; and the Emperour being come neere to the citie, the Pope accompanied with all his Cardinals and clergie, and with all the *Romane* Nobilitie and gentlemen, went forth into the fields to entertaine him; and so in peace and good friendship the Emperour staid some daies in *Rome*; and to gratifie the Pope and the *Romanes*, he went with his armie to *Capua*, and to *Beneuent*, which disobeyed, and were at warres amongst themselves, which he compelled to liue in peace, to the contentment of the *Romanes*. About this time died Pope IOHN; and the Emperour returning to *Rome*, procured an vnkle of his of the house of *Saxony*, whose name was BRVNVS, to be made Pope, and he was called GREGORIE the fifth; who being seated in his papall dignitie, annointed and crowned the Emperour, with such solemnitie and pompe, as his father and grandfather had been before him. Which being ended, and OTHO imagining that the estate of *Italy* stood now in good forme and order (considering that his vnkle remained highest Bishop) he tooke his way towards *Germany*, and by the way visited *Lombardy*, and other parts subiect to the empire.

In the meane time, whilest that OTHO was busied about the affaires of *Italy*, the successors of CHARLES the Great were deposed from the crowne of *France*, which although that it concerne not our historie, yet for as much as it is a matter so notable, I thinke it worthie to be reduced to memorie: And thus it was. King LOTHARY being dead (who as wee said made warre against OTHO the second) his sonne LEVVS succeeding him, within one yeere died also: And this LEVVS being

The coming  
of the Emperour  
Otho into Italy.

being dead, HUGH called CAPVTIVS, Earle and gouernor of *Paris*, being a man of great power and authoritie in that kingdom; tyrannically tooke vpon him the title of king, and made himselfe Lord of *France*; hauing no right thereto, but the right of warre: and first he tooke CHARLES (brother of LOTHARYS) prisoner by treason (who by the death of his nephew LEVVS was called king) and made him to die in prison, and (ouercomming and subduing all such as made resistance) gat the crowne and kingdom; which hath continued in his successors vntill this day.

OTHO being returned into *Italy*, the *Romanes* which had euer murmured at the election of Pope GREGORIE, and loathed the rule and dominion of the *Germanes*, chose the tyrant CRESCENTIVS for Consul; by whose aide and counsell they againe rebelled against the Pope, in such sort that he was driuen to flee *Rome*, and earnestly to entreate the Emperour to relieue him: which he did, in hope that he would haue come to his rescue; or that CRESCENTIVS and the *Romanes* fearing the Emperours comming, would haue recalled him, and haue made peace with him, as they had done with his predecessor. But it fell out cleane contrarie: for CRESCENTIVS alleaging that Pope GREGORIES election was violent (the Emperour forcing the same) caused the Bishop of *Placentia* to be chosen and made Pope, who was called IOHN the eighteenth (yet fundrie authors account him not for Pope.) Wherefore Pope GREGORIE leauing *Italy*, went into *Germany* to the Emperour; who being highly displeased, leuied an Armie and came into *Italy*, and so directly to *Rome*, wherein CRESCENTIVS had fortified himselfe, and provided a garrison to defend the same, and the Emperour besieged the citie; which put the *Romanes* in such feare, that they dared not to stand to their defence, but opening the gates, desired the Emperour to pardon them; and the two tyrants, CRESCENTIVS and Pope IOHN, withdrew themselves into the castle *S. Angelo*, which CRESCENTIVS had so well fortified, that it was held for impregnable: whereupon OTHO came to a parley with him, to the end that hee should haue yeilded, and CRESCENTIVS presuming that his life should haue been saued (whereof he was put in some hope) deliuered vp the castle; and he and the pope comming towards the Emperour, were apprehended vpon the way; and CRESCENTIVS was presently put to death by his commandement, as a violater of his faith, and one that had been twice a traitor. Others write that he made him to be hanged, and Pope IOHNS eyes to be put out, who afterwards died miserably: such are the rewards which the world bestoweth vpon those which to follow the same forget God, their owne honor and honestie. These tyrants being suppressed, the Emperour restored pope GREGORIE to his seate and dignitie, and set the best order in all matters in *Rome*, that that time would permit.

All this which I haue recited being ended, Pope GREGORY acknowledging the succours which the Church of *Rome* had receiued from the Emperour, and from the princes of *Germany* (as a man affected to his native countrey, and to the *Germane* nation; by the will and consent of the Emperour, and to preuent and eschue the discord which did arise, or might happen, about the chusing of the Emperour) made a law and Canon, which hath lasted about fixe hundred yeeres, euen vntill this day, which was, that the election of the Emperour, so long as the empire should be voide, should appertaine to fixe princes onely, which we will presently nominate: three, whereof were Prelates, and the other three, secular Princes, viz. a Duke, a Marquesse, and an Earle, and if by chaunce there should be equality of voyces betweene these fixe, the king of *Bohemia* (which then was no

High Capit  
enjoyed the  
kingdome of  
France.

Crecentius put  
to death.

Pope John the  
eighteenth had  
his eyes put out.

Pope Gregorie  
restored to his  
seate.

The originall  
of the order of  
the chusing of  
the Emperours,  
ordained by  
Pope Gregorie  
the first.

king) should also haue his voyce, and the party whereto he inclined, should make the choise, and their election should stand: the Prelates are, the Archbishop of *Mentz*, the Archbishop of *Colein*, and the Archbishop of *Trenier*: the Princes are the County Palantine of *Rhine*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh*. And he further ordained, that no man should be chosen Emperour, except he were a Germane borne; and that being chosen by the princes electors afore said, he should be called king of the Romanes, and not Emperour Augustus, vntill that hee were confirmed and crowned by the Pope, as it is obserued vntill this day. This decree and law (as the most authors write) was made in the yeere, one thousand and two: which cannot be so, for all agree, that Pope GREGORIE the fifth which made the same, died in the yeere, nine hundred ninetie and seuen: but this contrarietie is easely salued, for the Emperour OTHO died in the yeere, one thousand and two, or three, and so in that yeere, or the next, that law was put in execution, notwithstanding that it was made some time before, and therefore they say that it was made that yeere: And thus are they excused, which attribute this order and forme of election to pope SILVESTER, which succeeded pope GREGORIE, who indeed was the man which made the same. And he further ordained, that the election should be made in the citie of *Franckford*, and that hee which was chosen, should come to the citie of *Aken* to be crowned king of the Romanes. And the Emperour OTHO ordained certaine preheminences and offices, which each of these Electors should hold in the Emperours house and court; as one to beare his Sword, and another to be his Cupbearer, with such like, which concerne not our historie. This being ended and concluded in this manner, some authors write, that the Emperor went into *Germany*, to set an order in the affaires of the empire, where this election before recited was approoued and ratified: others make no mention of this his going, but rather giue to vnderstand, that hee spent the rest of his time in *Rome*. Howsoeuer it was, after the death of pope GREGORIE (which was when he had been pope two yeeres and halfe) in his place was chosen one GILBERT, a more excellent man for wit and learning, then any in his time was to be found: but he abused and ill employed the same, for he was a great Necromancer and enchaunter, and gaue himselfe to bargaining with the diuell, and to other vnlawfull Artes: he was a Frenchman borne, and was called SILVESTER, and had been the Emperours Schoole-master, whom most authors affirme, to haue learned Magicke in the citie of *Senill* in *Spaine*, which notwithstanding that it was in the power of Infidels, yet the Artes and Philosophie did flourish therein. This pope held the chaire foure yeeres, in which time the Emperour came againe to *Rome* (or had not gone forth of it) and very effectually applied himselfe to the good gouernment of the empire, punishing and reforming the abuses committed by sundrie, through the small authoritie and worth of the former popes, and the tyrannies and factions which had been in *Rome*: all which was done by the popes consent, as by him which had bin the Emperours Schoole-master, and was placed there by his authoritie. The Emperour (as it is written of him) was a man of great vnderstanding, and of a very good condition: But the Romanes which now were much discontented with the forme established for chusing the Emperour, wherein they had no voyce or authoritie, either to chuse or to be chosen; they being the chiefe seate and head of the empire; and being also extremely grieved, to see that OTHO did so absolutely commaund in *Rome*, and in *Italy*, and made so long abode therein: first they began to murmur thereat, and afterwards secretly to conspire, and to practise his death, and in the end their

Pope Siluester  
a Necromancer.

their enuie encreasing, their audacioufnes and contempt likewise encreated: whereupon, one day when the Emperour suspected no such matter, and the people which he then had with him in the citie being but onely Courteours, the Romanes rose in a great tumult, and putting themselves in armes, slew many of the Germanes, and then went to the palace wherein the Emperour was, and being vnable to enter at their first approach (for that his guard & gentlemen which repaired thither defended the same) they compassed the house, in such sort that the Emperour had been either presently taken, or slaine; but that one HVGON (which was his Lieutenant, and gouerned great part of the Emperours countries in *Italy*, with the title of Marquesse, and was well beloued amongst the Romanes) came to a parley with them, desiring some treatie of peace and agreement: and with him ioyned HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*, to whom they also gaue eare; which restrained the furie and rage of the people: and holding them thus in talke, a meane was found whereby the Emperour (chaunging his habit) gat forth of the citie, without being discouered, and went to the place where his forces lay (and the pope did the like) whither repaired to him all those which fled from the furie: and so for that time he escaped death. But although that he was deliuered from this publike treason, yet hee could not free himselfe from that which was secret: for within short space after, being busie in gathering his forces together (with an intent (as some say) to haue gone into *Germany*, and as others say, against *Rome*) hee was poysoned (as some write) by the wife of CRESCENTIVS the tyrant before named (who hee commaunded to be hanged in *Rome*) with whom, as she was the fairest woman of her time, they say, that the Emperour being in *Rome* had secret conuersation, and that she faiming to be greatly in loue, poysoned him in a paire of gloues, which she sent him excellently perfumed: whereof within three or foure daies after he died, the poyson working slow and leisuely. Other authors belecue not this, but that he was poysoned by others; yet they all agree that he died of poyson, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand and two; when hee had reigned eightene yeeres complete, and liued onely nine and twentie and a halfe, without leauing any sonne to succede him: which some affirme was the cause why he procured pope GREGORIE to ordaine that manner of chusing the Emperour, as I haue already described: And they say moreouer, that he was married with the king of *Arrogans* daughter, whose name was MARY, a woman not so carefull for the preferuation of the honour and honestie of her person, as she ought to haue been. This prince is accounted amongst the good Emperours, for his many vertues, and for that he ruled the empire with iustice and vprightly. Before his death there appeared great signes in the firmament, as Comets, which lasted many daies; and the most notable was, that one day in the morning about nine of the clock, there appeared in the element a great flaming fire like to a burning torch, which continued a great while; and the light being vanished, there appeared in the same place the likenes of a Serpent: The bodie of the Emperor was carried by HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*, and the other great Lords, into *Germany*, and was buried in the citie of *Aken*. A little before his death pope SILVESTER died in *Rome*, whither it seemeth that he was returned, who died through Gods great goodnes (as it is written) very penitent for his sinnes; and in his place was chosen IOHN the nineteenth, who dying within foure moneths after, without doing ought worth the writing, another IOHN succeeded him, which was IOHN the twentieth, of whom we will hereafter make mention.

During the raigne of OTHO; in *Constantinople* reigned BASILVS and CON-

Ecc 4

STANTINE

The Romanes  
made an insur-  
rection against  
the Emperour  
and would haue  
slaine him.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Otho by poyson,  
anno 1002.

The Emperour  
Otho buried in  
Aken.

STANTINE brethren; but (as I said) BASILIVS was the more valorous, and the man by whose counsell and direction, all actions were worthely and happely achieved in the warres: for he enlarged that Empire both in *Asia* and in *Europe*, and obtained many great victories. In the beginning of their raigne (as is before declared) they came into *Italy*, and ouerthrew OTHO the second: after this, their quarrels were with Tirants; the first was with a Captaine called SCLERVS, a very valiant man, and of great power, who was their Lieutenant in *Syria* and in *Phenicia*; and rebelling, made himselfe to be called Emperour: this was a very dangerous warre, but in the end he was ouerthrowne, and escaped by flight to *Babylon*: but afterwards (many things happening in the meane time) he was reduced to their seruice. The second was with PHOCAS, another Captaine of no lesse renowne and valour then SCLERVS, who would also haue been Emperour, and to that effect had leuiued so great an armie, that he doubted not to fight a battaile with BASILIVS, wherein he was slaine, and therewith ended his life and tyranny; and so archieued BASILIVS these two great exploits: after which, ensued the warre which he had begun with SAMVEL, King of the Bulgarians; from whom, the lands of the Empire had receiued much harme by fire and sword, in the time of the warres with the Tirants afore said; of whom BASILIVS was sufficiently reuenged in many battailes, as hereafter shall be touched when time shall serue: the Greeke Emperours also held the greatest part of *Pulia* and *Calabria*; for the said BASILIVS and CONSTANTINE recouered the same, when they ouerthrew OTHO the second in *Italie*; and therein commaunded some, with the titles of Gouvernours and Captaines, and were called *Calisti*, as in auncient time were the Exarchi: yet *Sicilia* was in a manner wholly possessed by the Infidels of *Africa*.

THE

THE LIFE OF HENRIE  
THE SECOND OF THAT NAME;  
AND FOVRESORE AND TENTH  
ROMANE EMPEROR.



## THE ARGVMENT.

**W**HEN being dead, the Germane Princes Electors, according to their authoritie chose and Crowned Henry Duke of Baniere (Cousin Germane of the deceased Emperor Otho) Emperour. This Prince, in the beginning of his raigne, was much troubled; by reason of certaine rebels. He warred against Robert King of France, and leuiued a power against the Duke of Bohemia which rebelled: in both which attempts, he obtained honourable victory. He made the King of Hungarie (who desired his sister in marriage) to be baptized; and went into *Italy*, whereto he had a great desire; and marching with an armie against the Infidels, which held many townes in *Italy*, chiefly in *Pulia*, he subdued them. And returning into Germany, he invited Pope Benedict to come to visit him; and the Pope coming thither, was receiued with exceeding great honour. He lived with his wife in continuall chastitie, and left her as good a mayde as he found her; and so falling sicke of an extreame infirmisie, hauing performed all things appertaining to a good Christian, he departed out of this life; but he first intreated the Princes Electors, to make choyce of a good Emperour.

**I**T cannot be denied, but that the three OTHORS, the Father, the Sonne, and the Nephew, of whom we now left to discourse, were very valorous and worthie Princes; and which repaired the credit and reputation of the Empire, very much rent and decayed; and for such are commended and recorded by the Historiographers. OTHO then dying in *Italy*, (in such maner as I haue declared) after that the Germane Princes and people were returned into their Countrey, with the Emperours dead bodie, and had buried the same, with such solemnitie as thereto appertained: the aforementioned Princes, which were made Princes Electors (which were the Archbishops of *Mentz*, of *Colen*, and of *Trenier*;

the

the Duke of Saxony, the Marquess of Brandenburg, and the Countie Palatine of Rhine) purposing to shew their authoritie, and to chuse an Emperour, met together in the Citie of Franckesford; where knowing and considering the many virtues and deserts of HENRY Duke of Baniere, they chose him for King of the Romanes, and future Emperour AVGVSTVS; and he was annoyed in Aken by the Archbishop of Mentz, which was in a manner by the common consent of them all, excepting HERBERT only Archbishop of Colen, who was of a contrarie faction. This HENRY was cousin Germane to OTHO, whom he succeeded in the Empire, and Nephew of HENRY Duke of Baniere, Brother to OTHO the first (yet second of that name) who by the same OTHO was made Duke of Baniere, as in his life we have specified; and was the second of the Emperours so called; yet the Italian writers say, that he was the first, for they do not reckon the other HENRY, Duke of Saxony, for Emperour, (whose life we have before written, who was Father to OTHO the first) for that he came not into Italy, neither was Crowned therein by the Pope. The election of the new Emperour was commended and approued by all those which desired the good of the Commonwealth, for that he was a good man, yet there were some ambitious, and vnquiet Princes, which rebelling, tooke Armes against him; but he shewing his power and valour, in short space tamed and brought them to his obedience: who they were which thus rebelled against the Emperour HENRY, I could neuer reade, for the writers do not specifie the same. This HENRY being confirmed and assured in his seate, desired to come into Italy, but he could not bring it to passe, vntill the eleuenth yeare of his raigne, by reason of such warres as happened. First, some Authours write, that there presently grew warres betweene him, and ROBERT King of France, who (by the report of all writers) was also an excellent Prince, although the sonne of HUGH CAPET, which vsurped those Kingdomes: for what cause those two good Princes fell at variance I finde not written; but those which make mention thereof, say, that HENRY had the victorie in this warre; and that afterwards they came to an agreement: which being ended, there followed a farre more dangerous warre than the former; which was against BODISLAUS Duke of Bohemia, who being of great power, and ayded by the Slauons, the Polacres, the Morauians and other nations, rebelled against the Empire; and the Emperour with a great power resolutely marching against him, the warres grew to be very cruell; and some battailes were fought, wherein BODISLAUS was ouerthrowne: but not dismayed therewith, persisting in his rebellion; he reinforced his armie, and leuied the greatest power that he was able, and againe gaue the Emperour battaile; which, through the valour and courage of the Captaines and Souldiers of either side, was very doubtfull and terrible, and the Emperour HENRY with much difficultie obtained the victorie, and executed the same in such manner, that BODISLAUS was constrained humbly to craue pardon, and to sue for peace; which was graunted vpon very hard and heauy conditions; and so he was subdued, and made subiect to the Empire, together with his abettors.

Henry the second, chosen Emperour.

Bodislaus Duke of Bohemia, ouerthrowne by the Emperour.

This enterprise being ended, and he free from warre, in the meane time that he made preparation for his going into Italy, (which he greatly desired) he applied himselfe to matters of peace and good gouernment, doing iustice to all men indifferently; and builded and enriched many Churches and Monasteries; and honoured and aduanced Bishops, Monkes, Priests, Friars, and other such like religious people. In those dayes (being importuned, and in a manner compelled by

by the great Princes of the Empire, wholly against his will) he married the daughter of the Countie Palantine of Rhine, called AMIGVND, with whom (vndiscovered and vnknowne to any, vntill his death) he liued most chastly, both of them obseruing voluntary virginittie, without hauing any carnall knowledge the one of the other; which is one of the most notable matters that I euer read, of any King or Emperour. This Emperour had also a sister called GISELA, which (as they write) was the fairest woman of her time; whom STEPHEN, Duke and Lord of Hungary, desiring to haue to wife, could not obtaine his sute, except he would first become a Christian, and be baptized (for although that in that Kingdome were many Christians, yet the Princes were Infidels) whereto STEPHEN yeelded, and became so deuout, that he is accounted amongst the Saints: and the Emperour gaue him his Sister, and with her the title of King, and so he was the first that was called King of Hungary. Some write that this GISELA was Neece, and not Sister to the Emperour. In these accidents before recounted, HENRY spent ten yeeres of his raigne, and then resolu'd to leuie a great Armie, therewith to goe into Italy, wherein had passed some great matters: those which are for our purpose, are, that MOLOCHVS, gouernour of Pulia, and of Calabria, for the Emperour of Constantinople, and with him WILLIAM, and his other Brothers, Sonnes of the Duke of Normandy (a Prince and great Lord in France, who at that time was in Italy with great forces, whither they came about some certaine enterprises) ioyned their forces together, and agreed with the Duke of Salerno, and other princes, to expell the infidels of Africa, out of the Ile of Sicilia, wherein they inhabited: which they did with such force and courage, that within lesse then two yeares they recouered the whole Iland: whereof (according to the agreement) certaine cities and townes were to haue bin giuen to the sayd WILLIAM, and to the other Dukes; but MOLOCHVS satisfying the debt with part of the pray and bootie, which they had taken; of all the rest would part with nothing; but put garrisons into all the townes, to holde the same for his Lord the Emperour: and WILLIAM, and the rest discontent herewith, came into Italy, wherein they took by force of Armes, such cities as were vnder MOLOCHVS his gouernment; and MOLOCHVS comming out of Sicilia to make head against him, they ioyned in battaile, and WILLIAM obtayning the victorie therein, became Lord of the most part of Pulia, and of Calabria; and hee dying, his Brother DROGVS succeeded; and afterward through sundry accidents, his offspring became Lord of those prouinces, and in processe of time, of Sicilia also for a long time after: first with the title of Dukes, and afterwards of Kings of Sicilia, and in the end of both the Sicilia, which are Sicilia and Naples, as in time shalbe remembered in our History. In the time that this WILLIAM and the Normans came into Italy, the Authours differ; but so farre forth as I can coniecture by the true computation of times, it happened at such time, as I recounted. This being passed, Pope SERGIUS died in Rome, and BENEDICT the eyght, of those so called, succeeded him: yet BLONDVS calleth him STEPHEN, which is contrary to the opinion of all the other Historiographers, so that I imagine it was thorough the errors of the Writer; for in that time there was not any Pope of that name. In the time of this BENEDICT, the Emperour HENRY prepared for his comming into Italy, and came very mighty, and by the way visiting Milan, and the other Imperiall cities, he came to Rome, whereby BENEDICT he was most solemnly receaued, and afterwards crowned with exceeding feasting and magnificence: where making his aboad for some few dayes space,

Voluntary chastity obserued by the Emperour and the Emperesse.

The King of Hungary became a Christian, and was baptized.

The Emperour Henrie, his comming into Italy.

space, he marched thence with his army against the infidels, which through the ayde and permission of the Greekes, (to vse their seruice against the Normans) came into *Italy*, and had besieged the citie of *Capua*, with which the Emperour fought, and ouerthrowing them, forced them to abandon the countrey. And after that he went against *Svbagenvs*, Generall for the Emperour *Basilius*, for that he had supported the infidels in *Pulia*; and making cruell warre against him, dispossessed him of many townes; and in the end laying siege (which lasted fower monethes) to the citie of *Treya*, which was but newly erected and ennobled, he tooke it by force of Armes: so as expelling the infidelles, and taming the Greekes, leauing them some part of *Calabria* to inhabite in, and in part fauoring the Normans, as those which had shewed themselves his obedient and dutifull seruants, he left to them *Pulia*, whereof they were already possessed, and returning to *Rome*, stayed there certaine daies, and thence went into *Germany*, with great honor, and by the way, visiting *Milan* and othertownes, was in *Germany* receiued with great ioy and solemnitie; and so his dominions being in peace, he spent his time in ministring iustice, and in well gouerning his Empire. As the Emperour *Henry* busied himselfe in those actions before specified, and had raigned twentie and two yeeres, some set two yeeres lesse, yet *Platina* and *Blondvs* say, that he raigned but onely eight yeeres, wherein they are manifestly deceived: but I thinke for certaine, that (as they were Italians) so they reckon his raigne but from the time that hee was crowned in *Rome*, which was in the twelfth yeere thereof; and so commeth their account to agree with the rest of the authors; whereof let the reader be well aduised, as well in this, as in what shall be said hereafter. At the end of which time being taken with a greuous sicknes, wherewith seeing himselfe oppressed, he commaunded such of the princes electors as might come in so short space, to be sent for; which being come, he counselled them, that after his decease they should chuse the valorous prince *Conrade*, Emperour; who was one of the Dukes of *Sueuia*, others say of *Franconia*, the cause whereof, may be, that he came of both houses, and so after the German manner, was called by both names, as at this day the Dukes of *Bauiera* are called Counties Palantines of *Rhine*. He named this man vnto them, for that he thought him to desire the Empire: and within few daies after died, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand foure and twentie, leauing his wife as good a virgin as she came to him. It is written that she being accused of adulterie, shewed her innocencie, by going barefooted vpon certaine plates of fiery hot yron; and that the Emperour became very penitent for permitting her to expose her selfe to such daunger, being so chaste and vertuous a woman.

In a manner about this time died *Basilius* Emperour of *Constantinople*, I say in a manner, for that in this place, it is a harde matter to agree the times, by reason of the incertaintie and variablenes amongst the writers. *Basilius* when he died was seuentie and two yeeres old, and had raigned two and fiftie; in most matters, in great prosperitie, at least in armes, as well against the Bulgarians, which he compelled to pay him tribute; as against the Infidels: and dying left his Empire to his brother *Constantine*, who raigned three yeeres, and gouerned the same negligent and viciously; and he before his decease, ordained and left a great and valorous personage, called *Romanvs Argiophilvs*, for Emperour, whom he first married to his daughter. This *Romanvs* in the beginning, shewed himselfe to be an excellent and valorous prince, but being afterwards ouerthrowne by the Infidels in *Asia*, he altering his condition, became couetous and

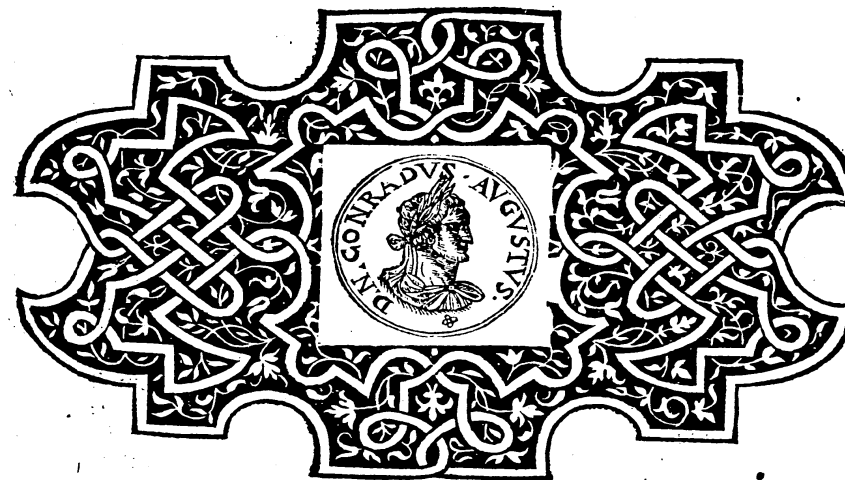
The death of  
the Emperour  
Henry the se-  
cond, anno.  
dom. 1102.

The death of  
Basilius Empe-  
rour of *Constan-  
tinople*.

and gaue himselfe ouer to many other vices; for which cause he grew to be so much abhorred, that hauing raigned but onely fwe yeeres, his owne wife *Zora* practised his death, by the hands of one *Michael Paphlagonvs*, with whom she liued in adulterie; and afterwards married him, being a man very well conditioned; who by her meanes had the Empire, which he valiant and manfully defended the space of seauen yeeres, in the warres which he held with the Infidels in *Asia*, in *Soria* defending the frontiers of *Phenicia*.

## THE LIFE OF CONRADE THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESORE AND ELE- VENTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

And of *Michael* Emperour of  
*Constantinople*.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**C**onrade the second was chosen Emperour accordingly as the Emperour *Henry* before his death had ordained, and thereto had perswaded the princes electors; yet that notwithstanding his election was not without some contradiction and difficultie. Being in possession of the Empire, he was to provide for many matters, and to subdue many rebels, which rebelled through the long vacation of the imperiall seate, which was two yeeres without any soueraigne. But all these rebellions and tumults of warre were pacified without shedding any droppe of blood, or drawing of sword, for he subdued them all through his humanitie and courtesie: these warres letted him three yeeres. This being done, he came into *Italy* with a very great armie, and tooke *Milan*, which was a more rebellious citie, then any of the rest, and comming to *Rome* was crowned by Pope *Iohn* the one and twentieth. Afterwards understanding of certaine tumults in *Ger-  
manie*,

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manie, he speedily returned thither, and that enterprise being ended, he came againe into Italy, wherein many cities had revolted, but inflicting terrible punishment upon the malefactors, he came at length to Rome, to relieue the Pope against such as molested him; and hauing reformed all matters in Italy, he returned into Germanie, where being assailed by an infirmittie, he died, hauing reigned Emperor ten yeeres.



The princes electors of the Empire being assembled, to chuse a successor for the Emperor HENRY (whose historie we haue but now written) notwithstanding that he counsell'd them to make choice of CONRADE, yet they could not so easily agree, but that the difference continued betwene them the space of two yeeres, without being able to resolue, who should, or ought to be Emperor; whereof many inconueniences and disorders ensued, and many cities and townes in Italy, and some princes in Germanie, attempted to set themselves at libertie, and to shake off the imperiall yoke, wherewith the new Emperor elect was afterwards greatly troubled. At the end of this time, the aforesaid CONRADE was chosen, and crowned Emperor, as HENRY had willed, yet he was in some sort contradicted, particularly by CONON, one of the Dukes of *Baniera*, and Vncle to the late Emperor HENRY; who himselfe would haue been Emperor. This Emperor CONRADE was a singular good man at armes, and had been General in the warres for the Emperor HENRY. Here the authors doe vary, and contend about the matter, viz. whether, that he were of the Dukes of *Suenia*, or of *Franconia*, and spend many speeches about prouing their opinions; but I will auoide this trauell, notwithstanding that it seemeth to be most certaine, that he was of the house of *Suetia*, or (as I said aboue) was per-adventure descended from both the houses, and after the Germane manner, enjoyed both titles, as at this day is accustomed. But let it be, as it shall please the reader. He was chosen as a man which best deserued the fame of all others; which he afterwards very well verified and made manifest. So soone as he was established, he wrote his letters to all parts, procuring peace and friendship with all the Kings and princes which desired it, and commaunded his subjects duely to obserue the same: but the two yeeres vacation had bred such a custome of libertie, that they rebelled against him. The first was BODISLAUS Duke of *Austrich*, whom HENRY had subdued, and made tributarie to the Empire, who (taking vpon him the title of King) denied both his vasselage and tribute: against whom CONRADE leuied an armie, purposing to haue gone against him in person; but at the same time BODISLAUS died, and left two sonnes, the one called OTHO, and the other MISICVS. MISICVS was the elder brother, and remained absolute Lord, and imitating his father, persisted in his rebellion against the Emperor, and expelled his brother OTHO, because he would not ioync with him in the action; and this OTHO went presently to the Emperor, who entertained him well, but was so much displeased with his brother MISICVS his presumption, that he sent the same OTHO with part of his armie to begin the warre, and within few daies, he himselfe followed with the rest, and entred the countrey with such power, that MISICVS durst not abide his comming, but went into *Bohemia*, to craue aide of WALDERICVS Duke and Lord thereof, who was also one of those which rebelled against the new Emperor. WALDERICVS hauing entertained and assured him; in lieu of ayding him, sent to treat secretly with the Emperor, to the end to haue deliuered him vp into his hands thinking by this meane to haue come to the better composition with him. But the

the Emperor disdaining to entrap his enimie by treason, was so much displeased with WALDERICVS, for his treacherie, that besides, that he would not accept his offer, he shewed the greatnes of his noble heart, by sending to MISICVS, secretly aduising him to come to his obedience, or to seeke reliefe somewhere else, for in *Bohemia* he had no certaine refuge. MISICVS vnderstanding what passed, and well considering and weighing the Emperors goodnes, went out of *Bohemia*; and comming into his countrey, left the ensignes and title of King, which his father and he had vsurped, and with a small traine, came and yeelded himselfe into the Emperors power, humbly submitting himselfe, more in regarde of his kinde and gentle admonition and aduice, then of the force of his armes: and the Emperour pardoned, and graunted him peace vpon the same conditions, as before. Following the example of MISICVS, the Duke of *Poland* and all the rest which had taken armes, and rebelled, came to the Emperors seruice and obedience; amongst which were STEPHEN King of *Hungarie*, and WALDERICVS Duke of *Bohemia*, notwithstanding that they first failed not to try the vtmost of what they were able to doe by force of armes. In all which CONRADE spent the first three yeeres of his raigne, and could not (accordingly as he desired) goe into Italy to be crowned; where he had much to doe, by reason of the great leagues and confederacies made against him, to the end to free themselves from the imperiall yoke and subiection. This time being expired, and hauing taken order for the estate of *Germanie*, he leuied the greatest and most mightie armie that he could, and came into Italy, but he first nominated his sonne HENRY, King of the Romanes: and forasmuch as *Milan*, and all the townes in that quarter, which in former time were wont to be most seruicable and in greatest subiection, were now in armes, and rebelled; he therefore marched directly thither, and so it behoued him to doe, for Pope GREGORIE the fifth (in the rule and Canon which he made in the time of OTHO the third, concerning the princes electors, and the chusing of the Emperour) instituted and ordained, that he which was chosen, besides the golden crowne which he should receiue of the Pope, should be crowned with two other crownes; the one of straw in *Monzi*, a citie in *Lombardie*; and the other of Iron, in the citie of *Milan*; which I haue referred to be written in this place, and doe here finde it written by my authors. Wherefore, for the full accomplishment hereof (although I haue not read that any his predecessors had done the like) the Emperour battering and scaling such townes as would not peaceably receiue him, came to *Milan*, which then was more obstinate and rebellious then any other, and doing much harme in the territorie thereof, he narrowly begirt the citie with a siege, with a determination to haue ruined and burnt the same, for the great displeasure which he had conceiued against it; and for an example to the rest. Which he might and had easily performed, and that in short space (as many writers affirme) but that (I know not vpon what occasion) he raised his siege from before it, and went towards *Rome* (no man daring to make head against him) where Pope IOHN the one and twentie most solemnly receiued him, and with the like solemnitie crowned him with the crowne of gold: at which cronation (as affirme some authors which I follow) was KANVTUS King of *England* in pilgrimage, with whose daughter, they say, that HENRY, sonne of this Emperor CONRADE, was before this time married. And there was also RODVLPH, King of *Burgundie*, and Vncle to GISELA the Emperesse, who was descended from CHARLES the great; and being depriued of his estate of *Burgundie*, by ROBERT brother to the

The loyaltie of  
the Emperor  
Conrade.

Conrade came  
into Italy.

French king, came to emprove the Emperors aide and succours. CONRADE being in Rome, there arose a great tumult betwene his traine, and the citizens; in so much that they all tooke armes and fought all one whole day together, and many were slaine of either side, but the Imperialists had the better; and the Emperour in the best manner that he could, pacified this ryot, and staying but a shorte space after this in Rome, he departed thence, and out of Italy also towards Germany; for his sonne in law ERNESTVS Duke of Suenia, sonne to the Emperesse GASILA, by her first husband Duke of Suenia, rebelled, and made warre, seeing him pestred in Italy. But he being come into Germany, ERNESTVS being of no sufficient power long to defend himselfe was soone ouerthrowne, and fled to the Mountaines, where he was afterwards taken and slaine by the Emperours souldiers, and his estate was giuen to his brother, whose name was HARMAN. At this his comming (so farre as I can gather, comparing the times with the accidents) CONRADE gat by his captaines the countrie of Burgundie, and made it subiect to the Empire, which one hundred and odde yeeres had been subiect to the house of France (but yet there had been very mightie kings and Dukes therein) which was effected by the will and testament of RODVLPH, who was present at the Emperours coronation in Rome, and hee bequeathed it to the Emperours sonne HENRY, which could not be done without warre and bloudshed; for the King of France of the one part, and a certaine mightie Earle of another, pretended right thereto, and were possessed of great part of the countries; but to be short (for herein much might be said) at this time the supreme dignitie of Burgundie was transported to the Empire: yet ROBERT GAGVIN in the end of his fifth booke, saith, that Burgundie was then diuided into two parts, the one remaining subiect to the French, and the other to the Empire. The Emperour CONRADE hauing ended these things so well for his profit, after that he had in rest liued some yeeres in Germany, without any accident worthie writing (by reason whereof the historie of his time is more brieue then of other Emperours) he determined to come the second time into Italy; for at the first, by reason of the small time that he made his abode therein, he could not leaue matters in such order as he desired; and also for that he vnderstoode that the Italians sought aide and reliefe from the Slauons, and the Hungars, against him, with a determination not to yeeld him any obedience. So that hauing all things in a readines for his iourney, so speedily as hee could hee departed, and came with greater expedition and power, then any man thought of; and in his iourney ruining some townes, and punishing some offenders which thought to haue made head against him, he came to Milan, which presently yeelded, where he punished the guiltie for former offences, and remained some daies therein; and departing from thence, tooke all the cities in that territorie; and then went to Rome to see the Pope, and to relieue him against such as disobeyed him (which now, as I coniecture, was BENEDICT the ninth, JOHN the one and twentieth being dead, who was Pope eleuen yeeres) and from thence with great power he trauelled ouer all Italy, visiting all the lands belonging to the Church of Rome, and to the Empire, without finding any resistance; yet in Pulia, and in Calabria, the warres still continued betwene the Greekes and the Normanes. In this manner returned CONRADE into Germany triumphing and mightie, whose historie I haue written very briefly, for so doe the authors handle the same: and thinking now to repose himselfe after his former troubles (which for the space of fifteene yeeres that he was Emperour he had endured) he was taken with an infirmittie, whereof within few daies

The diuision of  
Burgundie into  
the Duchy,  
and the Countie.

conrade his  
second coming  
into  
Italy.

daies he died, in the yeere of our Lord 1040. some adde thereto three yeeres, he left one sonne whose name was HENRY, who as I will presently tell you succeeded him in the Empire. In the time of the Emperour CONRADE, MICHAEL PAPHLAGONVS (as is already said) raigned Emperour of Constantinople, for that ZOE tooke him for her husband, with whom she had liued, euer since the decease of ARGIROPHILVS her first husband; and he ruled the Empire seauen yeeres. After his decease she tooke another husband of the same name called MICHAEL GALAFATES, and being accustomed to that trade she made him Emperour, but for that hee liued with her but foure monethes, she remained a widow: by reason whereof, the same ZOE, together with her sister THEODORA (which were the Emperour CONSTANTINES daughters) gouerned the Empire three monethes; and as she was both inconstant and incontinent, so she resolved once againe to haue an husband: and vpon this occasion banished her sister, and married a man whose name was CONSTANTINVS MONACVS, for that he came of the line of the Emperours, who neuertheless was a wicked and euill Emperour, which was the occasion that the Empire began to decline, and to be of small account. In this time died the Emperour CONRADE. Of what end this Emperour CONSTANTINVS MONACVS made, more shall be said hereafter.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Conrad.  
Anno Dom.  
1040.

## THE LIFE OF HENRIE THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND FOUREScore AND TWELFTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

And of those which in his time raigned  
in Constantinople.



THE ARGUMENT.

**I**N the beginning of this Emperours raigne there were some troubles, for that he was not chosen according to order; neuertheless, being held for such, he warred vpon the Duke of Bohemia, which denied him tribute; and taking him prisoner, constrained him to be-

Eff 3

come

come a good and obedient subiect. He afterwards warred against the Hungars, as well for that they had giuen aide to the Bohemians; as for contriuing some unlawfull innovations, and gaue them a very great ouerthrow; and their King being dead (which knew not how to make benefit of the Emperors clemencie) he restored Peter to the crowne: and afterwards subdued the Duke of Lorraine, which denied him obedience. He came into Italy, where he redressed the estate of the Church, which was farre out of order, and was crowned in Rome; and afterwards bending his forces against the Infidels, he draue them out of Italy: and being come into Germanie he sent a Pope to Rome (hauiug accepted the offers made vnto him by the Cardinals concerning the Popes election) who being receiued by the Cardinals, lined like a Pope; this Pope going against the Duke of Normandie, being in a battaile taken prisoner, was the very same day set at libertie, and obeyed by the victor. This Emperor once againe warred against the Hungars, for putting Peter their King to death; and after many accidents came to an agreement with them; in which time, there were so many calamities and scourges sent from God into the world, that the Emperor falling sicke, died for sorrow, when he had held the Empire seauenteene yeeres.



**L**T cannot be denied, that after that the Empire was wholly transported to the Germanes in the person of OTHO, but that the Emperours thereof defended and gouerned the same very valorously, as by the historie appeareth; principally the OTHONS and the HENRIS likewise, as is to be seene by the two, of which we are to treat: this HENRY being the sonne of CONRADE, was a good Emperor, and in condition no lesse vertuous then his father, or any of the HENRIS or other his predecessors; neither in armes of lesse valour and courage. We haue tolde you before how that his father in his life time had made him King of the Romanes, which was a policie, which the Emperours haue euer since vsed, to procure the Empire for their sonnes; and by that meane to leaue the same to them by election; seeing they could not doe it by inheritance: which in truth seemeth to be but a deuice to frustrate and preuent the law and decree made and established by the Emperor OTHO the third, and Pope GREGORIE the fifth, concerning the place where, in what manner, and by whom, the Emperours (the Empire being voide) should be chosen, and that it should not be inherited by succession, but by election: whereupon there grew some question and doubt about the matter, viz. whether this HENRY should be held for Emperor or no; for the princes of Germany held it for very inconuenient and vnfit, that his father should nominate him; and that it was a dangerous matter to introduce such a custome, for this was a thing that ought to be done by the princes electors onely: but in the end (they acknowledging his good parts and deserts) he was confirmed and crowned Emperour, and generally obeyed for such, according to the accustomed manner: Onely GRATISLAVS Duke of Bohemia, whom the Abbot WESPRGENSIS, BLONDVS, PLATINA, and OLDERICVS call FRATISLAVS (who was a man of great power) rebelled against him, denying any superiouritie, or to pay him any tribute, which (as IOHN CUSPINIAN saith) was one hundred cowes, and five hundred markes of siluer yeerly; against whom HENRY (as a new Emperour, of an high stomacke, desirous to winne honour and reputation) raised a great armie, and that sooner then hee should haue done; for they write that hee began his warre in the winter, and therefore failed of his expectation; and that through the vnseasonableness of the time, and the distemperature of the countrie; in skirmishes and encounters he lost many of his men, which were taken and slaine by the enemy; so as for that time he had the worst, and was driuen to retire, without accomplishing what he had projected, and with losse of reputation; wherewith he was so much grieved and

Henry the  
third chosen  
and crowned  
Emperor.

and ashamed, that presently in the beginning of the next spring, he returned to the warres of Bohemia, with all the force that he was able to make; and GRATISLAVS growne proud of his late good successe, and through the new supplies which came to him out of Hungary, offered him battaile, wherein (notwithstanding that both armies fought courageously) yet in the end the Duke was ouerthrowne, and afterward taken flying, and the Emperour (shewing that compassion, which the other craued) graunted him life, and pardoned the offence vpon securitie, that from thenceforth he should be a loyall subiect; first gathering in the arrerages of three yeeres tribute, which was behinde vnpaid, as COSMVS DE ANDREPRAGANA recounteth in his Annales; whereby the Emperor wanne much honor. And presently after this, followed another warre against the Hungarians for the same occasion. By the death of King STEPHEN which was King of Hungary, PETER came to the crowne, against whom for some ill vsage, his subiects rebelled, and made a kinsman of his, King, whom the Abbot WESPRGENSIS calleth VBO, and others call him ABA, and the tyrant ABA being of greater power then the King; PETER was expelled his countrie, and driuen to seeke redresse and reliefe of the Emperor HENRY, who notwithstanding that he was not well pleased with him, for assisting the Duke of Bohemia against him, yet for that he had subdued them both, he as his soueraigne Lorde entertained him, seeing that to him it appertained to doe iustice, and not to permit any tyrannie in his time: and ABA or VBO being aduertised hereof, and hauing sent his Ambassadors to the Emperor, to shew him the equitie of his cause, and to desire his confirmation in the kingdome, not contenting himselfe in that hee had tyrannized Hungary, entred Austria and Bauaria, and robbing and spoiling those countries, carried great bootie and pray out of those quarters; this hee did at such time as the Emperour held a diet, or Parliament in Colen; where the princes of Germany were assembled: whereupon by the generall consent of them all the Emperour (accompanied with some of the princes) with a great armie departed from Colen towards Hungary, sending GRATISLAVS Duke of Bohemia before him, to begin the warre, which ABA the tyrant King of Hungary fearing, sent Ambassadors to meete the Emperor vpon the way, withall the butin and pray that they had gotten in Austria and Bauaria, desiring and entreating him, for peace; promising to doe what he should enioyne him vnto, conditionally that he might not be deposed from that kingdome: whereto the Emperor for that time yeelded and consented; moued thereto by a rumor spread abroad, that the Duke of Lorraine, with the aide of France, was in armes, and rebelled; which was the occasion of the peace graunted to the King of Hungary, to the end that the Emperour thereby might haue the better leasure and oportunitie to follow the warres of Lorraine, which were so much doubted. But ABA tooke not the benefit of that peace (as a wife, and a peaceable prince would haue done; but intreated his subiects rather with greater pride and rigor then theretofore, putting many of the most principall of them to death; vpon which occasion the Emperour the yeere next following (with no lesse an armie then the former, but with greater resolution) entred Hungary; where ABA already attended his coming with his whole power; and with such other aide and assistance as he could get; which was such and so great, that assuring himselfe to preuaile against the Emperors forces he offered him battaile, which was exceeding resolutely fought of either side, and was very bloodie and cruell: but the King in the end was ouerthrowne, and (as writeth HENRICVS MCVIVS) twentie and sixe thousand of his

The Emperor  
Henry his vic-  
torie against  
the King of  
Hungarie.

*Abba king of Hungary overthrown in a battaile by Henry the Emperour, and slaine by his owne people.*

men were slaine therein : and of the Emperours side, which had the victorie, three thousand : And **ABA** escaping by flight, was afterwards in a village (wherein hee had hidden himselfe) found & slaine by his own people : yet some say, that he was taken and slaine by his competitor **PETER**. After this ouerthrow, all the whole kingdome of *Hungary* sued to the Emperour for pardon, imputing all their former faults to their king ; and hee gaue them a generall pardon, and restored king **PETER** to his throne, first reconciling him to his subiects, & placed a noble man to be in some sort assistant to him in the gouernment : But this king (as he was naturally cruell) agreed so ill with his people, that in the end hee lost both his kingdome and his life also, as hereafter shall be specified.

This warre being ended, in such manner as I haue recounted, the Emperour longed to come into *Italy*, as wel to be crowned, as to take away the schisme out of the Church : but first hee determined (for so was it requisite) to tame the pride of **GODFREY** Duke of *Lorraine*, who would neither obey nor acknowledge him, but rather tooke and vsurped some townes of his ; which he had long dissembled, awaiting fitter opportunitie, thinking that at length he would haue reduced himselfe to his seruice : but now holding it vnfit any longer to dissemble, calling a Diet or Councell in the cite of *Spire*, without declaring his intention vntill that all the princes were assembled, he then manifested the offences and contempts committed by the Duke of *Lorraine*, and by common consent it was concluded to make warre against him : whereupon the Emperour without any further delay, departed with such forces as he had already leuied for that purpose, towards *Lorraine* ; and made such haste, that the Duke (notwithstanding that he was promised great aide and fauour both out of *France* and *Germany*) before that he could vnite those forces together, the Emperour had entred his countrie, and besieging him in a towne tooke him prisoner, and so ended that exploite : yet they write not in what forme the state remained. And so I aduertise the reader, that in the order and time wherein these warres were, those which wrote the same doe much vary : I therefore haue chosen this which I haue set downe. And the Emperour hauing now ended and performed (so much to his honour) three such enterprises and warres, as these before mentioned, of *Hungary*, of *Bohemia*, and of *Lorraine*, about which he had spent sixe yeares, he ingrossing and reinforcing his armyes, (wherein he staied some daies) took his way directly towards *Italy* to be crowned, and to procure a reformation of abuses in the Church thereof, wherein was a schisme, such as before that time had nener been, which was thus. The Emperour **CONRADE** being dead, and **BENEDICT** the ninth being Pope (as I then said) the Emperour **HENRY** hauing then reigned more then foure yeeres ; the Romanes which knew not how to liue without factions and tumults, rebelled against the Pope : the cause whereof, and in what manner it passed, I finde not written ; but their boldnes and audacitie was such, that they deposed him from the Papacie, alleging that he neither was, neither ought to be Pope, and so they placed in his seate a Bishop, whose name was **JOHN**, who tooke part with them, and was called **SILVESTER** the third : And as **PLATINA** and **BLONDVS** report, was Pope but nine and fortie daies, at the end whereof **BENEDICT** was restored by those of his faction ; and he within sixe weekes after, as a coward (being a wicked man and of ill behauiour and condition) for feare to bee againe deposed, for a certaine

*The Duke of Lorraine taken prisoner by the Emperour.*

*Pope Benedict sold his papacy, and hauing receiued the money would continue Pope.*

summe of money before hand paid, compounded with the Archdeacon of Saint *John de Lateran*, who was a mightie rich man in *Rome*, to renounce to him the Papacie ; and did so, but afterwards recanting of his bargain, challenged to be still Pope :

Pope : and the Archdeacon with the title of **BENEDICTS** renunciation, assisted by his friends, was made Pope, and was called **GREGORIE** the sixth, his owne name being **JOHN**, alleging that he held the Papacie by graunt, by renunciation, and also by election ; and enioyed the name and authoritie of Pope (as **PLATINA** saith) about two yeeres : **BLONDVS** and others say, but one yeere and seuen moneths and halfe : and some authors, as **GILBERTVS**, and **IOHANNES DE COLVMA**, and **ANTONINVS** are of the same opinion, and write in their histories that he performed the office of a good Pope, and was valorous, ministred iustice, maintained the Papall dignitie, and recouered much of the Church patrimonie, which others had vsurped : so as in time of this confusion, and of setting vp, and putting downe Popes (for there were at one time three which were so called, and had been so) and (as writeth **GOTHIFREDVS VITERBIENSIS**, an author of foure hundred yeeres antiquitie) they all three came to a composition, and diuided the Church rents amongst them : whereof one of them dwelt hard by **S. PATERS** Church, another at **S. MARIES** ; and this **BENEDICT** in the palace at **LATERAN**.

*Three Popes in Rome at one time.*

Things standing in this estate, the Emperour **HENRY** with many good men of warre entred *Italy*, and came to *Rome* ; whither he called a Synode and Councell to be held of all the Bishops in *Italy*, and of most parts of Christendome ; which being assembled, together with the three Popes, they treated of them three, and (after many verdicts and opinions) the Emperour and all the rest concluded, that these three should be held for no Popes, but be deposed, and that another should be chosen, considering the voluntarie renunciation made by **BENEDICT**, and other nullities and insufficiencies in the three elections : And this resolution was put in effect, and they were condemned, depriued, and banished the countrie : And by the same Councell, with the fauour of the Emperour, a Germane prelate and Bishop of *Bambergh* was chosen, and was called **CLEMENT** the second ; who so soone as he was Pope, annointed and crowned the Emperour, after the accustomed manner, with great feasting and solemnitie. After this coronation the Emperour departed from *Rome* towards *Capua*, which the *Africane* Infidels had taken, in time of the warres made by the Normanes in those parts ; and obtaining notable victories against them, draue them out of the countrie ; and setting the best order that hee could in all the rest, returned to *Rome* ; and thence visiting *Italy* and *Lombardy*, he returned into *Germany*, and was scarcely come thither when Pope **CLEMENT** the second (whom he had chosen) died in *Rome*, when he had been Pope but onely nine moneths ; and not without suspicion of poyson by the practise of one **STEPHEN** a Bauarian Bishop, who more by force and through friendship, then any right of election, gat the Papacie, and was called **DAMASVS** the second : Onely **BLONDVS** putteth another Pope betweene **CLEMENT** the second and **DAMASVS**, whom he calleth **STEPHEN**, of whom no other author (that I haue scene) maketh any mention : but I gesse that he is deceiued in the name, for this **DAMASVS** was first called **STEPHEN**. In those times the Popes were of so little worth, and the Church lands were so vsurped by tyrants, that they durst attempt nothing, and therefore were accordingly disobeyed and lightly regarded. Returning to Pope **DAMASVS**, I say, that the Papacie which he obtained by force, he held and enioyed the same but three and twentie daies, and he being dead, the Romanes neither would, nor durst make choice of a pope, without the Emperours consent, for (as some write) pope **CLEMENT** the second had so ordained when he was (at his suite) chosen ; and they did so, imagining that

*The Emperour came into Italy*

*Pope Clement the second crowned Henry the third Emperour.*

the Emperour would haue sent them word; that they should haue chosen him whom they should hold most worthie thereof. The newes of pope CLEMENTS death, and of his successor DAMASVS, and the Ambassadors, came to the Emperour in a manner all at one instant: to the Ambassadors he gaue no such answer as they expected, but accepting their offer, chose in *Germany* the Bishop of *Tulen*, whose name was BRVNS, whom he nominated to be chosen pope, and made him presently to depart towards *Rome*; which the said Bishop was constrained to accept, much against his will, and in a manner perforce. PLATINA and BLONDVS say, that from the time of his departure out of *Germany*, he made him to weare the papall habit: but a Monke whose name was ILDEBRAND meeting him upon the way, perswaded him to put off that weede, seeing that yet he was not chosen; alleaging further, that the Emperour had no authoritie there: to which perswasion so much preuailed with BRVNS, that he went to *Rome* as a priuate man, repenting that he had entred so farre into the action. This was in yeere of our Lord 1049.

Pope Leo the ninth was in a battaile overthrowne and taken prisoner by Gisulphus Duke of Normandie.

Being come to *Rome*, the Cardinals, clergie, and people thereof, consulted about chusing a new Pope, but would not accept of BRVNS, because the Emperours should not challenge to themselves any right of election: but this ILDEBRAND vsd such meanes, and gaue such counsell to the Cardinals, that by a generall consent BRVNS was chosen, and called LEo the ninth; when the Chaire had been voided the space of sixe moneths. LEo being made Pope, GISVLPHVS Duke of the Normanes, being then Lord of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, made war against him, and besieged the citie of *Beneuent*, which the Emperour HENRY the second gaue to the Church of *Rome*: whereof when the Emperour was aduertised, besides the forces which the Pope had already leuied, hee sent him other; with which the Pope departed from *Rome* against GISVLPHVS: but GISVLPHVS being the better man of warre, and hauing already taken the citie of *Beneuent*, gathered his forces together and staid for him in the plaine fields; and the pope more like a valiant Almaine, then an expert man at armes, gaue him battaile, and was ouerthrowne and taken prisoner therein. So, as saith IOANNES DE COLVMA, it might be said to him as CHRIST said to S. PETER; Put vp thy sword into the sheath: But being prisoner, GISVLPHVS entertained him with great honour, and presently the same day set him at libertie, and gaue him companie and seruants fit to attend on him, wherewith hee went to *Rome*: and they afterwards came to a composition betweene themselves. Herein is a great confusion among the Historiographers, for the Germanes write that this pope went into *Germany* to see the Emperour, and that there he assembled a Synode or Councell in the citie of *Mentz*, and that the Emperour came the second time into *Italy*: Others write nothing, either of the popes going, or of the Emperours second coming; in the rest they all agree. LEo held the chaire five yeeres and halfe, and when hee was dead, one GEBEARDVS a Germane Bishop borne in *Bauiere*, was chosen, and called VICTOR the second; which they did to gratifie the Emperour: and presently without any delay, to the end that he should not be discontented, for that they had made choice of a pope without his consent; the new pope and clergie sent ILDEBRAND to him, who perfourmed his legacie in such sort, that the Emperour approoued and confirmed all what they had done.

While these things passed in *Italy*, the subiects of PETER king of *Hungary* (whom the Emperour had placed in that kingdome) rebelled against him; and sent into *Poland* for certaine great men of *Hungary* which liued there in exile, one

of

of which was called ANDREVV, and another LEVENTA, which were their captaines; and after other great matters (which I omit) they laid hands on their king, and putting out his eyes, made him die in prison; and with the helpe of certaine Barbarians and Infidels, which came to their aide, slew some Bishops: which when the Emperour knew, hee made great preparation for warre against them, principally against ANDREVV, which tooke vpon him the name of king; and hauing builded and rigged vp a great number of Barkes and Ships, the Emperour came downe the riuer *Danubius*, from *Austrich* to *Buda*, and to other places, where this ANDREVV and the rest were; which voiage had ill successe, for his aduerfaries gat certaine excellent swimmers and diuers which would lie a long time vnder the water, and these in a night buldged the Emperours barks, in such sort that the greatest part of his munition and victuall was lost; so as he was constrained to returne with his people in the best maner that he could, without effecting any thing of worth. Afterwards hee twice entred *Hungary*; in the first, notwithstanding that he went with great preparation of horse and foote, yet he obtained no notable victorie; and the third yeere hee made peace with the Hungarians, ANDREVV remaining still their king, who acknowledged a certaine kinde of superiority. This being ended, it seeming a small time since that the Emperour began to repose himselfe; through the secret iudgement of God, great calamities ensued in many countries, as famine, cruell plagues of pestilence, horrible earthquakes, and other lamentable disasters: after which ensued the death of the Emperour, the end of whose raigne was for the causes aforesaid, pitifull and sorrowfull. It is written, that of sorrow and grieve, to see so great evils and miseries happen in his time, he fell sicke and died; leauing behind him one sonne of about twene yeeres old, called HENRY, whom before his death he made to be crowned king of the Romanes, the Electors consenting thereto; and three daughters, which afterward were married to seuerall princes: he reigned seenteene yeeres, and died in the yeere of our Lord 1057.

In *Constantinople* during the time of this Emperour HENRY (of whom we now spake) reigned CONSTANTINVS MONACHVS, by his marriage with the Emperesse ZOË, as I said in the end of the Emperour CONRADE: This CONSTANTINVS was a retchlesse and vicious Emperour, and a publike ill liuer. In his time began the Turkes to be of great power in *Asia*, and did much harme in the lands of the empire. This Emperour was also much troubled by some which rebelled against him; yet he at length subdued them all: and so betweene prosperitie and aduersitie, he reigned thirteene yeeres. In his time also the empire did greatly decay, both in power and authoritie. One onely good qualitie he had, which was, that he was an almes giuer, and a great relieuer of the poore; and made a great Hospitall for old men only, such as through their great age being decrepit, could not get their liuing. Both he and the Emperesse died (in a manner) at one time; and both of the plague. The husband and wife being dead, THEODORA, sister to ZOË had the empire, by the authoritie and sentence of the Senate, and people of *Constantinople*, and gouerned the same with such equitie, iustice and quietnes, for the space of two yeeres, that they sorrowed that she had not liued much longer. Before that she died, by the counsell of certaine Eunuches (by whom she was much ruled) she made YSACIUS CONNENVS Generall of her forces, who was a valiant and wife captaine. THEODORA being dead, a man of great age, called MICHAEL, was made Emperour: but prouing to be incapable & insufficient for the gouernment, which he had not ruled one whole yeere to an end; by a generall consent

he

Peter king of Hungary was taken by his subiects, and had his eyes put out.

Expert swimmers.

Calamities by Gods providence.

The death of the Emperour Henry the second. Anno Dom. 1057.

When the Turkes began to grow mighty in Asia.

he was deposed from the Empire, and YSACIVS CONNENVS (whom THEODORA had made her Captaine Generall) was chosen in his place; who raigned two yeeres; and although he made a good shew of himselfe, yet (considering his short time) he could doe no notable matter, and him succeeded CONSTANTINVS DVCA.

## THE LIFE OF HENRY THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESORE AND THIRTEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

And of those which in his time raigned  
in Constantinople.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**H**enry being yet but a childe when his father died, and he chosen and proclaimed Emperor; is behoued him therefore for many yeeres space, to line under the government of his mother, who by the consent of all men, tooke the charge of him, and the protection of the Empire; but afterwards being come to riper yeeres, he would no longer line under her commaund, but tooke the government into his owne hands. The first enterprise that he undertooke in the warres was against the Saxons, wherein he behaued himselfe so gallantly (notwithstanding that he was but young) that he brought them to his obedience; yet they afterwards rebelled against him, for that he would not endure the insulence of the Pope and court of Rome, which he little regarded: this second warre was farre more dangerous then the first (although he had the victorie) and made him more disobedient to the Pope then before: whereupon he was solemnly excommunicated, and deprived of the title & dignitie of the Empire, for that he called a Comencell in Germany against Pope Gregorie. Of which excommunication he could neuer be absolved, untill that he had three daies together come barefooted, to intreate the Pope for pardon, who met him at Vercelli. Whilst the Emperor was in this parley with the Pope (many princes of Germanie rebelling against him, made another Emperor, which was Rodulph Duke of Saxony; with whom Henry coming to a battaile, had no such victorie as he expected; but was againe excommunicate, and deprived of the title of Emperor; which was given to Rodulph newly chosen: upon this occasion,

Henry

Henry being highly despised, chose another Pope, called Clement, and made a schisme in the Papacie, which was the occasion of very great war; but Henry after the death of his competitor Rodulph, came into Italy, and besieged Rome; and entering it, was crowned by the hands of Pope Clement, the other Pope being retired into the Castle Saint Angelo; to whom great succors being coming, Henry abandoned Rome, and with Pope Clement went into Germany, and Pope Gregory, accompanied with his crue of Cardinals, went to the citie of Salerno, where he ended his daies. At this time followed the enterprise of Ierusalem; and the rebellion of Henries eldest sonne Conrade, who rebelled, for that the Emperor sought to make his second sonne whose name was also Henry, his successor, which being done, he also rebelled against his father, so as there were more then ciuill warres betweene them; neither could there any meaces or waies be found to appease them; neither could this warre be ended but through the death of the old Emperor, who hauing publicly (but by constraint) renounced all his iurisdiction of the Empire to his sonne, and afterwards repenting, and seeking to recover the same, could obtaine no composition with him, and so for sorrow and grieffe falling sicke, died, God permitting him to make so miserable an end.

**T**husly the three Emperours called HENRIES, of which we haue treated, were very valiant and worthie princes in armes, as the father of him of whome we now begin to write, and the other two before mentioned; but none of them can be compared to this fourth, of whom we are now to discourse. It is certaine, that he was valiant, and addicted to the bearing of armes, as being trained vp therein, and was one of the most excellent princes that euer was in the world; for untill this day it is not found written, that any Emperour came so often to blowes with his enemies as he did; for all authors affirme, that he fought in raunged battailes with ensignes displayed threescore and two seuerall times; and for the most part had euer the victorie; to which number IULIVS CESAR, MARCVS MARCELLVS neuer attained (which two in their time excelled all others) This Emperour raigned fiftie yeeres. He was a man liberall, well spoken, very wise, and had many other naturall gifts and vertues; but (as saith this author) he stained and spotted them all with his ambition, for he would be Lord ouer all, both spirituall and temporall, contemning the Canons and Decretals of the Church of Rome, which was the occasion, that in his latter daies, he was disobeyed by those which ought him greatest obedience, which were his owne children. The Historie of him cannot be but longer then ordinarie, for that it treateth of many great accidents which happened in the space of more then fiftie yeeres that he raigned. I say then, that when his father died, he was not fully ten yeeres old; but yet for his fathers worthines, and his mothers vertues, whose name was YNE: (an excellent and very wise woman) he was crowned and obeyed for Emperour and King of the Germanes, as his father in his life time had intitled him; and by the consent of the most part of the princes, his mother tooke upon her the gouernment, both of his person and of the Empire also: And all that time she gouerned very wise and valorously, as well in peace as in warre, against some princes, which for that she was a woman, and her sonne the Emperor so very a childe, rebelled against him: Into Italy she sent one GILBERT for Gouernor, who afterwards was the cause and moter of great schismes and dissensions in the Church of Rome. Of those which rebelled, the first was a great Lord called FREDERICK of GILBERGH, and his brothers, all which were men of great power: but she tooke so good order with them, that she compelled them to seue for pardon, and to yeeld their obedience. The greatest trouble and

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difficultie

The qualities  
of the Emperour  
Henry the  
fourth.

difficultie that she had, was against R O D V L F H, Earle of *Reims*; with whom in proceffe of time, H E N R Y had most cruell warre; who by the aide of R O M O L D V S Archbishop of *Constance*, tooke the Emperours sister M A V D, and married her, reckoning by this title to haue been Emperour: and the Emperesse to the end (to bring him into fauour, and to reduce him to her sons seruice) made him Duke of *Suenia*, which then was voyde, through the death of O T H O which died without issue; which Dukedome was promised to a great Earle called B E R T O L D; in recompence whereof, the Emperesse gaue him *Corinthia*, & so she pacified the great troubles which then arose; and some other by force of armes, with the aide and assistance of such as remained loyall subiects. But in the end the young Emperour growing to riper yeeres, by the aduice of some which were of his counsell disobeying his mother, sought to be out of her authoritie, being thereto perswaded, chiefly by A N O (and as others say O T H O) Archbishop of *Colen*, who delt so cunningly, that hee gat him into his protection, and by the assistance of some others, he assembling the princes, alleaged, that it was very vndecent, and vnfit to be ruled by a woman, seeing that the Emperour was of sufficient discretion and vnderstanding to doe what was conuenient. The Emperor being gotten out of the power and controulment of his mother, the Archbishop commaunded in such sorte that all went to wracke; for being bred vp at such libertie, he did what he listed, which in the end was the cause of his ruine; for he became both licencious, and presumptuous; fauoring some, and grieuing others; by reason whereof he was ill beloued of many, and gaue himselfe to hunting, and to such other disports, as that age is chiefly delighted with all. His mother seeing her selfe so little regarded, and that she could beare no more sway with him, went to *Rome*, where she liued and died in a Cloister of Nuns. *Germany* standing in these termes, in *Italy* a little before this time died Pope N I C H O L A S the second, when he had held that chaire four yeeres. This Pope recovered much of the Church lands which were vsurped by sundrie Captaines and Gouvernors, which made themselves tyrants thereof. And he also gaue the title of Duke of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, to G V I S C A R D A Normane, being already Lord of those prouinces, who made himselfe and his countries subiect and feudatorie to the Church of *Rome*. This Pope held a Councell, wherein hee ordained that from thenceforth, the Cardinals onely should chuse the Popes, thereby to auoide the factions and dissension which arose concerning the same; as it appeareth in the chapter *In nomine domine* in the three and twentieth distinction; which is obserued vntill this day. By this meane, the Deacons and Cardinals attained to great estimation, for vntill then, they were not of any such account (although already very much esteemed.) This name and dignitie of Cardinals, was in *Rome* at the beginning, but a troublesome and painefull office; for they were as the Curates of parishes, and had the charge of ministring the Sacraments, and of burying the dead, and were called Priests Cardinals, as the more worthie & of greater reputation: and as *Rome* was then held for the head of all other Churches, so these Priests Cardinals were regarded and more respected then any other; and they afterwards attained to greater preheminence, for that they were euer neere vnto the Pope; and being in the time of this Pope N I C H O L A S the second established electors, they grew to be of greater reputation; but not in so high degree, as we now see them, vntill the time of Pope I N N O C E N T the fourth, about the yeere of our Lord, one thousand two hundred foure and fortie; for hee gaue them libertie to ride on their footeclothes, and to weare such robes as they now vse to weare, to the end, that

The death of  
Pope Nicholas.

The dignitie of  
Cardinals.

as

as they did excell other men in their weedes and ornaments, so should they in their behauior and vertuous conditions: wherefore to depaint Saint A M E R O S E with a Cardinals hat on his head is a meere mockery; for in his time there were not any; and so at length the dignitie of Cardinall came to be the greatest, and the highest degree next to the Pope, and they accompany and counsell him in all matters of importance: but many of them haue carried themselves so prophanely, that they haue giuen iust occasion to the world, to note and murmure at their Consistorie.

Pope N I C H O L A S being dead, A N S E L M E Bishop of *Luca* was chosen, and called A L E X A N D E R the second; against whom, G I L B E R T the Gouvernour of *Lombardy* for the Emperor, by the consent of certaine Bishops of that Prouince, made a schime in the Papacie, and chose another Pope: But G O T H I F R E D V S and his wife M A V D, (which were the greatest Princes in *Italy* at that time) protected the first Pope: And in *Rome* and abroad elsewhere, followed many slaughters and murders of the one and the other partie, vntill that in the ende Pope A L E X A N D E R preuailed, and the other Pope fled to *Milan*. Whilest these matters passed in *Italy* (the Emperor, as it was said, permitting and allowing the same) the like or greater were tolerated in *Germany*, for he suffered Priests to marrie, and gaue Benefices and Bishopricks without the Popes licence or authority, wherewith the Pope was much displeased, and twise or thrise sent his ambassadors to the Emperour about that matter. And in other matters were great troubles and factions, and many rose against the Emperour: the first were the Saxons, for from O T H O Duke of *Saxonie* and *Bauiere*, who was accused of treason, the Emperour tooke the Duchie of *Bauiere*, which his mother had giuen him, and gaue the same to a principall man, whose name was G V E L P H O; against these Saxons was the Emperours first attempt in the warres, when hee was scarcely eightene yeeres olde; wherein shewing himselfe to bee of an high minde, and free from feare or cowardize, he personally fought in many battels and skirmishes against that people, which is, and euer hath been accounted for one of the most valiant nations of the world: but he finally ouerthrew them, and compelled them (for this time) to yeeld to doe him seruice. Hauing obtained these victories, the Emperour sent into *Italy* for his ambassador to the Pope, the Archbishop of *Colein*, with sufficient authoritie to conclude, what to him seemed best to be done, and to excuse him of such things as were layd to his charge: who being come into *Italy*, put G I L B E R T out of the Chancellorship and government of *Lombardy*, which the Empresse I N E S had giuen him, and placed therein the Bishop of *Ber-cellis*, and from thence, with great authority and maiestie, he went to *Rome*, where (Pope A L E X A N D E R giuing him publique audience) he made a solemne Oration; wherein in effect, in the behalfe of his Lord the Emperour, he reprobued the Pope; for hauing accepted the Papacie without his confirmation, with other matters in the behalfe of the Emperor: wherto the Archdeacon H I L D E B R A N D, by the Popes order, made a very peremptory answer, alleaging that the Pope ought not to attend any such confirmation; and he so sharply reprehended the Emperor, that the Archbishop was constrained to hold his peace. After this, many matters in *Italy*, which (much against my will) I omit, to the end to treat of the rest of what passed in the time of the Emperor H E N R Y, of whom onely I write this History.

About this time, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand sixty and fixe, E D V A R D King of *England* dying without issue, made W I L L I A M Duke of

Ggg 2

Normandie

*Normandie* his heire, who with the aide of *BALDVIN* Earle of *Flanders*, obtained the kingdome; and so the houses of *England* and of *Normandie* were vnited, and so continued a long time in the Kings thereof, and in their successors. The Archbishop of *Colein* hauing dispatched his businesse in *Italy*, returned (discontent with his answer) into *Germanie*, and within fewe dayes after died Pope *ALEXANDER*, hauing been so eleuen yeeres and halfe: afterwards the Archbishop of *Rauenna* reuolted from the Church of *Rome*. *ALEXANDER* being dead, by the general consent of al the Cardinals and Clergie, *HILDEBRAND* the Archdeacon (often before named) was made Pope, and was called *GREGORY* the seuenth; who sent his ambassadours to the Emperour, praying and requiring him to become an obedient sonne to his Church, and to alter the manner of his gouernment in *Germanie*; and therby gaue him further to vnderstand, that he was determined not to allow thereof, but to vse his authority in redressing the same. The Emperour hereto gaue an equiuocall answer, but performed in effect nothing of what was required, persisting that the Pope ought not to accept the Papacie without his confirmation, according to the agreement made betweene his father the Emperour *HENRY* the third, and Pope *CLEMENT* the second, and so these ambassadors returned without any conclusion: this was in the seuenteenth yeere of his raigne, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand seuentie foure. At this time, (and also both before and after it) the Emperour held cruel warres with the Dukes of *Saxony*, which againe rebelled against him, they alleaging the Emperours disobedience to the Church of *Rome* to be the occasion thereof. This was the most dangerous warre that euer hee waged, wherein passed many perillous conflicts and feats of Armes, the Emperour therein hazarding his person, (so valiant and desirous was he to beare armes) & he principally fought one very bloody battell, wherein he preuailed; but (as saith *BLOVDVS*) with the losse of fife thousand men: and the Emperour, and his brother in lawe *RODVLPH*, which afterward was his great enemy, fought therein with their owne hands most valiantly.

While as these matters passed in *Germany*, *Italy* was not free from factions and controuersies, betweene the Imperialists, the Pope, and others; for *GILBERT* the beforenamed Archbishop of *Rauenna*, (who had beene gouernour for the Emperour in *Italy*) layed a plot; which was, that forasmuch as the Pope had determined to excommunicate the Emperour, hee therefore secretly agreed with one *CINCIVS* a yong *Romane* Knight, (whose father was Prefect of the citie) to apprehend the Pope; assuring him, that the Emperour would accept thereof, for a speciall peece of seruice; and he accordingly put the matter in execution; the pope being vpon *Christmas* euen saying Masse in the Church of *S. MARY* the greater in *Rome*; this *CINCIVS*, with a good guard, entred the Church, and laying hands vpon him, caried him away, and in a tower detained him prisoner. But the people so soone as it was day (being aduertised thereof) went to *CINCIVS* his house, and setting the pope at liberty, rased the tower, from the top to the foundation: and of all such of *CINCIVS* his seruants as they found, they cut off the noses, and banished them from *Rome*; and *CINCIVS* escaping the death (which they desired to haue giuen him) by flight, durst not stay in *Italy*, but went into *Germany* to the Emperour: And this Archbishop *GILBERT*, whose praistise was not yet discovered, setting a good countenance vpon the matter, departed the citie; but being come to *Rauenna*, was by the pope excommunicate, and deprived of all his ecclesiasticall dignities and Benefices.

In *Germany* were no lesse contempt against his Holinesse then in *Italy*, for (as the

the Abbot *WESPERGENSIS* and other *Germane* authors recount, besides the *Italians* which verifie the same) by the procurement of *SIGEFRIDV*s Archbishop of *Mentz*, with some other Bishops and Abbots which ioyned with him, a Councell was held against the pope, (the Bishops of *Saxony* disallowing and contradicting the same) in which Councell it was determined, that *GREGORY* should not be held for Pope; and that they all should renounce their obedience vnto him: whereupon the Emperour and his Councell, sent for ambassadour to Pope *GREGORIE*, a priest, whose name was *ROVLAND*. The Pope in like manner called a Councell against the Emperour, at *Saint IOHN DE LATRAN* in *Rome*; where *ROVLAND* being arriued, and the Pope and his Councell giuing him audience, he in the behalfe of the Emperour, required *GREGORIE* to desist from any longer exercising the papall function, and to resigne the authoritie of Pope, and he further notified the same to the Cardinals, willing them to repaire into *Germany* to the Emperour, who would appoint them a pope. *GREGORIE* was herewith much troubled, and for as much as *ROVLAND* was but an Ambassador, he made him presently to depart without any answer. But it is also written, that the Emperours mother, at the popes request, went into *Germanie*, accompanied with many great prelates, to perswade her sonne, to desist from intermeddling with the donation of Bishoppricks, or other ecclesiasticall Benefices; to forbid the mariage of priests, and to yeeld obedience to the Church of *Rome*; but for that it tooke no effect, the pope very solemnly excommunicated the Emperour, and deprived him of all imperiall dignitie; and he also excommunicated all such as tooke his part, and released all the princes and Lords of *Germany*, and elsewhere, which ought him any dutie or allegiance, from their oathes, homage, and bands of obedience or subiection, giuing free libertie to all men; and authoritie to the princes electors to chuse another Emperour, such as should best please them. The Archbishop of *Mentz* was likewise excommunicate, and deprived of all ecclesiasticall dignitie, and with him all such others as had bin in the Councell afore said; but before the pope had proceeded so farre herein, hee aduertised all the princes in christendome of all, both past, and present: and the Emperour wrote to them in like manner defending his cause, and excusing himselfe against the popes accusations. The popes terrible sentence being published in *Germany* (as there were many that tooke his part, principally the prelates of *Saxony* and others) *RODVLPH* Duke thereof with many other princes called a Diet or Councell, wherein they resolued to require the Emperour to aske the pope forgiveness, and to submit himselfe to the Church of *Rome*, which if he refused to doe, they concluded to renounce their obedience vnto him. The Emperour notwithstanding that he was a very braue man, and exceeding valorous (as some say) fainedly, and as others say, of his owne accord, promised to doe what they required, which hee openly protested. Finally, it was agreed, to send to the pope, to come into *Germany*, where full and entire obedience should be yeelded vnto him; and in the name of the Princes and Lords assembled at that Diet or Councell, the Archbishop of *Treuer* and some others of great account, went to the pope, and intreated him with such instancie, that he was perswaded, and to take his way towards *Germany*, to meete the Emperour, who stayed (as they said) for him, and would come to aske him forgiveness, and submit himselfe into his hands. The pope came to the citie of *Bercelli* in *Lombardy*, where being aduertised, that the Emperour came towards him with great troupes of men at armes; fearing that he would haue either killed him, or taken him prisoner, gaue ouer his iourney, and turned into the

A Councell held in *Germany* against the Pope.

The Emperour *Henry* the fourth excommunicated by the Pope.

countrey of GOTHREDVS and his wife MAVVD, and was by them protected in an expugnable towne and castle, called *Canusio* or *Canisio*, whither within fewe dayes came the Emperour; who lodging his armie before the towne, in great humilitie sent to intreate the pope to absolue him of his excommunication, offering to become his obedient sonne and subiect, and three dayes together came barefooted to the gates of the citie to sue for this absolution; but the pope would not yeeld thereto. In conclusion, there passed many treaties, oathes and promises; but at length (through the instant suit of the said MAVD, and of ADELAVS Earle of *Sauoy*, and as some say, of I NES the Emperors mother also) the pope admitting the Emperour into his presence, absolued him: but whereas he had depriued him of his empire, and had layd other penalties vpon him for former matters, he referred that to the iudgement of the next generall Councell, which should presently be called; and the Emperour promised to stand to the Councels arbitrament, and to banish from his company CINCIVS, which apprehended the pope in *Rome*, and some excommunicated prelates.

The Emperour remained some dayes in those quarters, (as some write, expecting when the pope would haue come forth of that Citie, imagining that hee trulting to the peace might haue been apprehended) and departing from thence, went to *Paui* in *Lumbardie*, where the before named CINCIVS died, and the Emperour by reason of the great abundance of raine which fell at that time, made his abode there for certaine dayes; in which hee was giuen to vnderstand, that in *Germany*, the Saxons and other his enemies, (among which were BARTOLD Earle of *Carinthia*, the Duke of *Bauiere*, RODVLPH Duke of *Suenia*, and others) rebelled against him; and assembling themselves together (denying him their obedience) made the Duke of *Saxony* Emperour, of whom wee haue heretofore made mention, who was a man of the greatest accompt both for power and valour, of his time in *Germany*. This (after the Abbot WESPERGENSIS his computation) was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand seuentie and nine, and in the twentieth yeere of the raigne of the Emperour HENRY the fourth.

These newes being brought to the Emperour HENRY, (as hee was a man of an high minde and great courage) with the greatest fury of the world, he departed towards *Germany*, and by the way gathered together all such his friends as tooke his part, which were many: and RODVLPH, assisted by the Saxons and Sueuians, accompanied with some Princes and great prelates; the most cruell warre began betweene them two, that had beene euer seene in *Germany*; which lasted full foure yeeres after. In the beginning whereof (besides sundry conflicts and fortunes of warre, whereto either of these Emperours did set their hands) they came to a field battell of power against power: which for that their forces were in a manner equall, and both the Generals very valiant, was very doubtfull and bloody: HENRY to defend the Empire, and RODVLPH to get the same, did both that day marueilles in Armes in their owne persons. Finally, the authors affirme, that either partie fought with such resolution, that hauing spent the greatest part of the day therein, the battell was ended without any certaine apparance of victory, both Campes remaining full of dead and wounded bodies; and each Captaine was constrained of necessitie to withdraw his armie from the other, to the end to refresh and relieue his troupes; but yet the warre ceased not.

In the meane time both these Princes sent their Ambassadors to the pope, either of them entreating him to condemne the other: and the pope returned ambassadors to both these princes, requiring them both to lay downe their

weapons

weapons; and HENRY (according to the agreement made with him in *Lanuso*) to permit a generall Councell to bee held in *Germanie*; and that either of them should stand to such arbitrament, as by that Councell should be awarded. RODVLPH accepted these conditions; but HENRY answered that he was not bound thereto, except the pope would first excommunicate RODVLPH; and so prosecuted the warre with greater resolution then before. The pope receiuing this answer, sent a new excommunication against him, and approved and ratified the election of RODVLPHVS; to whom (as IOHANNES DE COLUMNA, ANTONINVS, VINCENCIVS, IOHN CVSPINIAN, IOHN CARION, and many others doe write) he sent a crowne, wherewith he should be crowned, with this inscription, *Petra dedit petro: Petrus diadema Rodulphi*.

After this, both these Emperours purposed againe to try their fortunes by battaile; notwithstanding that it was in the midst of winter, which was no lesse cruell and doubtfull then the former, but rather more, and therein (as saith PLATINA) was as little signe of victorie, as in the last: some authors attribute the victorie to RODVLPH, and others to HENRY; the cause whereof was (as saith the Abbot WESPERGENSIS and some others) for that in the beginning RODVLPHS vauntguard of Saxons was put to flight, and HENRY prosecuted the victorie: wherein the Duke of *Bohemia*, who bare RODVLPHS imperiall standard, made a great shew of his valour, which standard his successors afterwards bare in the wars, in remembrance of this victorie. And in this meane season, RODVLPHS arrierguarde robbed the Emperour HENRIES tents and his campe, and so they might retire without being broken, and either party might pretend to haue gotten the victory: this is the cause why it is so diuersly reported. But howsoever it was, HENRY was wounded, although not dangerously, but yet the war ceased not; for shortly after either of these Emperours reinforcing his army, desired to fight the third battaile, with power against power, (notwithstanding that betweene them was dayly notable seruice) and neither partie refusing the fight, the two armies ioyned, and they fought with greater furie then at any time before, for the harmes which were done, and the slaughters made of their people of either side were so great and so many, and their hatred and malice was growne to so high degree, that they thought on nothing else but how to kill and destroy; with this desire and rage they maintained the fight: wherein after the death of an infinit number of men, and the effusion of much blood, HENRY obtained the victorie, and RODVLPH was ouerthrowne, and lost many of his Saxons, which were very good men; but notwithstanding that RODVLPH was ouerthrowne, yet (as a valorous prince) gathering his people together, and reinforcing his armie, he retired into *Saxony*, which was his best refuge: where were some treaties of peace and of a composition to be made betweene the Emperour HENRY and him; which tooke no effect, for HENRY would not determine the wars, but by the sword: for as he was a man of a great and high minde, so he presumed to subdue all his aduersaries by his power, and his haucie stomacke was such as could endure no riuall or equall which through his late victorie greatly encreased.

The affaires of *Germany* standing vpon these termes, HENRY still following the warre, sought the popes destruction, and procured to be assembled in a citie in *Germany*, such prelates as tooke part with him, in the name of a Councell; which chose and made the before named GILBERT Archbishop of *Rauenna*, pope (who was pope GREGORIES capitall and deadly enemy; and had laid the plot before remembered for his apprehension in *Rome* by CINCIVS) and was called CLE-

The Emperors  
submission, who  
came thre se-  
uerall dayes  
barefooted, to  
the citie gates  
wherein the  
Pope was, sue-  
ing for absolu-  
tion.

Rodulph Duke  
of Saxony cho-  
sen Emperour.

A battell be-  
tweene the Em-  
perour and the  
Duke of Saxo-  
nie.

A third bat-  
taile betweene  
the Emperour  
Henry the  
fourth, and  
Rodulph Duke  
of Saxony.

MENT. Hereupon began a schisme and diuision in the Church of *Rome*, for those which tooke part with the Emperour HENRY, held him for pope. The Emperour at that time sent his sonne HENRY into *Italy*, there to gouerne such estates as were subiect vnto him, and to warre against such as held with pope GREGORIE: of which, that MAVD (before named) was the principall; and she leuied her power and came to a battaile with HENRY the sonne, wherein she was ouerthrowne, for which the pope was very sorie; comparing this his ill fortune, with the schisme made by pope GILBERT. The Emperour was herewith so much encouraged, that he leuying the greatest power that he was able to make, went to seeke RODVLPH; who (as I said) was in *Saxony*, making preparation for the warres; and was alreadie in so good readines, that he doubted not to fight with the Emperour, in hope to haue ouerthrowne him. And so they fought a most cruell and bloodie battaile; wherein (as then there were no Cannons, Culuerines, Musket shot, or other artillerie, as now is vsed) neither partie wanting either force or courage, or standing in any feare or doubt to come to blowes with the other; with dint of sword and lance, they slew and wounded their enemies; the two Emperours in person fighting in the thickest of the prease. This fight was maintained the greatest part of the day; the end whereof is recounted by Historiographers in sundrie manners: the most common opinion is, that the Emperour HENRY's partie was ouerthrowne, and that RODVLPH had the victorie; but was sore wounded and lost his right hand: some say that hee receiued that hurt by mischance amongst his owne people, which wound bled so much and pained him so sore, that he could not prosecute the victorie, and therefore was constrained to retire himselfe to a strong castle to be cured; wherein within few daies after he died. So as the Emperour HENRY of a man conquered became a conquerour: for RODVLPH being misling, his people disbanded, and so HENRY became Master of the field. Yet BLONDVS writeth, that the Emperour HENRY fled out of the field the same day wherein the battaile was fought, and lay close in a castle, vntill that he was certified of the death of RODVLPHVS; and that he then came forth to enioy the victorie, through the death of his enemy, whom hee had not ouerthrowne. And RODVLPHVS his seruants going about to burie the body of their deceased Lord, with the ensignes and ornaments of Emperour; some asked of the Emperour HENRY, wherefore he suffered RODVLPHVS to be buried with such honour, seeing that he was a tyrant and his enemy: whereto he truly made an excellent answer: I would to God (quoth he) that all mine enemies were (like RODVLPH) buried with the ornaments and ensignes of Emperours.

The Emperour HENRY hauing slaine his competitor RODVLPHVS, making small account of the rest, seised *Suenia* into his hands, and dispossessed BERTOLDVS thereof, to whom RODVLPH had giuen the same; & leauing garrisons in the frontiers of *Saxony* (which was not yet thoroughly pacified) and establishing the best order that hee could in all parts of *Germany*; with his victorious armie hee tooke his way towards *Italy*; whither he came within few daies, hauing with him the pope CLEMENT which was chosen in *Germany*, with a determination to depose pope GREGORIE; to whose aide the aforementioned MAVD had sent a great supplie of men of warre; and pope GREGORIE had alreadie fortified and victualled *Rome*: for the Emperour came with so great force and furie, that there was no reason to attend his comming in the open fields; so as without encountering any resistance, he came to the very walles of the citie, whereto he presently commaunded assault to be giuen: but he found such resistance therein, that being

A fourth battaile between the Emperour and Duke Rodolph: and his end.

A notable saying of the Emperour Henry the fourth.

out of hope to enter it at that time, he burned and spoyled all the cuntry round about it, continuing his siege before the citie notwithstanding; which was one of the most notable that hath been seene before any citie in the world, aswell for continuance of time, as for the many accidents and aduentures in armes; for it continued about three whole yeeres, in which time there were many cruell assaults and sallies; and the besieged endured great famine and want of all things necessarie: and in the meane time the Emperour made some roades into *Lombardie*, and into other parts of *Italy*: the Germane pope CLEMENT commanding his armie in time of his absence. In this siege was taken the Vaticane, wherein are the Popes palace, and S. PETERS Church, which were destroyed and burned by the Emperour, together with the best and fairest houses and buildings therein. And whilest that the Emperour was busied in *Italy*, they were not in quiet in *Germany*: for besides the ordinarie warres, the Saxons aduanced a great man called HARMAN to the dignitie of Emperour: but this was a matter which continued not long, and did little hurt, for they themselves expelled him. And in the end of the long time that *Rome* was thus besieged, ROBERT GVISCARDA mightie Normane, Prince and Lord of *Pulia* and of *Calabria*, being grieved to see the pope thus distressed, resolved to giue ouer his warres with the Greekes in *Dalmatia* and in other parts, and (as the popes liege man) to come to the reliefe of *Rome*: and to that effect left his sonne BOHEMYND in his place, and leuied forces and other necessaries fit for so high an enterprife. The newes hereof being euery where published, the Emperour with greater care and circumspection more strictly continued his siege; and vsing aswell policie as force, caused to be published amongst the Romanes, that his desire was, but to be absolved and crowned by the pope, and that hee confirming him in the empire, he would presently depart from *Rome*: Whereto the pope would not giue care, except the Emperour would giue securitie for the performance of his promise. But the Emperour vsed such meanes, that the greatest part of the Romanes being tired with so long and so cruell a siege, went ouer to the Emperours campe; and others were so bold as to tell the pope to his face, that he did ill in not receiuing him into *Rome*, seeing he promised presently to depart againe from thence: besides this the pope was certified, that some had determined, whether he would or no, to let the Emperour into the citie: whereupon he withdrew himselfe into the Castle S. Angelo, and with him all the Cardinals; and made a nephew of his, whose name was RVSTICVS, to possesse himselfe of another Castle called *Septem Solia*; wherein he was well aduised, for the Emperour was presently receiued into the citie, and with him the Germane Pope CLEMENT, and the said castles by his commaundement were presently strictly besieged, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand fourescore and foure: And the Emperour with great solemnitie was annoiuted and crowned by Pope CLEMENT, more accompanied with men of warre then with Bishops and prelates. Yet not omitting to batter the castles, wherein Pope GREGORY and his nephew were; the assaults giuen were so furious, that RVSTICVS was driuen to yeeld himselfe prisoner: but the castle S. Angelo was so strong, that the Emperour could not preuaile against it. The matter standing in this estate, the said ROBERT GVISCARDA so much hastened his comming with such and so great power, that (as the Italian authors write) the Emperour durst not stay for him; but spreading a report, that by reason of some vrgent affaires in *Germany*, it behoued him presently to depart; he left part of his forces for the defence of the citie, and to continue the siege of the castle, wherein

*Rome besieged by the Emperour Henry.*

Anno Dom. 1084.

The Emperour annoiuted and crowned in *Rome*.

the

the Pope was; and fortified the Capitoll, which then was strong, and repayed other towers and fortresses decayed. The Abbot WESPEROENSIS, and other Germane authors write nothing of any such feare as the Emperour was in, but write all the rest. But howsoever it was, he went out of *Italy*, and with him his pope, whom RICHARD Duke of *Beneuent* did support for a season. And within few daies following, ROBERT GVISCARD came to *Rome* with all his troupes of Normanes and Calabrians (it had been better that he had neuer come, as it afterwards happened) and others which came to his aide, to set pope GREGORY at libertie: for from elsewhere there was no pope, for in *Gracia* the Emperours were at warres; and from *France* could come no reliefe, for that *Lombardy* held for the Emperour: and in *Spain* the princes were troubled and turmoyled with warres against the Moores; so as onely ROBERT GVISCARD had meanes to doe it, and none other: And being come, as I say, the citizens of *Rome* which had received in the Emperour, with the assistance of those which he had left there in garrison, addressed themselves to defend the citie, so as hee entred it by force of armes, with the aide and fauour of some which were within it. He found so great resistance in his aduersaries, that the two factions oftentimes fought within the citie; the greatest part of the citizens taking part with the Imperialists: and there was so great disorder and confusion, that the greatest part of miserable *Rome* was burnt and destroyed; for whatsoever either partie gat, they ouerthrew or set on fire: so great was the rage and furie wherewith they made this warre. But in the end ROBERT GVISCARD, and the popes partie preuailing against their enemies, tooke, burned and destroyed the Capitoll; and left *Rome* so destroyed and ruinated, that neither ATTILA, or any other nation, did euer the like harme as now was done: for at this day there are orchards, vineyards and gardens, where before that warre, were streetes, houses, Churches, and other sumptuous buildings. ROBERT hauing obtained so pitifull a victorie, went to the Castle S. *Angelo*, which vntil then was besieged: and releasing pope GREGORY from thence, restored him to his seate and palace. But within few daies after, the Pope considering into how miserable and pitifull estate the citie was brought, by the counsell of the said ROBERT, he determined to absent himselfe; and being accompanied with the same ROBERT, and with his Colledge of Cardinals he went to the citie of *Salerno*, where he afterwards died, hauing been pope twelue yeeres, one moneth, and three daies. It is written that this Pope was a iust, an vpriight, a wife, and a charitable man, and an almes giuer: but it is certaine that he was an obstinate, presumptuous, stout, and firme defender of the Romane prelatie, with the liberties and immunities thereof. For I haue read one BRUNVS, and one SIGIBERTVS which report him to haue been, both ambitious, a Negromancer, and an Inchaunter; and that he had poysoned seuen other Popes before he could attaine to the Papacie.

Hildebrand  
called Pope  
Gregorie the  
seuenth, a no-  
table Inchaun-  
ter and Negro-  
maicer.

Before that we proceed any further, it shall be very requisite to make some relation of the Emperours of *Constantinople* (seeing that wee are not to discourse of other kingdomes and common-wealths) to the end that hauing ended herewith, we may proceede with our HENRY and the successors of Pope GREGORY, I say then that in the space of seuen and twentie yeeres of HENRIES raigne, little more or lesse, fise or sixe Emperours had raigned in *Constantinople*, before which time, the Infidels, Turkes, Persians and other nations made themselves Lords of what the Greekes held in *Asia*, whose euent was this, as wee said in the end of the life of HENRY the third, father of this HENRY of whom we now wrote, the better to vnderstand

vnderstand the matter it shal not be amisse to returne to YSACIUS CONNENVS, which raigned two yeeres Emperour in *Constantinople*: and him succeeded CONSTANTINVS DVCA, who in the beginning behaued himselfe very valorously, subduing and punishing such as rebelled against him, and in the rest was a very deuout christian: but being infected with the disease of couetousnes, was therefore contemned, both by his owne subiects, and by the Barbarians also; and in his time were lost many townes in *Asia*; and in *Constantinople* was so great an earthquake, that Churches and other buildings fell downe: and so his empire being unfortunate, he died in the seuenth yeere of his raigne, and his sonnes remaining his successors; his wife EVDOKIA tooke vpon her the gouernment, who held the same the space of seuen moneths onely: for by reason of the warres with the Turkes and Barbarians, the Greekes made her to take to husband a great man amongst them called ROMANVS DIOGENES, to helpe to defend the empire; who not contented to gouerne in the behalfe of her sonnes, but proclaiming himselfe Emperour, vsurped the empire, and going into *Asia* with an army against the Turkes, had variable successe, and was sometimes victorious, and sometime vanquished, and in the end was in a battaile ouerthrowne by them, and many of his people were slaine; and being afterwards by the Generall of the Infidels well intreated and set at libertie, comming to *Constantinople*, he found already placed in his throne the eldest of his wiues sonnes, called MICHAEL PARAPINASSVS: And notwithstanding that he attempted by force of armes to haue recovered the empire, yet he could not bring it to passe, but was taken prisoner, and had his eyes put out (a crueltie much vsed in *Gracia* in those daies) and was banished in the habit of a religious man to a certaine Iland, where he died; when he had been Emperour about the space of foure yeeres. And MICHAEL PARAPINASSVS remaining in the imperiall throne, grew to be so carelesse and negligent, and therewith of so little worth, that he applied himselfe to nothing but to making of verses, and to dresse the gowt wherewith hee was grieved: he held the empire fixe yeeres and halfe, with great diminution of estate in *Asia*, the Infidels conquering many cities thereof: for which cause his subiects rose against him, and chose for their Emperour a man of great renowme and parentage, whose name was NICEPHORVS BOTANIATES, who was descended from the Emperour PHOCAS aboue mentioned: this man much honoured the brothers of his predecessour MICHAEL PARAPINASSVS, which were the sonnes of CONSTANTINVS DVCA and of EVDOKIA before named; and giuing them offices and captainships, ouerthrew by their meanes, BRIENVS and BASILICVS, which rebelled against him: for which and other things which he did, hee was very ill requited, for they being sonnes and brothers to Emperours, sought to bee so themselves: and so the youngest and most valiant of them, called ALEXIS CONNENVS, (procuring friends thereto) deposed him from the empire, and gat the same for himselfe; when he had raigned three yeeres, and made him to take a religious habit: and this ALEXIS held the empire seuen and thirtie yeeres, and fought many battailes, both with Infidels and with Christians, but chiefly with ROBERT GVISCARD, Lord of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, who released Pope GREGORY, as wee haue recounted; who also thought to haue been Emperour of *Gracia*; which warres he continued with the aide of the Venecians. In this estate stood the affaires of *Gracia*, at such time as the Emperour HENRY the fourth departed out of *Italy*, and Pope GREGORY the seuenth died: wherefore let vs now returne to speake of them.

A great earth  
quake in Con-  
stantinople.

The Emperour HENRY being departed out of *Italy* in such manner as we haue declared, and (as I said) leauing *Rome* in such trouble, as aforesaid, came into *Germany*, where he called a Diet or Councell in the city of *Mentz*, aswell to excuse and iustifie himselfe concerning such matters as were done in *Italy*; as to prosecute and end the war against the Saxons and their adherents. In this Councell (being perswaded and in a manner compelled by sundry prelates) he yeelded to the altring of some matters in the Church; as to graunt that priests should haue no wiues, and some other matters; yet he perseuered in supporting Pope CLEMENT, who was chosen against Pope GREGORY, and in such other things as before he did. This Councell of *Mentz* being dissolued, the Emperour againe prosecuted the warre against the Saxons; in which, betweene both parties ensued much harme, many slaughters, and great battels and encounters; wherein the Emperour did often hazard his person, and in the most of them fighting most valiantly the victory, there being of either side great princes, captaines and very valiant men, with many of which he came to agreement in the end, and so grew dayly more mighty, yet neuer without enemies: wherein passed many and sundry accidents, which the breuitie whereto I am bound, permitteth mee not particularly to relate.

In the meane season that he was buſied herein, Pope GREGORY the ſeuenth died in *Salerno*, in whole place was chosen (notwithstanding that CLEMENT was still called Pope) an Abbot, called DESIDERIUS, who being installed, was called VICTOR the third; this Pope also withstood the Emperours proceedings. At this time also died ROBERT GNISCARD, Lord of *Pulia*, of *Calabria*, and of great part of *Sicilia*, and him succeeded his sonnes, ROGER and BOHEMVND. VICTOR continued Pope one yeere and foure moneths onely, and hee being dead, they chose to succeed him, the Cardinall of *Hofia*, whose name was OTHO, and called him VRBAN the second; who in the beginning of his papacie was somewhat troubled in *Rome*, by some which were the Emperours adherents, and tooke part with Pope CLEMENT, which yet liued, whom a certaine Duke of *Italy* maintained in his country: whereupon this Pope (for his better safetie) went from *Rome* to the citie of *Melfi*: but hee afterwards remoued to the citie of *Placencia*, (there to be of the greater power by reason of MAVVD, the great Lady so often before named) where he assembled a Synode, wherein some new orders were made; but he still vpheld and maintained the quarrell of his predecessors Pope GREGORY, and Pope VICTOR, against the Emperour and his followers: and there also he held not himselfe to be safe, for that the Emperour HENRY was of very great power: wherefore he determined to goe into *France*, where what befell him you shall vnderstand. In this place the authors doe greatly varie, in reciting the actes of this Emperour: for some make not any mention of his second comming into *Italy*: others account it to haue been at this time; and those which doe recite it, agree not well together in the times, neither doe they distinctly set downe what he did there; which hath been a great trouble to me, and hath caused a great confusion: wherefore let the reader passe it ouer as he may, for I cannot certainly auerre, which accidents proceeded the other. The Abbot WASPERGENSIUS and BLONDVS say, that the Emperour HENRY after that hee had buried his first wife, whose name was VERTA, and had married againe the second time, came into *Italy*, and made his abode therein about ſeuē yeeres, warring against the Popes dominions in his owne person, and that he tooke many cities by force of armes; among which were *Mantua* and *Ferrara*, which were held by

by MAVVD. And the same BLONDVS affirmeth, that others write that these cities were in the same warre recouered by MAVVD, through the permission and ayde of CONRAD the Emperours eldest sonne, who openly fauoured her and the pope against his father: whereupon (they say) MAVVD grew to be so valiant, as to leuie all her owne forces, together with the power of his friends and allies, to the end to stoppe the Emperours passage to *Rome*; and that she fought, and ouerthrew him; so as he was constrained to depart out of *Italy*. Howsoeuer it was, among such diuersitie of opinions, the truth is, and is approued by all without any difference, that in this time the pope being come into *France*, assembled a generall Councell in the citie of *Cleremount*, in the yeere of our Lorde 1094, wherein he attempted the greatest matter that euer any other pope had done; which was, by conquest to recouer the citie of *Ierusalem*, and other cities in the marches thereof, which of long time had been subiect to MAHOMETS successors; and he solicited the same in that Councell, with such instance and efficacie, and his speeches so incensed the hearts of the people, that many great princes resolved to vndertake the action: for out of *France*, *Spaine*, *England*, *Italy*, and *Germany* went so many, that all writers affirme them to exceede the number of three hundred thousand fighting men, which tooke for their deuice the signe of the Crosse: the principall Captaines wherof for one partie, were PETER the Hermit, and another great Lord Duke of *Lorraine*, called GODFREY of *Guillon*, and his two brothers, the one called EVSTACE, the other BALDVIN, and with them other great princes: And on the other side went HUGH, brother to the French King, ROBERT Earle of *Flanders*, ROBERT Duke of *Normandie*, STEPHEN Earle of *Carmato*, RAIMOND Earle of *S. Angelo*, and BOHEMVND prince of *Otranto* in *Italy*, and others of equall and inferiour degree; some taking their way through *Germany*, *Hungarie*, and *Gracia*, passed ouer into *Asia*; and others thorow *Italy*, (taking the Popes blessing with them, who then was VRBAN the second) and passing the seas, diuided themselues into two armies, although not without great trouble and difficultie; the cause whereof was ALEXIUS Emperour of *Constantinople*. In the end, these troupes passed ouer into *Asia*, and made great warres in sundry parts, principally in *Soria*, and in *Iudea*: This was one of the most notable warres that euer was in the world, which I forbear to write at large, aswell for that it maketh nothing to my purpose; as also, for that it is so great a matter, that it deserueth a particular historie alone; but the conclusion thereof is, that after they had wonne many battailes, taken many cities, and continued the warre the space of three yeeres; the citie of *Ierusalem* was taken by GODFREY of *Guillon*, the Duke of *Normandie*, and the Earle of *Flanders*, and others, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand ninety and nine, vpon the 15. day of Iuly: foure hundred & ninety yeeres after that it was first taken by the Sarazins, in the time of the Emperour HERACLIVS. And the said city being taken, the same GODFREY was made King thereof, and of all the countrey round about it. Other of the princes and captaines before named, remained Lords & gouernors of other great cities & townes in *Syria*, yet many of the returned to their countries, after the performance of so honourable an action; among which were the Earles of *Flanders*, and of *S. Giles* and others: And the war continuing, this kingdome remained in him, and his successors, the space of fourescore and eight yeeres: which being expired, through the weaknesse, and dissension among the princes, it was againe lost, in the time of the Emperour BARBAROSSA, as hereafter you shall vnderstand.

Let vs now returne to our discourse of the Emperour HENRY, who at such time

Hhh

as

Anno Dom.  
1094.

The conquest  
of the Holy  
Land.

Many authors  
write of this  
warre, as Ab-  
bas VVesper-  
genſi, in the  
life of Henry  
the fourth.  
Paulus Emi-  
lius in his  
fourth booke  
of the history  
of France.  
Mevla in his  
third booke of  
the history of  
Asia.  
Blondus in his  
fourth of his  
second Decade.  
Antoninus.  
Platina.  
Sabellius.  
Naucerus.

as these matters passed in *Ierusalem*, being returned out of *Italy*, the last time that euer he was there; wherein he then left his eldest son *CONRAD* for his Lieutenant; and assembling some of the princes Electors in the Citie of *Coleu*, he procured to haue his sonne *HENRY* to be chosen King of the Romanes, whom he had already made Duke of *Franconia* (which was his house and patrimony) which *HENRY* was his second sonne, and whom he best loued. When this was made knowne to his eldest son *CONRAD*, he became very wroth, and much grieued at his fathers determination; and therefore resolu'd openly to deny him his obedience (as to an Emperor, which was a schismaticke, and excommunicated) and so he seized into his hands all the lands of the Empire in *Italy*, finding all men well affected thereto, for the hatred which they bare to his father; & he held the same nine yeeres with the title of King of *Italy*: his father either dissembling, or not daring to come thither against him, and they say that he gouerned as a wise and vertuous prince: at the end of which time, hee fell sicke and died, about the yeere of our Lord, one thousand and twentie: and at the same time died *GODFREY* the new King of *Ierusalem*, whom his brother *BALDVIN* succeeded, and pope *VRBANE* the second likewise died in *Rome*, and him succeeded *PASCAL* the second, and within few daies after died *CLEMENT*, who was made pope by the Emperor, and after his decease, the Earle of *Capua*, and others attempted to make one *ALBERT* pope; and afterwards one *THEODORICVS*; and in *Ravenna* one *MAGINVLPHVS*, a man of great courage and power, assaied to haue made himselfe pope; but none of them all continued long: and so *PASCAL* remained pope in *esse*, who recovered and defended the Church patrimony, which the Emperor could not hinder, as he would haue done, for at that instant, his sonne *HENRY* (being desirous to rule) rebelled against him, and warres began betwene them two, which were more then ciuill, which in summe I will set downe. The Emperor *HENRY* (the better to assure himselfe in his estate) procured his sonne *HENRY* to be chosen King of the Romanes (publishing that he meant to go into *Italy*) and summoned a generall Councell to be held in *Rome*, with intent (as some write) to haue deposed pope *PASCAL*: the pope being aduertised hereof, presently excommunicated him, for which cause, after many accidents which happened (which for breuitie I slightly ouerpasse) by the aduice and counsell of some of the princes and prelates of *Germany*; his sonne *HENRY* began to stirre against him, publishing that he did so, for that his father was disobedient to the Church, and that he abhorred his simony, and other crimes which he laid to his charge: and in short space vnder this pretext (which as is most likely, was rather to depose his father, then for any loue he bare to the pope) he grew to be so mightie, that his father offered him large compositions, to the end to reduce him to his seruice and obedience; which taking no effect (for the sonne was resolu'd to be absolute) they tooke armes, and each of them assembled their power, and leuied armies, and began to make cruell war one against the other. The sonne was aided and assisted by the Dukes of *Banier* and of *Saxony*, and by other princes and great cities: and the father by the Duke of *Bohemia*, and the Marquess of *Austrich*, with other mightie Dukes and Earles. In the beginning, neere the citie of *Ratisbone*, with the aide of those of that citie, the father obtained the vpper hand against the son, so as he was driuen to retire to reinforce his troupes: afterwards much defying a battaile, the sonne came in quest of his father, in whom his people now for his old age had lesse confidence then in former times. And the armies and Emperors drawing neere together, stood the space of three dayes continually in

Conrade rebelled against his father the Emperor.

Conrade deceased anno 1120. The death of Godfrey of Buillon.

Henry rebelled against his father the Emperor.

A battaile fought betwene the father and the sonne.

fight, the one of the other marshalled, and in readines to fight; a little riuer being betwene the two camps, where were many skirmishes, in which died many notable personages; and both father and sonne being resolu'd to fight, the night before they should haue fought, *LEOPOLDVS* the Marquess of *Austrich* being wearie of the fathers quarell, counselled him to withdraw himselfe and not to fight; but seeing that his aduice was not accepted, he departed with all his forces, and the Duke of *Bohemia* being aduertised thereof, did the like with his, and presently after this came a gentleman of his sonnes troupes, to warne him to looke to his person, and to take heed whom he trusted, for he was in daunger: whereupon the old Emperor, with some small troupes of horse, and those the lightest that he could chuse, forsooke the campe, and went into sundrie parts, imploring aide and succors. The sonne by reason of the fathers flight, seized into his hands the best and most of the cities of *Germany*, and the most of the princes came to his side: and then he went against the citie of *Spire* (wherein his fathers treasure and iewels lay) and tooke the same. After this were moued some treaties of peace betwene the father and the sonne; which was concluded vpon condition, that they two should meete in the towne of *Binge*, which lieth vpon the *Rhines* side, before that the Councell should be assembled, which the sonne had procured to be called, of all the princes Secular and Regular, to bee held in the citie of *Mentz*, the next Christmas following; which was in the end of the yeere of our Lord one thousand one hundred and fife, and the beginning of the yeere 1106. And they two meeting there, the sonne protested that hee pretended nothing but the peace of the Church of *Rome*, with a reformation of matters in *Germany*, and that his father should be absolved and reduced to the popes obedience; and that he neuer meant to bereaue him of either title or dignitie of Emperor, but that he should set matters in such order as was conuenient. The father promised to doe all that hee ought to doe, and offered more then hee either would or could performe: but the one distrusting the other, the father said that hee would stand to that which the estates should award in *Mentz*, and in the best manner that hee could, departed thence to a strong Castle, where hee made account to liue in safety in the meane time; and the sonne being there with his troupes, tooke all the waies and passages towards that Castle; in such manner, that the Emperor could haue no conference with any, without the knowledge of his sonne. Some authors write, that he was apprehended, and committed thither prisoner by his sonne; and that his sonne perforce made him to renounce the Empire, and that he afterwards died in his power. But the Abbot *WESPERGENSIS* (an author of those times) and *OTHO FRISINGENSIS*, and the most and best Historiographers write, as I haue recounted.

Christmas day being come, all the great princes of *Germany* met in *Mentz*, excepting the Duke of *Saxony*, who could not come, by reason of his great age; and with them pope *PASCAL*s Legates; where the said Legates (as it was thought) not without the sonnes will and procurement, againe pronounced the popes sentence against the father, and all such as tooke his part: and as they debated hereof, and of the Emperor which was in the Castle (who offered to performe what they required; humbly suing for absolution, for which purpose he desired to come to *Mentz*) the sonne protested and alleaged that hee neither desired, neither pretended any other thing, but that his father should reforme himselfe, and become obedient to the Church of *Rome*; but in truth the issue manifested, that his principall intent was to make himselfe Emperor. The popes Legates aun-

Hhh 2

swered

Anno Dom. 1105.

The Emperor  
Henry the  
fourth renoun-  
ced the Empire  
to his sonne.

Henry the fifth  
chosen Empe-  
rour.

swered to the Emperours offers and promises, that they neither could, neither had authoritie to appoint any penance for the Emperor, neither could they giue him any absolution, but that it must be done in a generall Councell, and that by the popes direction, as it had been handled by GREGORIE the seuenth concerning his deprivation, and all the rest. The matter standing in this estate, as all men were now most affected to the sonne, and desiring to winne his grace and fauour, for they saw that he was mightie and victorious, and the father as he was a man of an high stomacke, comming to haue put himselfe into *Mentz*, many princes & prelates went forth to meete him, and perswaded him, that accept he would wholly bring himselfe to ruine, there was no remedie but to renounce the Empire to his sonne, and to repose his trust in him. HENRY seeing himselfe thus distressed, and finding no redresse or counsell in any bodie, accepted hereof, as some say voluntarily, as being tired and worne out with wars and troubles. Finally, reposing his trust in his sonne, or in despaire by reason of the solemne decree, he resigned his title to the Empire to his sonne HENRY, and sent to him from the Castle wherein he was, the Crosse, the Launce, the Scepter, the Globe, the Crowne, and his other Imperiall ensignes and ornaments: which renunciation being receiued in the Councell, by a generall consent HENRY the sonne was chosen and created Emperour, and called HENRY the fifth, after the Germane, and fourth after the Italian writers; for they allow not of HENRY the first, as is before said: and the election was confirmed and ratified by the popes Legates, and like an Emperour, in that Councell he treated with the popes Legates, and with the princes of *Germanie*, of all matters spirituall and temporall, concerning the Empire: and for his Ambassadors sent certaine men of great account and authoritie to pope PASCUAL, and so remained and was held for Emperour. But before many daies were passed, the father seeing himselfe depriued, and his sonne exalted, repenting, secretly sought and procured friends, to the end to haue been restored; and wrote to the French King, and to other Kings and princes, complaining of his sonne, alleaging that hee was forced to what hee did; and standing in some good hope, he openly shewed his intent, and leuied men of warre, the Duke of *Lorraine* taking his part, and some others, with the cities of *Colen*, and *Gulicke*, and other imperiall townes. The sonne hauing intelligence hereof, againe raised great forces, and desiring to haue gone to a Councell in the citie of *Liege*, he sent three hundred men at armes to take a bridge vpon the riuier *Maÿe*, all which were either taken or slaine by the Duke of *Lorraine*, who tooke the fathers part, and came vpon them at vnawares: whereupon HENRY the sonne proclaimed him traitor, and depriued him (being absent) of his Duchy of *Lorraine*: in the meane time, the father entred the citie of *Colen*, fortifying and furnishing the same with men and munition, and thence went to haue put himselfe into the citie of *Liege*, whither the Councell was called, which is a most strong citie: in hope (as he was a man of a great spirit) to haue been restored, hauing some other assistance, besides those already named; principally amongst the common people, by which he was well beloued, they being moued thereto with composition to see him deposed. The sonne with his forces went against the citie of *Colen*, and besieging the same, letters and messengers came thither, in generall to him and to all the estates, from his father, complaining in that he was thus deposed and deceiued, and laying great matters to his sonnes charge, he excused and iustified his owne cause, so much as he might, desiring and requiring to be satisfied: whereto the sonne made aunswere, reciting his fathers ryot, his simonie,

his

his schisme, and rebellion committed against the Pope and Church of *Rome*, to the generall damage of the states of the whole Empire; protesting further that what hee did, wasto doe God seruice, by obeying his Vicor, procuring the vnion of the holy mother Church of *Rome*, with many other matters which the Abbot *Wespergensis*, *Blondvs*, and other Authors do set downe verbatim. Finally, hee sent him word, that hee would not that hee should now dote by reason of his old age, but that hee should come priuate, and aske forgiveness of the Church; & that then the equitie of his cause should be heard, both for himselfe, and for all the princes which were with him. The father not only refused to follow his sonnes direction, but ill entreated his Ambassadors; so as they could hardly returne to their camp before *Colen* in safetie. Whereupon the sonne (seeing that he could not take that citie in any short space) marched with his army towards *Lorraine*; and before his departure, sent a second ambassade to his father, the effect whereof was, that if he desired iustice, he should peaceably come to the Councell, which he summoned to be held at *Aken*: if otherwise, he gaue him to vnderstand, that by the consent and will of al the princes, he was resolved to warre vpon him, as against a common enemy. These Ambassadors came to the citie of *Liege*, where HENRY the father then lay; who was so greatly enraged with his sonnes answere and resolution, that he did and said many things in furie. And matters standing in this estate (whereof it was both thought and feared, that great warres, troubles, and other euils would haue ensued) it pleased God to take compassion of his people, which by reason of the cruell warres betweene the father and the sonne, endured daily grievous and intolerable oppressions, robberies, and irreparable calamities; which was, by taking the old Emperour HENRY out of this world; which happened in the seuenth day of the moneth of August, about the fiftith yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and sixe. It is written, that he died of passion and grieue to see himselfe (as it were) a prisoner, and besieged in that castle, and deposed and forsaken by his own sonne and blood. The dead bodie of the Emperour HENRY, was buried by the Bishop of the place where he died, in a Monastery; from whence (by the decree of the Prelates, and consent of his owne sonne) it was afterwards remoued, to the end, that (as a man excommunicate) hee should not be buried in Christian buriall; and was carried to *Spire*, where, in a prophane place, was made for him a marble sepulchre, wherein he lay fve yeeres; at the end of which time it pleased the Pope to permit him to bee buried in Christian buriall. This Emperour had two sonnes, and three daughters by his first wife *Vereta*, which was the daughter of a great Marquesse in *Italy*, kinne to the Lady *Mauud*: his sonnes were *Conrade*, who died before him, and HENRY the fift which succeeded him; his daughters names were *Ines*, which married with *Fredericke* Duke of *Suenia*, & was mother of the Emperour *Conrade* the second; and *Impraga*, which married with the Duke of *Corinthia*; and *Sophia*, which was wife to the king of *Hungary*. In *Constantinople* at this time raigned *Alexivs*, whose empire continued seuen and thirtie yeeres, and he died afterwards in the time of HENRY the fifth: and him succeeded his sonne *Caloioannes*, as hereafter you shall vnderstand.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Henry the 4.  
anno 1106.



# THE LIFE OF HENRIE THE FIFTH OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESORE AND FOVR- TEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

And of ALEXIVS and CALOIOANNES  
in Constantinople.



## THE ARGVMENT.

**H**enry taking upon him the government of the Empire, after that the death of his father was published, was proclaimed Emperor, and the cities and princes which had bin his adversaries made their peace with him, and became his subiects. He sent ambassadours to the Pope, promising to become his good sonne; to whom he granted to call a Councell, wherein all matters concerning the Church should be reformed, chiefly those which were introduced by his father. He committed the Countie Palantine to prison, by reason of some Commotions, and made warres against the King of Polonia, which intitled himselfe King, and subdued him; but not without great difficultie. He came afterwards into Italy to be crowned by Pope Pascual, and being come to Rome, in S. Peters Church he apprehended the Pope, and committed him to prison, sacking Rome and the frontiers thereof; neither would he release the Pope untill that he had confirmed his priuileges of inuesting prelates in the Benefices of Germany: the Pope being out of prison, and the Emperour returned crowned into Germany, the Councell disannulled the authoritie giuen him of inuestigation, as a matter granted perforce: which when he vnderstood, he waxed extreme wroth, and committed the Bishop of Mentz to prison, who fauoured the Popes partie. But the Emperour comming into that citie the people arose and apprehended him, and would not release him, untill that he had promised to set their Bishop at libertie. He was afterwarde excommunicate, and

and in danger to haue bin depofed from the empire; but leauing Germany, he went to Rome, where he found not the Pope, neither would he come thither so long as the Emperour was therein, neither would he giue credit to his promises, or belieue any thing that he said. He againe returned the third time into Italy, and set a schisme in the Church, and vnderstanding of the Popes comming against him, he returned into Germany, and then made his peace with the Pope, basely, humbly submitting himselfe to him. There ensued in those parts a very grieuous famine, and pestilence, and the Emperour falling extremely sick dyed, without leauing any sonne to succeed him; when he had reigned Emperour, little lesse then twenty yeeres.



**V**n that I was longer then ordinarie in writing the life of the Emperour HENRY the fourth, whom the Italian writers call the third, I haue already made my excuse; which was, for that hee reigned a long time, in which many great accidents happened: and as he was a most warlike prince, valiant, and high minded, so his raigne was troublesome and vnquiet: by reason whereof, all men (excepting some few which tooke his part) were well pleased with his death, which (as it then seemed) brought to the estates of Italy and Germany, gentle calmes and milde weather, after long stormes and tempests: and to his sonne HENRY, who was Emperour in his life time, all lay smooth before him: And Colein, and all the other cities which had held against him, submitted themselues, yeelding their obedience; and the Duke of Lorraine submitting himselfe, sought his grace and fauour, and so he became absolute Lord ouer all: and then sent Ambassadours to Pope PASCUAL, who with the assent of his Cardinals and of the Emperours Ambassadours, summoned a Councell to be held in October, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and fixe, in a citie of Lombardie called Gardacastello, wherein many things in the state ecclesiasticall, both in Lombardy and in Germany were alred: and the pope depofed such as were not confirmed by his authoritie. In the second yeere of this Emperour HENRY (the better to corroborate the peace betweene the Pope and him) it was agreed that the Pope should come into Germany to the citie of Ausburgh, where the Emperour (for certaine daies space) staid for him: but the Pope reposing small trust in the people of that cuntry, by reason of the ancient enmitie betweene him and them, came not, but went into France, where he assembled a Synode in a citie called Treca; whither came a great number of *The Councell of Treca.* prelates, and in that Councell amongst other matters which therein were handled, it was ordained, that the Emperours authoritie concerning the prelacies and Church dignities in Germany, should be abolished, and that he should not therein inuest prelates, contrarie to the Popes Canons and Decretals: which when he vnderstood, he sent to the Pope, intreating him not so to determine of the matter, but to allow him such right of donation, as his predecessors had done to the Emperour CHARLES the Great. This matter was greatly argued, but in the end it was deferred till the next generall Councell; and so the Pope returned to Rome, and the Emperour in his progresse visited sundrie cities of Germany; and vpon some occasion apprehended the Countie Palantine of Rhine, whose name was SIGIFRED, and for a time held him prisoner; I call him of Rhine, for the difference betweene him and other Counties Palantines.

At this time to him came ALNIVS king of Hungary, to complaine and to desire iustice against his brother COLOMAN, who had depofed him, and made himselfe king: whereupon the Emperour entred Hungary with an armie, purposing

The warres of  
Hungary.

The warres of  
Poland.

to haue restored him; but through want of victuals, and by meanes of other disasters and disgraces which befell him, hee was driuen to retire without effecting ought; and so *Coloman* enioyed the kingdome, the Emperor permitting the same. There likewise grew warre betweene him and the Duke of *Poland*; who without his leaue, entitling himselfe king, denied to pay him any tribute, or to be subiect: to which warre he went with a mightie armie (it behooued him to do so, for hee was to encounter a mightie enemy) and some write that they came to blowes, and that the Emperour had the victorie: but not without much bloudshed and great difficultie; and so *Poland* returned to the Emperours deuotion, and paid the tribute accustomed. In these actions and others of lesse moment, the Emperour spent little lesse then five yeers, which were in the beginning of his raigens; in the end of which, moued with a desire (common to all the Emperours) to be crowned by the hands of the Pope, he determined to come into *Italy*; and to that effect ordained a Diet or Councell to be held in *Ratisbone*; wherein shewing his intent, his departure by common consent was generally determinid: and leuying thirtie thousand chosen men (besides the princes and other voluntaries, which had a desire to serue and follow him in that iourney) he came into *Italy*, where other troupes of the states of *Lombardy* ioyned with him, and by the way befell many matters, which I omit, to the end to relate such as were of most importance. And afterwards taking his way towards *Rome*, many ambassades passed betweene him and Pope *Pascual*; hee requiring to be crowned, and the other promising the same; but vpon condition, which was, that he should relinquish his demand concerning the inuesting of prelates: about this matter some things so fell out, that the Pope grew iealous, and mistrusted the Emperour: but in the end the Emperor promising to maintaine and obserue the priuileges and immunities of the church of *Rome*, & to desist from inuesting of prelates, as is aforesaid, the Pope sent a soleinne ambassade to meete him, offering him amiable and friendly entertainment: whereupon he came to the cite, vpon the twelfth day of February, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and eleuen, being the first Sunday in Lent, where he was solemnely receiued by all the Clergie and *Romane* people, with the greatest prouision, and shew of ioy, that the Pope and citizens could possibly make; and the Pope accompanied with all his Cardinals, attended his comming in *S. Peters Church* porch: And the Emperour with his Princes and men of warre being entred the gate of the Castle *S. Angelo*, alighting, mounted vp the steps to meete him, and kist his foote: and the Pope blest him, and raising him vp, three seuerall times embraced him: and then they went together into the Church, and comming to the high Altar, where the Pope that day was to say Masse, they sate downe vpon seates prouided for them; where the Emperour againe desired the Pope to confirme the priuileges which he and his predecessors had held, concerning the nomination of prelates, and the donation of Benefices; which the Pope absolutely denied. Some authors say, that the Pope requested the Emperour (in performance of his promise) to renounce the right which hee challenged to haue in ecclesiasticall causes; and that the Emperour therewith displeased, arose, and with his Germane Bishops and princes went into a chappell, from whence hee sent him his answer, and denying what was required, persisted in his demand concerning the confirmation of his priuilege: and that there was much strife and contention about the matter. Some report this after another manner; which is no great marueile though it so happen amongst Historians, seeing that we daily reade, that when sundrie men haue scene a matter which

The Emperour  
Henry the fifth  
came to Rome.  
Anno Dom.  
1111.

which hath happened in their sight, yet the same men which then were present, haue afterwards related the matter after diuers manners, each one pretending to tell the truth. I say this, for that some men are so hard of beleefe, that if they finde any contrarietie amongst writers, they account the whole historie to be alie, which is too great a seueritie. But returning to my storie, I say, that although they differ herein, yet all authors agree, that vpon this occasion the Emperours captaines and companies entred the Church, and the Masse being ended, by the Emperours order the pope was apprehended, together with the most part of the Cardinals, and that the Germanes made boote or prize of the Bishops, the priests, and other the popes friends. The citizens and people of *Rome* tooke this in such disgrace, that betaking them to their weapons, they went against the Imperialists, which held the Vatican; where fighting with incredible furie, they forced the Emperour to abandon that part of the cite, and to withdraw himselfe to his campe; betweene which and the citizens for three or foure daies space were great skirmishes, and much bloud was spilt, and many men were slaine of either side. Yet *Bondus* and some others report, that during the three daies that the fight lasted, the Emperour held the Vatican, and that hee being vnable to defend it, abandoned the same and went into his campe, leading the pope and his Cardinals with him prisoners. Finally, these three daies being past, he remoued his armie, and pitcht his tents at the foote of the Mount *S. Siluester*, and so marching forwards, left the pope with some of his Cardinals in a place of strength, and the rest hee left in another place, guarded with great troupes of souldiers, and then marched vp and downe the cuntry, burning and spoyling the castles, townes and villages neere there abouts; and so within some few daies after, with great furie he returned to *Rome*, and sate downe before it; but the inhabitants were resolved not to receiue him, except hee would first set the pope and his Cardinals at libertie: But he persueing earnest in his demand, would haue his request first performed; imitating (in the action, although not in the intent) the Patriarch *Iacob*, who wrestling with the Angell, said, I will not let thee goe, except thou first bleste me. Wherefore the pope to auoide further inconueniences, and to get out of the prison wherein he was detained, came to a composition with the Emperour, and confirmed to him the priuilege of inuestiture which he required, & admitted and allowed those prelates which the Emperour had preferred and inuested. And so all being concluded, the Pope was conducted to *Rome*, & at the day appointed, the Emperour entred the cite, and came into *S. Peters Church*, first setting a good guard in the ports and turrets of the Vatican; and with the accustomed solemnitie was therein by the Pope crowned, with apparance of very great ioy and gladnes generally, by reason of the wished peace, after so long irksome warre. The coronation being ended, the Emperour (taking his leaue, and the Popes blessing with him for his good speed) departed from *Rome* very peaceably; and so passing through *Italy*, and the estate of *Lombardy*, hee returned into *Germany*; where hauing made sufficient prooffe, that his father dying, and acknowledging his fault, desired to be forgiuen, he obtained leaue to burie him in the Church; which was performed with accustomed solemnitie; and in *Italy* and in *Germany* generally was peace.

Pope Pascual  
apprehended by  
the Emperour  
Henry the fifth.

Pope Pascual  
being released  
from the Em-  
perours prison,  
crowned him  
Romane Em-  
perour.

A little while after this, died the great and mighty Princeesse *Mauud*, which was Lady of many townes in *Italy*: This Lady after her death, left great part of her dominion to the Church, among which, is reckoned the cite of *Ferrara*: but the Emperour *Frederick* neuertheless after wards challenged to be her heire,  
by

Mawd the Emperesse daughter of Henry the first, king of England, and wife of the Emperor Henry the first.

by reason of the affinitie betweene her and his mother. The Emperour being in England solemnising his mariage with another MAVVN, daughter to the King of that land; Pope PASCVAL at the request and perswasion of his Cardinals and clergie, summoned a Councel of Bishops and prelates of many nations; in which Councel (amongst other matters) it was determined, that the priuilege graunted by the pope to the Emperour, for the inuesting of Bishops and other clergie men, should be reuoked, and held for none; sith it was exacted by force, the Pope being then his prisoner; and for such they declared and published the same, excommunicating the Emperour, if he persisted in the execution thereof: in this Councel were one hundred Bishops, some Archbishops and Patriarchs, and al the Cardinals. This being made knowne to the Emperour, he was very sorie for the same, and much more, after that he vnderstood that many of the principall prelates in Germany took part with the Pope against him, and had left his seruice; amongst which was ALDELBERT Archbishop of Mentz, a very mightie prince and prelate, whom the Emperour commanded to be apprehended, and held him about two yeeres prisoner; whereof ensued many great tumults: And some Bishops were so bold (being authorised by a Cardinal Legate in Hungary) as to excommunicate the Emperour: And the number of those which conspired against him, daily encreasing, he fearing the like fortune as befel his father, appointed a Councell to be called in the citie of Mentz, there to treat of those affaires; offering to stand to that which therein should be determined; and to right any wrong that he had done. The day appointed for this Councel being come, and the Emperour therein appearing, so few made their repaire thither, that he was therewith much troubled, and highlie discontented, and therefore with greater instance procured the assemblie, but it little auailed him: for before that they could come, the inhabitants of Mentz arose against him; as well for that he held their Bishop prisoner, as for that in former time in the warres betweene him and his father, that citie had endured much losse by his meanes: whereupon they putting themselves in armes, went to the palace wherein he was, whereof they became masters, and of his person also; and threatning to kill him, they made him to promise satisfaction for the displeasures and iniuries which they had receiued, and that he should presently set their Bishop ALDELBERT at libertie: all which he promised and confirmed with an oth, in such manner, that they holding themselves satisfied, left the palace; and the Emperour departed, and in performance of his promise, presently released the Archbishop: but this notwithstanding hee continued extremely displeased, through the iniurie receiued in that city, and no lesse with them which failed to come to the Councel. And the next yeere, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and sixtene; he holding his Christmas in Spire, many prelates assembled themselves in the citie of Colein, and with them some princes, with a determination to seeke to depriue him, for that he was excommunicate, and disobedient to the Church of Rome: which he (to his great disliking) hauing vnderstood, and desiring to redresse the same, sent his Ambassadors to that assemblie, promising to beare what should be imposed, and protesting that he was in all points readie to satisfie the Pope: but his ambassade was ill receiued, and as ill answered, for they sent him word, that hee should make his peace with the Pope, and consourme himselfe to his will; otherwise, they would neither sene, nor obey him, but generally would all forsake him. Whereupon he tried his friends, seeking aide by all meanes possibly; and as princes neuer faile to find some to helpe and assist them (some of dutie, and others in hope of gaine) he gathered

thered many men together, thinking to effect his businesse by force of armes: and depriuing some of his aduersaries, which held with the Pope against him, of their estates, he bestowed many graces and fauours vpon his followers; and leuying a great armie, resolved to goe into Italy, as well to be farre absent from the furie of Germany, as for that he purposed (as hee published) to come to some agreement with the Pope: for hee had newes (which were certaine) that through factions and partialities in Rome, which arose for that the Pope would not bestow the Prefecture, or office of Lord President vpon the sonne of him which last presided, the most part of the people rose against him, and fought with such as tooke his part; and the matter came to this issue, that it behoued him to leaue Rome, and to goe into Pulia, where hee was harboured by WILLIAM the Feodatorie Duke thereof, and by some other princes. The Emperour being with his armie arriued in Italy, tooke his way directly for Rome: yet some write that he first sent his Ambassadors to the Pope, and requiring absolution vsed some complements; but for as much as hee would not make such satisfaction as was required at his hands, the Pope would not absolue him. Others write, that the Emperours Ambassadors found the Pope in Rome, and that hee vnderstanding of his comming, would not stay for him. But howsoeuer it was, hee came to Rome with his wife without any resistance (but yet he found not the Pope therein) hauing first made cruell warres in the lands of the Church as he came: and pretending that his coronation was violent, and done by force, although by the Pope, he therefore made himselfe to be crowned by an Archbishop, whose name was MAVRICE DE BRACHIA, whom he brought with him; the whole Clergie and people of Rome murmuring thereat. This being done, hee departed thence, and made very cruell warres against all such townes as held for Pope PASCVAL: but knowing that through his absence Germany was like to be lost, for (as all writers affirme) at that time iustice and equitie tooke no place, and there were such warres, factions, robberies, insultations, and other disorders, as cannot be recited: wherefore he marched with his armie thitherwards, taking his way through Lombardy. Comming into Germany with the aide of FREDERICK Duke of Suchia, and of CONRAD Duke of Franconia, which were his nephewes (being his sisters sonnes) and of some other princes which followed him, without any stay he went to make war against the Duke of Saxony, who renouncing his obedience held for the Pope; with whom he fought a terrible battaile, and had the victorie; whereby his power and authoritie greatly encreased with those which had rebelled against him.

While these things passed in Germany, Pope PASCVAL came to Rome, and after some troubles which therein arose, he departed out of this life, hauing been Pope thirteene yeeres and halfe, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and eightene: and in his place was chosen a Cardinal, whose name was IOHN, and was called GELASIVS the second. About this time also died ALEXIVS the Emperour of Constantinople, and him succeeded his sonne CALOIOANNES, as I haue aboue said.

The Emperour hauing receiued the newes of the death of pope PASCVAL, and of the election of GELASIVS (seeing himselfe excommunicate, and shunned by many prelates and princes, which neither serued, neither saw him, although they warred not against him) setting the affaires of Germany in the best order that he could, with a great armie came the third time into Italy, addressing his way to Rome, where Pope GELASIVS durst not stay his comming; for in Rome were parcialities and bandings against him; whereof the Frangepanes (which were

Mawd the Emperesse at Rome

A battaile betwene the Emperour and the Duke of Saxony.

Anno Dom. 1118.

The Emperours third going to Rome.

were many in number, and of great power) were the chiefe; yet some others took his part, as the Cossi, the Normanes, the families of the Leoni, and the Columnesi, which then began to grow great.

The Pope being fled from *Rome* in his galleys downe the riuer *Tiber*; the Emperour comming thither, alleged that the election of *GELASIVS* was insufficient, for that he was chosen without his consent, and therefore procured such Bishops and prelates as were of his faction, to make that *MAVRICE*, who (as I said) crowned him, Pope: and they did so, and called him *GREGORY*; who being installed and lodged in the Papall palace, absolved the Emperour, and confirmed and ratified his donations and inuestitures: And hauing set vp this new Idol, the Emperour recommended him to the protection of the Frangepanes, which were so much discontented with the election of *GELASIVS*, that they would haue killed him; and then tooke the field and harried the lands of the Church, to the end to make his pope *GREGORY* Lord thereof. Which pope *GELASIVS* vnderstanding, with the aide of *WILLIAM* Duke of *Pulia*, *ROBERT* Duke of *Capua*, *RICHARD*, and other great Lords of *Italy*, he leuied such an armie that the Emperour doubting what would follow, published, that sith he was absolved of his excommunication, hee meant to returne into *Germany*. And being departed, pope *GELASIVS* (leauing the armie which he had raised) came to *Rome*, where, betweene such as tooke part with him, and the Frangepanes, which held with pope *GREGORY*, were so many affraies, and so many men were slaine, that hee was driuen to forsake *Rome*, and (in a manner) to fle into *France*, where he died in the Monasterie of *Clunienne*, hauing bin pope almost one whole yeere and halfe. And he being dead, *CALIXTUS* the second was chosen, who before was called *GUIDO*; and before his comming to *Rome*, pope *GREGORY* departed thence, and went to a towne called *Sutrio*, where what happened to him, you shall hereafter vnderstand. The Emperour to auoide losse of time, presently so soone as he came into *Germany* besieged the citie of *Mentz*, against which hee bare an old grudge, for the iniurie which hee had therein receiued: and he holding it strictly besieged, sundrie Commotions were raised against him; for such as theretofore had shewed themselves his enemies, feared that hee would now be reuenged on them all: wherefore with him, and against him, were euery where making of parties. *ALDEBERT* Archbishop of *Mentz*, with the aide of the Dukes of *Saxony*, and of other princes and prelates, had a great armie in a readines: and of the contrarie side, the Dukes of *Sueuia*, and others, had no lesse in his behalfe; in such manner that it was feared that great warres would haue ensued. But the Emperour (being perswaded by some his loyall seruants, and certaine other ecclesiasticall personages which interposed themselves) inclined to peace, which was treated of; and all the differences and controuersies were referred to the arbitrament of certaine princes of the empire; and a Diet or Councell was appointed to be holden in the citie of *VVittenbergh*, wherein all controuersies should be decided and ended: and it was so. And those which were appointed to be arbitrators and iudges of this controuersie, and of the rest, being there assembled (and certaine Legates, as some say, being also there from pope *CALIXTUS*) it was by comon consent determined, that through all *Germany* a generall and vniuersall peace should be proclaimed and kept, betweene the Emperour, and all the princes both ecclesiasticall and secular: and that the princes in like manner should maintaine the same peace amongst themselves, vpon paine of death: and that whatsoever was taken from any Church, should presently be restored: and that the like should be

be done by any thing withheld from the Emperours chamber of accounts or Exchequer: and that the like should also be done betweene all estates, which had taken ought (from other) by violence: and that all matters in controuersie should be speedily decided: and that iustice should be equally administred in all parts: and that the offences and displeasures past should be forgiuen and forgotten: and that theeeues and robbers by the high waies, should be sought out and punished: and that such order should be taken, that the countrey should be maintained in peace: For the due execution whereof, the most sufficient personages that could be found, were appointed; and euery where was done all that was possible to further the same. And as touching the excommunication, and the Popes fulminations and censures; and the differences betweene the Emperour and him, all was referred to be at Pope *CALIXTUS* his order and discretion; to whom the Emperour sent Ambassadors about the same in great humilitie. This being ended, Pope *CALIXTUS* sent his Legate *Alatere*, and ambassadors Cardinals, to another meeting or generall Diet held at *VVormes*; the Emperour being there present, where peace and concord was concluded betweene them: and the Emperour acknowledging the Pope for Christs Vicar here in earth, and vniuersall pope of the Church, desired absolution; and renounced and resigned into the Legates hands, all the right and title that he could pretend to the inuesting of prelates, and donation of any spirituall dignities; and then gaue vp the possession of all townes and goods belonging to any Church; and bound himselfe to vse his best meanes, that if any other princes vsurped any, they should be restored; and himselfe to be obedient to the commaundements and Iniunctions of the Church, and to aide, protect, and defend the same. The Deedes and Letters patents made hereof at large, were carried to the Pope, who allowed thereof, and gaue his Bull; whereby he granted that all the prelacies and Abbeyes which in *Germany* should be void, should be provided by the lections of the Chapters of the same Churches, and that the Emperour might be present at the election: provided alwaies that it should not be made by force, or for bribes, or through any other kind of simonie; and that hee which was chosen might receiue from the Emperour, all that was merely laicall or temporall; but must haue recourse to the sea of *Rome* for the rest, according to the Popes Canons. This being ended, the Emperour and all those which with him stood excommunicate, were publicly absolved, and then the Letters patents and instruments were solemnely read, which befell in the month of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1122. And the Emperour from thence went to *Norenbergh*, from whence he dispatched the Popes Legates very well contented, with great gifts and presents both for the Pope and for themselves, and they returned to *Rome*: by reason whereof Pope *CALIXTUS* and all the Romish court made shew of great ioy, for the recovery of their lost fat sheep, and truly they had great reason, for it much imported them; and they recouered him but by great good happe.

In this time *ROGER* Earle of *Sicilia*, who afterwards was King, and very mightie, being vnle to *WILLIAM* Duke of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, and knowing that *WILLIAM* was gone to marrie with the Emperours sister of *Constantinople*, came into *Italy*, and by force of armes tooke all that his nephew held therein; and hauing made himselfe Lord thereof he was called King of *Italy*; and afterwards leauing the title of *Italy*, he was called King of *Sicilia*: I haue reduced this to memorie, to the end that the reader may haue the better light, of what shall be said hereafter; and may also vnderstand, that his successors haue beene euer

The Emperour  
reconciled to  
the Pope.

Anno Dom.  
1122.  
The Emperour  
absolved from  
the Popes ex-  
communication.

since called Kings of both the *Sicilie*, which are *Naples* and *Sicilia*.

The Emperour HENRY being reduced to the Popes obedience, in little more then two yeers which he liued afterwards, he had two warres, the one against the Hollanders, and the other against LAMVAS the French King: against the Hollanders he went with an army, and subdued them; against the King of France he leuied a great armie, in the behalfe of his father in law, HENRY King of England; and marching towards France the warre ceased, and he returned; for the citie of Wormes rebelled, and he went thither, and besieging it, tooke it by composition, and punished the offenders. At this time in Rome died Pope CALIXTUS when he had bin Pope sixe yeeres, within two moneths; and in his place was chosen LAMBERT Bishop of *Hestia*, and was called HONORIUS the second. And CALIXTUS before his death sent a great army, vnder the command of a Cardinall, against Pope GREGORIE who liued in *Sutrio*, which besieging the place, tooke him prisoner, and brought him to Rome, where hee was (shamefully to disgrace him) made to ride vpon a Cammell, and the Pope granted him his life vpon condition, that he should spend the rest of his time in a Monasterie. In Germany the Emperour applied himselfe to purchase the good wil of his people, and to make himselfe well beloued; taking warning by his fathers successe. But there befell in all that land so great a pestilence, and famine, that it was thought (as all writers affirme) that the third part of the people perished: for which calamitie and affliction, the Emperour being very forowfull, and grieved, fell sicke, and within few daies died; penitent for his sins, desiring God to forgiue the same. And although it pleased God to giue him a good death, yet he left neither sonne nor daughter that might succcede him, but two nephewes which were his sisters sonnes; the mightie Dukes of *Suenia*, and of *Franconia*, the one called FREDERICK, and the other CONRADE: some authors call CONRADE Duke of *Suenia*, and others, of *Franconia*; he died the first day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord 1125. when he had reigned about twentie yeers, and those which account but fourteene, reckon but from the time of his coronation in Rome; but I euer make my account from the day of his election; his body was embaulmed and borne to *Spire*, and there buried amongst his auncestors.

When the Emperour HENRY died, in *Constantinople* reigned CALOIOANNES, who was an excellent Prince and very requisite for that empire. He was very liberrall, loued iustice and equitie, and obtained many great victories in *Asia*, against the Turks and Persians, and recovered from them many cities which his father and predecessors had lost; his brother ISACIUS being Generall of his armies, whom he deerly loued; and waged Italian souldiers in steed of Greekes. But with these vertues, enuying the wars & conquest which were made in *Asia*, he did greatly hinder the French, and others which went thither; and for the same occasion fell at variance with the Venecians, which tooke from him by force of

armes some certaine Ilands in the sea called *Archipelagus*: of his end

shall be spoken hereafter. At this time in *Ierusalem* began the order of the Knights Templars, and also the order of the Knights of S. Iohn's, called afterwards of the *Rhodes*, and now of *Malta*, where in they inhabite.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Henry the fifth.  
Anno Dom.  
1125.

The beginning  
of the order of  
the Knights  
Templars, and  
of S. Iohns, or  
of the Rhodes.

THE



# THE LIFE OF LOTHARI- VS THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND FOUREScore AND FIF- TEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

And of CALOIOANNES Emperour  
of *Constantinople*.



## THE ARGUMENT.

**H**ENRY the fifth being dead, Lothary Duke of Saxony was chosen Emperour, against whom Henries Nephewes (aspiring to the Empire) in the beginning of his raigne rebelled, which after many fortunes of warre, in the end became his subiects. He came into Italy, to the aide of Pope Innocent, against a Pseudopope which had drinen him out of Rome. The Emperour was no sooner returned into Germany, but the other Pope whose name was Anacletus (through the fauour and assistance of the King of Sicilia) made Pope Innocent to flie: whereof the Emperour being aduertised, againe returned into Italy, and restored innocent to his seate, and tamed Roger King of both the Sicilies. But returning victorious towards Germany, he died in the Mountaines of Trent; when he had ruled the Empire fourteene yeeres, leaving neuer a sonne, that might succceed him in the Empire.

**T**WO HENRIES, father and sonne which held the Empire seauentie yeeres, being dead; Lothary Duke of Saxony a mightie prince (like as his predecessors had been before him) was chosen Emperour. His house euer (or for the most part) was enemy to the Emperour HENRY, and to his house and family, and rebelled against him: wherefore, and for the worthines of his person, many of the princes and people of Germany, so soone as the

Emperor HENRY was dead, fixed their eyes vpon him, to the end to haue him for their Emperor and Soueraigne Lord: for they hauing been likewise enemies to HENRY, stooode in feare of his Nephewes, CONRADE and FREDERICK Dukes of *Sueuia*, and of *Franconia*, which had euer held with him; and for the same reason, to the contrarie, the two brothers fought by all meanes that the one of them might haue been Emperor, and with all their might withstooode LOTHARY. These two brothers (as I said) were Nephewes to the Emperor HENRY the fifth, and his sisters sonnes, who was the daughter of the Emperour HENRY the fourth. LEOPOLD Marqueffe of *Austrich*, and CHARLES Earle of *Flanders*, by reason of their estates and power sought also to haue gotten the Empire. These foure great princes being competitors, by the procurement and industrie of ALBERT, Archbishop of *Mentz*, who remembering that he had been imprisoned and ill entreated by HENRY, for contradicting his friends; found meanes to draw the princes electors to meete at *Mentz*, where they chose LOTHARY Duke of *Saxony*, Emperor. Wherewith CONRADE and FREDERICK were so much discontented, that in lieu of doing him homage as to their Emperour, they rebelled against him as their enemy: and in him wanted neither will nor industrie to persecute them. First he sent to Pope HONORIVS the second, to complaine of them; who approoued, and was well pleased with the election of the Duke of *Saxony*; forasmuch as by that house the popes had euer been relieved and supported; wherefore he might easily obtaine of the pope, to commaund them (by his censures) to yeeld their obedience. But these two brothers (taking armes) found so many friends; and their lands and countries were such and so great, that a cruell warre began betweene them, which I omit, for that I finde it briefly written; yet it continued many daies, and came to that issue, that CONRADE the elder of these two brothers, with the helpe of his brother FREDERICK, and of GODFREY Countie Palantine of *Rhine*, was called Emperour; and raising the greatest power that he was able (leauing his brother in *Germany* to make head against LOTHARY) he went into *Italy*, and tooke many Imperiall cities in the state of *Lombardy*, where the Archbishop of *Milan* crowned him with the crowne of Yron: by reason whereof, Pope HONORIVS afterwards depriued him of his Archbishopricke, and set another in his place: and the Emperor LOTHARY being thus distressed, knowing that HENRY of *Bauiere*, (who was called the proud, and was descended from the linage of the famous GVEIPHONS, of which the Abbot WESPERGENSIS and other authors make so great account) was a mightie prince and very valiant; he practised with him to marrie his onely daughter, whose name was GERTRUDE; and to the end that he should be a faithfull and loyall seruant vnto him, he gaue him with her for her dowrie, the title and succession of the Duchie of *Saxony*, which after his death he enioyed, and was Lord of both estates; yet afterwards in proceffe of time, there were alterations in them, and in others; whereof I will make no especiall relation, for that it requireth too long a time; yet I will sometimes speake thereof as occasion shall be offered. The Duke of *Bauiere*, and other princes now helping the Emperor with all their powers, made cruell warre in CONRADES countries, whilest that he was busie about his coronation in *Lombardy*, with intent to haue gone to *Rome*. But as he had leuiued more men then he was able to pay, and wanted meanes to giue them satisfaction, he was driuen to returne into his countie, and to ioyne with his brother; and being returned, was not of power able to make head against the Emperour, or at the least, to goe thorow with what he had

begun;

Lothary the  
second chosen  
Emperor.

begun; whereupon he sought to make some agreement with him, and to obtaine his fauour: which was effected (as saith the Abbot WESPERGENSIS) at the intercession of Saint BERNARD, he renouncing the name and title of Emperour, and giuing other securitie to serue him as a subiect: the like did his brother FREDERICK also, and so ended the Emperour LOTHARY this warre, which (as he writeth) was very bloody; during the which in *Rome* died HONORIVS the second, hauing beene pope fise yeeres, and him succeeded INNOCENTIVS the second, a Romane borne, who so soone as he was pope, determined to haue driuen ROGER Earle of *Sicilia* out of *Pulia*; where ROGER was called King of *Italy* (as I said in the end of the life of the Emperor HENRY) hauing taken the same from WILLIAM, who was his Nephew, or (as some say) his cosine germane: and leuying a great armie for those warres, he went thither in person. But forasmuch as the authors differ in the recitall thereof (the Italians accounting it to be at this time, that the pope was taken prisoner therein: and the Germanes recount it to haue happened in the time of CONRADE the third who succeeded LOTHARY) we will therefore leaue it vntill that time; in which it seemed most likely to haue passed. But here we will speake of another disaster, which befell pope INNOCENTIVS; which was, that with the fame of his imprisonment, or (as I rather beleue) of his death; a mightie Romane, of great power, whose name was PETER LEO, came to *Rome*, publishing the newes thereof: and procuring fauour and assistance thereto, made himselfe to be chosen pope, and was called ANACLETVS; who taking all the gold and siluer out of the temples and Churches, and giuing the same to his followers, grew to be of such power, that pope INNOCENTIVS being returned to *Rome*, could not make his partie good therein against him, but was constrained in a manner by flight, to get him into *France*, and from thence into *Germany*, to the Emperor LOTHARY; who by reason of the peace and agreement betweene him and Duke CONRADE, was growne very rich and of great power; and giuing him very good intertainment, offered to goe in person to restore him to his estate: and although that the affaires of *Germany* were not yet thoroughly settled, yet he in shorte space made readie a faire armie, and they both together departed towards *Italy*, but by seuerall waies, diuiding their armie to the end to march the more commodiously: and againe meeting neere to *Rome*, were therein receiued; without that pope ANACLETVS durst to make any resistance; whom his friends had hidden so secretly, that at that time, he could not be found; which was in the sixth yeere of the Emperours raigne: and so with great solemnitie pope INNOCENT was restored to his chaire; and with the like or greater, the Emperor LOTHARY was by him crowned; and within few daies after, returned with his people into *Germany*, without finding in the way any contradiction or resistance.

The Emperor LOTHARY being arriued in *Germany*, and hauing by the consent of the princes thereof summoned a Councell to be held therein: by the authoritie of the Empire, he resolved to goe in person against the Duke of *Polonia*, because he refused to pay the tribute, in acknowledgment of superiouritie which he ought for the space of twelue yeeres behinde hand vnpaid: But the Polacres not daring stand to the hazard of warre; the Duke accompanied with men of peace, came forth of his countie to receiue the Emperour; whom the Emperor would not see, neither admit into his presence, before that he had paid him all the arrerages due for so many yeeres past; and the Duke accomplishing the same, came to see the Emperor in the Duchie of *Saxony*; whether being come, and ha-

Iii 3

uing

The Emperor  
Lothary in  
*Italy*.

uing promised to performe the premiffes, returned to his home in peace. At the fame time the King of *Hungary* sent his Ambassadors and presents, in acknowledgment of fuperioritie. Pope INNOCENT in the meane time had ill fuffeffe; for within few daies after the Emperours departure out of *Italy*, and that he had called a Councell to be held in the citie of *Spire*; Pope ANACLETVS aforefaid (through the fauour and affiftance of his friends and parents, and of ROGER which was called King of the two *Sicilie*) returned againe to *Rome*, and tooke vpon him as Pope, being alreadie Lord of the citie, and of fome other fortreffes: whereupon Pope INNOCENT sent to the Emperour, imploring his aide and fuccour, and to reftore him to his dignitie. The Emperour fetting the affaires of *Germany* apart, and raifing a greater armie then at the firft; within fhort fpace came into *Italy*; with whom (befides thofe which the Abbot WESPERGENSIS feteth downe) came his fonne in law HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*, with great and very good troupes of men of warre: OTHO FRISINGENSIS faith, that CONRAD Duke of *Sacua*, which in former time had been his enemie, came with him alfo: and being come into *Italy*, entring *Lombardy*, he found therein great warre and diffenfion betweene the cities of *Cremona*, and of *Milan*, and he as foueraigne Lord, tooke vpon him to decide the caufe of their difference; and finding thofe of *Cremona* to bee faultie, he proceeded againft them; and they rebelling were by him fubdued by force of armes. From thence he went to the citie of *Pavia*, and thence to *Bolonia*, vifiting and pacifying the other cities of *Lombardy*; which through ciuill contention, and the long abfence of the Emperours, were in a manner at libertie, and tyrannized, all which he fubdued and brought to fubiection: and from thence (fending his fonne in law with the one halfe of his armie into *Tufcane*, to receiue the pope, which lay in *Pifa*) he himfelfe by another way went with the reft into the *Marca di Ancona*, wherein he affaulted and tooke many townes which rebelled; as well againft him as againft the Church of *Rome*; which he recouered and reftored. And afterwards ioyning with the pope and with his fonne in law HENRY, he tooke his way towards *Rome*, where he reftored the pope to his feate and Pallace; and thence marched forwards, to warre againft ROGER, who with the helpe of his friends and fubiection, had raifed a great armie, vaunting in braue termes, that he would fight with the Emperour. But ROGER shamefully retiring without daring to meete him, put his men into garrifons, to defend his countries; and the Emperour followed the warres with fuch expedition and courage, that within fhort fpace he became Lord of *Pulia*, and *Calabria*, and of all the reft that ROGER held; and constrained him to flie out of *Italy*, and to get him into *Sicily*. And to the Emperour at his being there came Ambassadors from CALOIOANNES Emperour of *Conftantinople*, to congratulate his victories obtained againft ROGER, whom he much hated, and againft whom he had afterwards great warres. At this time died the Antipope ANACLETVS. And fo the Emperour finding no refiftance in *Italy* (hauing fubdued the rebellious, and rewarded and honored thofe which had faithfully and valiantly ferued him, in fuch manner that they write of him, that fince the time of CHARLES the Great, not any Emperour had euer liued there in fo great power and authoritie) he returned into *Germany*: but before his departure, he beftowed vpon a great Germane prince, who was his neere kinsman and fauorite, whose name was RAYNOLD, the ftate of *Pulia*, with the title of Duke thereof, which he tooke from ROGER. About which gift, notwithstanding that the pope was well content therewith, OTHO FRISINGENSIS (who was an eye witnes and an author of thofe times) writeth,

Roger King of  
Sicilia driven  
out of Italy.

writeth, that there was fome difference betweene the Emperour and the pope for the fame; the pope alleaging the countries of *Pulia* and *Calabria* to be fubiection and feudatory to the Church of *Rome*; and that, that fauour and title which was giuen to RAYNOLD, was to haue been giuen by him, and not by the Emperour: but in the end, a meane was found, that it was done in both their names; and the armes and enftones of Duke, were giuen to RAYNOLD by them both; and fo RAYNOLD remained a Duke; and the Emperour departing, left many good men of warre with him, whereof he afterwards ftode in neede, as you fhall heare: and fo leauing the pope in *Rome*, he returned towards his countrie, triumphing of his victories: and vpon the way comming to the Mountaines of *Trent*, he fell fo grievoufly ficke, that vnable to trauell any further, hee died in a little village, in the thirteenth yeere after that hee was chofen Emperour, and in the feauenth after his coronation in *Rome*, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred thirtie and eight: his body was carried into *Saxony*, and there moft fumptuoufly entombed, and by his death grew great alterations in all matters, both in *Italy* and in *Germany*, as fhall be recounted. He left no more children behind him when he died, but his onely daughter GERTVDE, who (I faid) was married to HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*; for his onely fonne called LOTHARY died a childe before him. In time of this Emperour (as he was a great Iufticer) the lawes and institutions collected by the Emperour IVSTINIAN, were againe reuiued and tooke effect; which through the diuifion and declining of the Empire, were growne out of vfe, and in a manner quite forgotten; and VERNERIVS whom ACVRIVS (a glofer vpon the ciuill law) calleth YRNERIVS, fought, and tooke out of the auncient Libraries, the bookes of the lawes which IVSTINIAN had compiled, and abbreuiated out of the institutions of the Pretors, Ediles, and auncient Emperours; which lay forgotten, and euen loft: and he corrected and reduced the fame into the beft forme that he was able; which the Emperour LOTHARY commaunded to be read in fchooles, and that all pleas fhould be determined by them; and fo they are kept vntill this day. And within a while after this, thefe lawes began to be glosed vpon by AZO a famous Doctor; and afterwards fucceeded ACVRIVS, and they haue ftill fo encreafed, that fince that time there haue been many great and famous men in that facultie; which hold the greateft authoritie and degree in the eftate and gouernment of all Common-wealths. In *Conftantinople* yet raigned CALOIOANNES, warring againft the Infidels, and againft ROGER King of *Sicily*.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Lothary.

Anno Dom.  
1138.

A reformation  
in the ciuill  
law.

The beginning  
of the Ciuill  
Lawyers.



# THE LIFE OF CONRADE THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESORE AND SIX- TEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

And therein is treated of CALOIOANNES, and of his  
sonne EMANVEL, Emperours of  
Constantinople.



THE ARGUMENT.

**A**fter Lothary succeeded Conrade, Nephew of the Emperour Henry the fifth; who was chosen by the Electors, and confirmed by the Popes Legate. He was in the beginning of his raigne disturbed by the sonne in law of Lotharius, which withheld from him the imperiall ensignes; and not onely refused to deliuer them, but also to yeelde him any obedience; whereupon the Emperour proclaimed him Rebelle, and took from him by force of armes many estates: but this warre had so many variable fortunes, that the Emperour therein spent seauen yeeres, during which time, he tooke no great care how matters went in Italy. He went to the warres of the Holy land, and being come into his enemies countries, receiued so great an overthrow, that there scarcely remained the tenth part of those which went with him. After this rent, he prosecuted his attempt, in company of the French King, from whom he afterwards departed; holding his being with him for dishonorable. He returned thither the third time, and together with the Kings of France, and of Iernusalem, did nothing of any account. Afterwards,

fish

fish it pleased not God to fauour the proceedings of the Christians in this enterprise, each of the princes returned into his countrie: and the Emperour being returned into Germany; whilst he was making preparation for his going into Italy, to be crowned, died (as many men thought) of poison, in the fifteenth yeere of his raigne.



Haue already told, how that the Emperour LOTHARY married his onely daughter to HENRY Duke of Bauiere, (called the proud) which was a valiant and mightie prince; and that he gaue him the title of Duke of Saxony, which was his house and patrimonie: and that this HENRY did him great seruice in his iourney into Italy, and also against the two mightie brothers, CONRADE and FREDERICK, Dukes of Sueuia and of Franconia, which were his enemies a long time: for when LOTHARY was chosen Emperour, they thought to haue had it for one of themselves, for that they were nephewes of the then deceased Emperour HENRY the fifth, and grand children of the Emperour HENRY the fourth. So soone as the Emperour LOTHARY was dead, his sonne in law HENRY Duke of Bauiere, which came with him, and was already called Duke of Saxony, gat into his custodie the imperiall ensignes; as the Scepter, the Crosse, the Crowne, and the Globe, imagining that he should haue had vse for them, for that he thought to haue been himselfe Emperour, but they auailed him nothing: for the two brethren, CONRADE and FREDERICK Dukes of Sueuia & Franconia (afore named) were of so great power and authoritie, that assembling the princes electors in Confluence (which is where the riuer Mosella ioyneth with the Rhine, THEODORICVS a Cardinall and the Popes Legate being there present) CONRADE was chosen Emperour, and all the princes sware to him homage and obedience; which the Saxons and Bauarians onely withstood, together with HENRY their Lord, and his brother GVEILPHO, who was a great and valiant prince: whereupon the new Emperour called a generall Diet or Councell to be held in the citie of Bamberg, whither came the widow Empereesse, late wife of LOTHARYS, and the Proctors of Saxony, to acknowledge and yeeld obedience vnto him: but Duke HENRY would not appeare, neither would he send the Imperiall ensignes which he had in his power: and so by all the princes there assembled, with the Emperours authoritie, hee was enioyned to appeare and to send the ensignes aforesaid, by the feast day of S. PETER and PAUL then next following; and he did so (for he durst doe no other) but would not come himselfe in person: whereupon the Emperour (desiring to be at peace with him) after two or three summons, enioyned him, within a certaine prefixed time, to make his appearance in the citie of Ausburgh; for which purpose he presently caused a Councell to be summoned, and made great preparation, meaning to haue proceeded against him with all rigour and seueritie. The Councell being assembled, HENRY accompanied with many men of warre, of Saxony and of Bauiere, came neere to that place where it was held, and lodged his campe, and began to treat of meanes to come to the Emperours obedience; which treatie continued three daies without any conclusion: for the Emperour required him to resigne certaine lands which his father in law the Emperour LOTHARY had giuen him: but the Emperour holding himselfe not in safetie in that citie, departed without any speech of his remouing, vntill hee was gone, and went to the citie of Herbioli, where many princes meeting, by the generall consent of them

Conrade chosen  
Emperour.

them all, he pronounced sentence against HENRY of *Baniere*; whereby hee condemned him in the losse of all his estates: and many great matters happened, which wee will declare so soone as wee haue told you what befell in *Italy*, to the pope and to Duke RAINOLD, whom the Emperour LOTHARY made Duke of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, with ROGER King of *Sicily*; which passed in this manner. So soone as the Emperour LOTHARY was dead, there were presently so great alterations and troubles in *Italy*, that ROGER in great haste raised his forces, and went into *Pulia*, with a determination to haue reconquered those countries, whereof he was dispossessed: But RAINOLD had so good men of warre with him, that he fought with him in battaile, and ouerthrew him; so as hee was driuen to returne with losse of part of his armie: and being busied about making new preparation for the same enterprise, RAINOLD died in time of his good fortune; so as without any great difficultie, ROGER recouered all the countries of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, which he first tooke from his nephew, and which had been his grandfathers. Pope INNOCENT seeing what passed, sent to the Emperour to desire him to come into *Italy*, or to send thither an armie to driue ROGER out of that countrie: but for as much as the succours came slowly (as writeth GOTHIEREDVS VITERRIENSIS) the Pope leuied a great armie, and went against ROGER: but as he was no very expert man of warre, so by a deuice his armie was ouerthrowne, and himselfe together with his Cardinals was taken prisoner. But ROGER making a conscience of the matter, set both him and all his Cardinals at libertie: for which his liberalitie and curtesie the Pope confirmed him king of *Sicilia*; and ROGER as his liege man did homage to the Pope, calling his countries the Church patrimonie; and so remained ROGER and his successors kings of *Sicilia*, and Lords of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, and was a very mightie prince. This being passed, ROGER fearing the Emperours comming into *Italy*, sent to sollicite HENRY the proud, and his brother GVELPHO, with letters and money to beare armes against the Emperour CONRADE, with whom they already had great warres; for HENRY the proud being condemned by the Emperour, in the losse of all his estates of *Baniere* and *Saxony*; and the Emperour hauing giuen the Duchie of *Saxony* to ALBERT cosine germane to the Duke; and *Baniere* to LEOPOLD sonne to the Marquesse of *Austrich* (which was the Emperours mothers brother) so as all was turned topsie turvie, and the warre was prosecuted with great crueltie, the one partie seeking to hold and to defend their estates, and the other to get the same; and hee which chiefly followed this war was GVELPHO, brother to HENRY the proud, for HENRY now by reason of his old age could not well beare armes; and hauing provided a very good armie, the Emperour went against GVELPHO, and fought a battaile with him, which was very doubtfull, for GVELPHO was an excellent captaine and very valiant: but he being ouermatched, was ouerthrowne, and lost many of his men, both Bauarians and Italians, which ROGER king of *Sicilia* had sent to his aide, and he himselfe escaped by flight. But he was a man of so haughtie a minde, and therewith vsed such industrie and expedition, that within few daies he reinforced his armie; and sought aide of the king of *Hungary*, who repined at the prosperitie of the empire, for that he would not acknowledge any superiour: and so to his aide came many Calabrians and Sicilians, sent by ROGER king of *Sicilia*, and the Emperour of necessitie was driuen to do the like, and made his eldest son called HENRY Generall of his armie, who afterwards died before his father: and he besieged a towne called *Winsperg*, and lying before it, his son HENRY, neere to a place called *Elnofen*, fought a battaile with GVELPHO, in which,

¶ Warres betweene the Pope and Roger king of Sicilia, wherein the Pope was ouerthrowne, and taken prisoner with all his Cardinals.

¶ Warres betweene the Emperour and the Duke Baniere and Saxony.

some of GVELPHO his partie (which were Italians) cried, GVELPHO, GVELPHO, after the name of their Generall; and the Imperialists cried, GIBELLIN, GIBELLIN, for that HENRY their Generall was bred vp in a place so called. Some authors affirme, that vpon this occasion it afterwards followed, that in the controuersies betweene the Emperours and the Popes, the Imperialists tooke the name of Guelphs; and the Papists, Gibelins; and that hereence sprang the cruell factions of Guelphs and Gibelins in *Italy*: hereof are other opinions, which import not much to be treated of in this place. The battaile was very cruell, but GVELPHO his troupes (being of diuers nations and conditions) did not so well second and relieue one another, as HENRIES did; so as GVELPHO was likely to haue been ouerthrowne, and finding no other remedie, to auoide further euill, he abandoned the field, and HENRY apparantly had the victorie: who after that he left the pursuite, ioyned with his father the Emperour at the siege of *Winsperg*; which being greatly distressed, yeelded to mercie. But all the grace that the Emperour would graunt to the inhabitants, was to permit all the women which were in the towne, freely to depart, and to haue to their owne vse whatsoeuer they could beare on their backs: whereupon they vsed a commendable and memorable deceit, which was, that as they went forth of the towne, each of them took her husband vpon her backe, and those which had none, tooke their children or brothers, and so comming into the fields set them at libertie: and notwithstanding that FREDERICK the Emperours brother alleaged that it was deceit and cofonage, and therefore not to be permitted; neuerthelesse the Emperour held it for well done, and commended them for the same. And truly I hold it for one of the most memorable acts done by women that euer I read in my life. Through these two ouerthrowes, the partie of GVELPHO, and of his brother HENRY the proud, was so broken and weakened, that ALBERT, to whom the Emperour had giuen the title of Duke of *Saxony*, had time and oportunitie to make himselfe Lord thereof: and LEOPOLD to whom hee had giuen the Duchie of *Baniere*, made daily conquest of more and more of that countrie. Duke HENRY seeing this, came disguised to such places as held for him in *Saxony*, where he vsed such effectuell speeches, and wrote so pitifull letters to his friends and subiects, that they being moued therewith, repaired vnto him in such order, that ALBERT was driuen to flie to the Emperour for helpe; and HENRY the proud hauing this good successe, and being in hope to haue preuailed, died: after whose decease, the Saxons in despite of the Emperour, tooke a sonne of his, called as he was HENRY, for their Lord; and they recouered great part of that estate: But LEOPOLD was seised of the greatest part of the Duchie of *Baniere*, who (as I said) was the Emperours mothers brother: And GVELPHO so soone as his brother HENRY the proud was dead, was called Duke of *Baniere*, alleaging that it did belong vnto him by inheritance: and many friends repairing vnto him, cruell warres began betweene him and LEOPOLD, and GVELPHO ouerthrew LEOPOLD in a battaile: And the Emperour seeking redresse (to the end that he would not at one time haue so many irons in the fire together) agreed, and made peace with the Saxons, marrying the widow Duchesse of *Saxony*, daughter of the Emperour LOTHARY, with whom HENRY the proud had that Dukedome, of the greatest part whereof his sonne HENRY was then in possession: and this being effected, he determined to aide LEOPOLD against GVELPHO: But in the meane time LEOPOLD died, and with the same trouble his sonne called HENRY had the Duchie of *Baniere*, against whom (with no lesse stomacke and diligence) GVELPHO prosecuted

The originall of the Guelphs and Gibelins.

A commendable deceit used by women in Germany.

prosecuted the war: but CONRADE assisting his cosine germane the new Duke, neither GVELPHO, neither his nephew HENRY Duke of Saxony, could preuaile against him; notwithstanding that GVELPHO was so warlike, and so valiant a captaine.

The Emperour  
Conrade his at-  
tempt for the  
conquest of Je-  
rusalem.

CONRADE hauing spent fixe or seuen yeeres of his raigne in these ciuill wars, a voyage was pretended to *Ierusalem*; which although it had no great good successe, yet it was good and commendable. And to the end that you may the better vnderstand the same, it shall be requisite briefly to set downe the most important causes thereof, and the estate wherein the affaires of *Gracia* then stood, and of *Italy* also: which was in this manner. The Christians hauing possessed *Ierusalem*, and many other cities in *Syria* and in *Mesopotamia*, now about fife and fortie yeeres; and hauing performed wonderfull matters in armes in their continuall warres against the Infidels, which they waged at what time as CONRADE was busie about this matter: and FVLCO sonne in law to BALDVIN, being then the fourth King of *Ierusalem*, and hauing done great exploités against the Sarazins, there arose some controuerfies betweene some princes, Dukes of certaine places in the East; and so betweene them, and CALOIOANNES Emperour of *Constantinople*, which gaue occasion to the king of *Persia* his captaines, to doe much harme in the countries which the Christians possessed: against which, FVLCO king of *Ierusalem* made the greatest resistance that he was able, and did many worthy feates of armes. Then ensued the death of the Greeke Emperour, who had reigned fixe and twentie yeeres: And although he had troubled the state of the East, yet neuertheless by reason of his great power he was much feared of the Infidels; and died of a small wound giuen him in the left hand with an enuionomed arrow: and by his last will and testament, he ordained his youngest sonne for his successor, for that his eldest sonne was incapable of the gouernment. The state of *Syria* being thus troubled, FVLCO king of *Ierusalem* went to encounter a great armie of Turkes and Persians, which came against the citie of *Amioch*; and ioyning in battle, ouerthrew and slew three thousand of them: whereupon the Soldan king of *Persia*, whose name was ALAPH, amassed all his whole power, and came before *Edissa*, a very mightie citie in *Mesopotamia*, which the Christians had held the space of fife and fortie yeeres; which citie by the Lewes is called *Aracha*, and is a very famous citie, through the fertilitie and greatnes thereof; and for that it was the place, whither TOBIAS sent his sonne TOBIAS to GABRIELVS for his money, and the same was conuerted to the Christian faith by THADEVS; and adorned with the bones of S. THOMAS the Apostle, and at that time was inhabited and frequented by excellent Christians: But the saide ALAPH comming in person against it, without that King FVLCO was any way able to relieue the citie, was taken and sacked; wherein the Infidels vied indicible cruelties and villanies, such as haue not been heard of: some writers reckon the losse of this citie to haue happened after the decease of King FVLCO: but PLATINA and BLONDVS recount is as I haue done. After the losse of this citie, another great misfortune ensued, which was the unhappie death of FVLCO King of *Ierusalem* in this manner; as hee was busie, applying himselfe to recouer this lost citie, and to leue new troupes of men of warre, being one day in the fields hunting an Hare, his horse fel with him, and his head fell vnder the arfon of the saddle, wherwith he was brused, and so sore hurt, that losing both his speech and senses, he died within three daies after it, leauing behind him two young sonnes, the eldest of which called BALDVIN, had the title and kingdom of *Ierusalem*: but through the want of FVLCO, and

The death of  
Fulco king of  
*Ierusalem*.

through other occasions, the Infidels daily took townes, and did much hurt to the Christians. Pope INNOCENT and the Christian Princes vnderstanding how matters went in the East, and being sorie to heare thereof (as in deede they had reason, especially of the losse of the great citie of *Edissa*) began to consult of some redresse and reliefe for the same; and as S. BERNARD was then in great credit and very famous, he tooke vpon him to perswade the Christian Princes, to goe in person to this warre, Pope INNOCENT giuing him in charge to performe that action; which Pope hauing held that seate the space of fourteene yeeres, died (as saith PLATINA) in the yeer of our Lord 1144. and him succeeded CELESTIN the second, who was Pope but fife moneths; and he being dead, LVCIVS the second was made Pope, in whose time (as saith PLATINA and BLONDVS) S. BERNARD undertooke this enterprise; and as others say, in the time of INNOCENTVS: this difference doth not discredit the authors, for the losse of the citie of *Edissa*, and the death of king FVLCO, and other matters which happened in the East, passed at seuerall times, and might attaine to the time of all these Popes, for the small time that they liued: for LVCIVS the second was not Pope fully one yeere, and this was in the time of his successor EVGENIVS. I say then that by means of the Popes letters, together with the perswasion of S. BERNARD, LEVVS which then was king of *France*, taking for his deuice the signe of the Crosse, determined with many great Lords and Knights of his countries, to goe to this warre in the East, in the behalfe of the king of *Ierusalem*; and he leuying an armie, BERNARD went into *Germany* to the Emperour CONRADE (whose life we write) and obtained of him to doe the like, as the French King pretended to doe: whereto he willingly and speedily prepared himselfe; and it pleased God that this journey was so well liked of by all men, that notwithstanding that there were very sharpe and hot warres betweene the Emperour, and GVELPHO and his adherents, yet the same GVELPHO notwithstanding offered to goe this journey with him, and to do him seruice therein. And so the Emperor and the French King (by their letters) agreed to goe to that enterprise personally. But forasmuch as they both could not conveniently march together in companie, by reason of the great multitude of their people; it was concluded that the Emperour should first set forwards (and so he did) in the yeere of our Lord 1147, according to the most authors, yet some write one yeere lesse: and hee departed, accompanied by these princes, FREDERICK Duke of *Suenia*, sonne of his brother FREDERICK deceased, the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Earle of *Flanders* and *Friseland*, the Marqueffe of *Austrich*, and GVELPHO his former cruell enemie, and his then seruant and companion, and whom the Emperour in all that journey called fellow souldier, and made great account of his person, with many other princes and Lords of great account. In this all authors agree, that of the Emperours owne forces, with the forces of these princes, together with the aduenturers, which came from all parts, vpon the report of so zealous an enterprise, his armie amounted to the number of threescore and tenne thousand horse, and (in a manner) to as many foote: with which, marching through *Austrich* and *Hungary*, he addressed his journey towards *Constantinople*; where hee was ioyfully and honourably receiued by the Emperour ENANVEL, sonne of CALOIOANNES; and his troupes were lodged in townes and places neere at hand; and staying there some few daies, he crossed ouer the straight of *Constantinople* with his whole Armie; with lesse store of victuals then was needfull in such an action, through the Emperour of *Constantinople* his counsell and default, who promised to furnish him with all things necessarie; and so he marched

The Emperour  
Conrade and  
Lewes king of  
*France* went to  
*Ierusalem*.

Anno Domini  
1147.

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through

through the Emperors countries, in *Asia* the lesse, and had Greekes for his guides, such as well knew the countrie. And passing through the prouince of *Licaonia*, which bordreth vpon *Galacia*, in the middest of *Asia* the lesse, being in his enemies countrie in great want of victualles, all his guides in one night forsooke him: which, as some write, was thought to haue been done by the direction of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, who of malice or enuy repined at this war. Others imagine that they stode in feare, and fled, for that they saw the armie so vnprovided of victualles, or for that they had missed of their way: but howsoeuer it was, the Emperor stayed neere to the citie of *Iconium*, which is in *Silicia*, and (as some say) besieged the same, for that it was rich, wel furnished, & of great importance, thinking in short time to haue taken it. But forasmuch as victualles came not according to the trust he reposed in the Greekes; his people within few daies space endured extreame hunger, & sickenes, and falling sick of the chaulke which (as some write) the Greekes did put into their meale, they died. The Emperor seeing himself thus distressed in his enemies countries, and his friends being doubtfull and variable in their opinions, whether they should goe forwards, or retire: (either of which was perillous) in the meane time, so great a multitude of Turkes, Persians, and other heathen nations (knowing the distresse wherein the Christians were) assaulted his campe, in such manner, that his person and armie were in danger to haue been wholly lost: (God in his secret iudgement, permitting it) and the Emperor knowing no better course to be taken, came to a battaile with them; some say two, and that the fight continued two daies together, one after another; and as the greatest part of his armie was sickly, and almost hungerstarued; so after that they had done what they possibly were able, they were broken and ouerthrowne; and so many of them were slaine and taken prisoners, that there remained little more then the tenth man of his armie; with which he escaped by flight, and therein endured extreame hunger and many daungers, and stayed not any where vntill he came to the citie of *Nicea*, in the prouince of *Bythinia*, in *Asia* the lesse, which was subiect to the Greeke Empire; where amassing the remainder of his armie (which from many parts, held by Christians, came thither to him) he determined to attend the comming of *Leues* the French King, who was already vpon the way comming. This ouerthrow happened in the moneth of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred fourtie and seuen.

At what time as the Emperour *Conrade* was thus ouerthrowne by the Infidels, the French King was come from *Constantinople* into *Bythinia*; where he had been well receiued and lodged by the Emperor *Emmanuel*: and within few daies after that the Emperour *Conrade* was departed from *Germany*, pope *Eugenius* the third, which succeeded *Lycius*, flying from *Rome*, came to him in *France*, by reason of certaine Commotions raised against him in *Rome*, for the people would haue placed certaine citizens in the gouernment of the citie; and the pope finding the King readie to depart, encouraged him to proceede in his journey, and gaue him his holy benediction; and the King in requitall gaue him men and money, wherewith he returned to *Rome*, and was with much obedience therein receiued. King *Leues* of *France* being arriued in *Asia*, and vnderstanding nothing of the Emperors misfortune; *Fredricke* Duke of *Suenia*, Nephew to the Emperor, came to him, and certified him of their ouerthrow: wherefore the King hastned his journey, and finding the Emperour in *Nicea*, he recomforted and perswaded him to proceede in his attempt in his company; which he then willingly did, and so they marched together to the famous citie

The Emperor  
Conrade over-  
throwne by the  
Sarazins.

citie of *Ephesus*, which is the most principall citie of all *Asia* the lesse, in the prouince of *Ionis*, where the Emperour considering that he went not according to his estate and honour, going with so small forces, but rather as a subiect to the King of *France*, and for some other respects, giuing good words he tooke his leaue of the King, and departed; and drawing neere to the Sea, sent his people by land, and he by Shippe went to stay for them at *Constantinople*, where dissembling the iniurie that he had receiued (or peradventure not suspecting any such matter) he remained the rest of the winter; to the end that reinforcing his armie, he might from thence the next spring returne to his enterprife.

In the meane time the French King prosecuted his journey, not without great trouble and losse of many of his men, in a battaile which he wanne; and in another, wherein part of his armie was ouerthrowne: how it passed I doe not set downe, for that it appertaineth not to my Historie. After this, enduring great trauaile and daungers, by long iourneies, he came to the citie of *Antioch*, in company of *Raymond* or *Ramon*, Lord thereof, who came to meete him vpon the way, and to doe him honor, from whence he afterwards (as I will shew you) came to *Ierusalem*. The spring being come, and the Emperour *Conrade* hauing leuiued new forces, which he ioyned with the remainder of his last armie; in a great fleete which he had prepared, with the helpe of the Emperour of *Constantinople*, he embarked, and came therein into *Soria*, and there disembarking in a certaine harbour, came with his armie by land to *Ierusalem*, where, by *Baldvin* the King thereof, he was very ioyfully receiued; and within few daies they had intelligence, that the French King was comming thither also: whom the Emperour, and King *Baldvin* receiued with great ioy; and then to auoyde losse of much time, they presently tooke counsel about prosecuting the warre against the Infidels; concluding to besiege the citie of *Damasco*, from whence (for that it was very puissant and populous) they daily receiued losse, detriment, and ill neighbourhood, and so taking that obstacle, they determined to haue proceeded further, which plot was presently put in execution; and the Emperor, and the two Kings departed, with a great and very well ordered armie, with a resolution, and in hope to haue effected some great matters: but it pleased God otherwise to dispose of their purpose, for being come to *Damasco*, and hauing encamped themselves on that side of the citie, towards Mount *Libanus*, they had many daungerous skirmishes, wherefore (through the aduice and counsell of certaine men of that countrie, which being corrupted with money by the besieged, desired to deceiue these princes) they remoued their campe to the other side of the citie, and abandoned the most fit place for their siege: whereof it ensued, that the Infidels taking the aduantage of an Hill (which they fortified) did thence greatly annoy them, and this Hill was so situate, that it stopt the comming of victuals to the campe: and the besieged defended themselves so valorously, and famine so much encreased in these princes armies, that it was impossible for them to liue, if they remained there any longer, so as they were perforce constrained to raise their siege, and returned to *Ierusalem*, sorrowfull and in ill plight, there to consult of what course was best to be taken. In this siege (as saith the Abbot *Wespergensis*) *Guelpho*, the Emperors auncient enemy (yet then his good friend) fell sicke, and fearing to die if he staid there any longer, he with his followers tooke shipping and sailed into *Sicilia*, where recouering his health, through the counsell and instigation of *Roger* King thereof, hee from thence went into *Germany*, and there againe rebelling, made warres vpon the Emperors countries.

*Damasco* be-  
sieged by the  
Christians.

The returne of  
the Emperour  
and the French  
King from the  
warres of the  
Holy land.

The Emperour and French King then resolved to returne into their dominions, seeing it pleased not God to prosper their proceedings; and the rather to the end to auoyde innouations and troubles that might grow in the countries, by reason of their absence; and they did so, leauing the affaires of the East in as ill estate as they found the same. The Emperour rigging vp his nauie, embarked himselfe with his people, and againe tooke land in *Gracia* (as saith *Otho Frisingensis*, who accompanied him in all this iourney) and in the prouince of *Achaia*, met the Emperour of *Constantinople*, where refreshing himselfe a while after his comming from Sea, he departed from the said Emperour, and tooke his way into *Germany*, and so ended this religious enterprize, in the fourth yeere after the same began. And the French King, within few dayes after the Emperours departure from the Holy land, tooke shipping also; and after some aduentures which befell him in the way, arriued in his countrie, in health and peace; and the Emperour againe warred against *Guelpho*, to the end to punish him for his rebellion in his absence, but at the entreatie of his Nephew *Fredericke*, Duke of *Sueuia*, who was likewise Nephew to *Guelpho* by his mothers side, he pardoned him, and graunted him peace, and allowed him certaine lands and reuenues for his maintenance. At this time came Ambassadors to the Emperour from the Christian Kings, and from the pope, to congratulate his returne; and hee commaunded a Diet or Councell to be assembled in the citie of *Confluence*; wherein, after many matters appertaining to the gouernment of the Common-wealth, he concluded to come into *Italy*, to be crowned (being thereto inuited by pope *Vrbane* before named) and making preparation for his iourney, he was intercepted by death; not without suspicion of poyson, giuen him by an Italian Phisition, through the procurement of *Roger* King of *Sicilia*; he died in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred fiftie two, in the fiftieth yeere of his raigne (some reckon one thousand, one hundred fiftie and foure) and left one onely sonne called *Fredericke*, who afterwards being Duke of *Sueuia*, and died in *Italy*, which sonne he had by his wife the Emperesse, whose name was *Gertrude*, an Earles daughter which was a great Lord in *Germanie*; by whom he also had had another sonne, called *Henry*; of whom mention hath been already made, who died before his father the Emperour.

In *Constantinople* reigned *Emmanuel*, and held the Empire after this almost thirtie yeeres; this Emperour is reckoned amongst the wicked and vicious Emperours, and is greatly condemned, as to haue been the occasion of the losse of the two armies, viz. the Emperours, and the French Kings, as we haue already recounted. For which cause (it is written that) *Roger* King of *Sicily* warred against him, and hauing taken certaine Ilands from him; he came so neere to the citie of *Constantinople*, that the arrowes which he shot, fell within his pallace; and they affirme, that he gathered apples from the trees, growing in the Orchards and Gardens belonging thereto. This *Roger* died within a yeere or two after the Emperour *Conrade*; and his sonne *William* the first succeeded him.

In the time of this Emperour, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred thirtie nine, died in *France*, a man called *John* of time, who (as many authors affirme) had liued three hundred fixtie and one yeeres, and had been an Halberdere of the Emperour *Charles* the Great his guard; it is a matter hardly to be beleued, yet possible; and many authors write the same.

Anno Dom.  
1139.  
Iehan de temps  
is reported to  
haue liued  
three hundred  
fixtie and one  
yeeres.

THE



## THE LIFE OF FREDE- RICKE THE FIRST OF THAT

NAME, SVRNAMED BARBAROSSA,  
AND FOVRESORE AND SE-  
uenteenth Romane Emperour.

And of *Emmanuel*, Emperour of  
*Constantinople*.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**A**fter the decease of *Conrade*, his Nephew *Fredericke* Duke of *Sueuia* was chosen Emperour; a man endued with all excellencies, as well of body as of mind, seeing that he was peradventure more desirous of glory then was conuenient. In the beginning of his raigne he shewed himselfe very desirous of peace, but afterwards in processe of time, he waged very great warres; and hauing stirred up many tumults of warres in *Germany*, he purposed to make a iourney into *Italy*, there to be crowned; and hauing leuied a great armie, and being past the *Alpes*, he greatly endomaged the *Milanois*, which made an insurrection against him; but spending no long time about those factions, he went to *Rome*, where he was crowned by the Pope. In time of his coronation many troubles arose in *Rome*, wherewith he was much displeased; which he leauing imperfect, returned into *Germany*, where he afterwards fell at variance with the Pope, by meanes of the King of *Sicilia*, which was his enemy: this controuersie was pacified by Christian princes, which perswaded him rather to seeke to be reuenged on the *Milanois*, then to warre against the Pope. Whereupon he resolved againe to come into *Italy*, by reason of *Milan*, and came thither and destroyed it, and made it to be reuinated by the *Milanois* themselves, which were the citizens and inhabitants thereof; and besides this, he did much more harme. He highly maintained a schisme in the Church of *Rome*, and gaue great aide to the Antipope whose name was *Victor*: but all *Italy* being discontent, by reason of the terrible punishment inflicted upon *Milan*;

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so

so soone as he was gone out of Italy, all the cities of Lombardy united themselves together, and made a league against him; wherein particularly was included the cite of Venice, which took the protection of Pope Alexander. Which the Emperor hearing, sent the Antipope into Italy, who died in Luca; where, by the Emperours consent, a successor was chosen him, to maintaine the schisme, and he in person came against the league; wherein all Italy was in a manner combined and bent against him; and coming to Rome, he constrained the Pope to flie to Gaeta, having first done much harme in Tuscanie, in the Marca, and particularly in the cite of Ancona: and after many adventures, he departed out of Italy, without effecting ought against the Pope as he desired. After some space, he againe returned into Italy, but being abandoned by the greatest part of his followers, (instigated thereto by Henry Duke of Saxony) the Emperor was in such distresse, that he was constrained to goe sometime disguised, as another mans servant: but he very severely punished the said Henry, for his mutining. He againe tooke his passage into Italy, and coming to a battaile with his enemies, was vanquished, and held for dead; but recanting of his former proceedings, he sued to the Pope to be in peace with him; which was concluded in the cite of Venice; with a truce, with the cite of Lombardy; which being done, all was in peace. Afterwards he went to make warre in the Holy land, and having done some matters worthis memorie, in the most flourishing time of his victories, going to refresh himselfe in a river, he was carried downe by the current, without that any of his people was able to helpe him, and therein was drowned, when he had reigned eight and twentie yeeres.



Notwithstanding that the Emperor CONRADE when he died, left a sonne whose name was FREDERICKE, and was called Duke of Suenia, neuertheless, so great was the reputation of his Nephew FREDERICKE, who was his brother FREDERICKS sonne, and Duke of Suenia, that the Princes Electors being assembled in Frankford, made him Emperor; and he presently went to be crowned, with the first crowne, in the cite of Aken, whither concurred

all the princes of Germany to see the new Emperor. For without doubt, FREDERICKE (as all authors write of him) was a personage of great valour, and worthie of the Imperiall dignitie, as well for the gifts of the body as of the minde. He was of more then of a meane stature, of great strength and agilite, very well proportioned in body, and of a faire and pleasing countenance, accompanied with grauitie and maiestie. His haire and beard were red, wherefore hee was called BARBAROSSA OR ENOBABVS. With these corporall gifts, he was endued with a sharpe and excellent wit, and spake wisely and effectually: and was of so excellent a memorie, especially concerning the gesture and countenance of a man, that whosoever had once negociated with him, although in long time after he had not seene him, yet he would know him at the first sight. He was also of a gentle and pleasant conuersation, very liberall and bountifull, and an enemy to couetousnes, vertuous, without any noted vice: most valiant in armes, and a contemner of daungers, very actiue both on foote and horsebacke, and very expert, and well aduised in the warres and militarie discipline. These vertues were accompanied with a great desire of glorie and renowne, for he was passing ambitious, coueting to rule and to commaund, which in my opinion was the cause of many euils, of great warres, and of the effusion of much blood in his time: the warres he followed in his owne person, with great courage and valour, for the space of thirtie yeeres, that he held the Empire: and imitating HENRY the fourth, he supported and maintained a schisme in the Church of Rome, for the space of twentie yeeres; and reuiued the emulation, and competencie betweene the Emperors and the Popes, which LOTHARY, and CONRADE had pacified: as we will briefly recite. The first thing that he did after he came to the Empire, was, to call

Fredericke  
Barbarossa  
chosen Em-  
peror.

The Emperor  
Fredericks  
qualities.

call a Parliament in the cite of Mesburgh, whither (amongst other princes) came the King of Denmarke, newly come to his inheritance, who there was crowned by the Emperor FREDERICKE, and did him homage, as a King subiect to the Empire. And there hee also receiued the Ambassades of other Christian princes, which sent to congratulate his election, and he procured and concluded peace with them all. And so in his beginning, he made shew of a very peaceable prince, but he afterwards prooued to be one of the greatest warriors in the world: and it appeared and was manifest, that in the beginning he sought peace, thereby to be afterwards the better able to make warre. At that time was great contention betweene the Dukes of Saxony, and of Bauiere (both which were called HENRY) which extended it selfe ouer all Germany; some fauoring the one partie, and some the other: HENRY Duke of Saxony made claime to the Duchie of Bauiere, which had been his fathers: whereof he was depriued by the Emperor CONRADE, and now HENRY Marquesse of Austring held the same, and was called Duke of Bauiere, for that his brother LEOPOLD had left it him; for to him had the Emperour CONRADE giuen the same. The Emperor FREDERICKE, for that he was neere of kinne to both these competitors (for the one of them was his Vncle, and the other his cosine germane) agreed them after this manner; that to HENRY of Saxony should be restored the Duchie of Bauiere (but yet he afterwards againe lost the same) and he made HENRY Marquesse of Austring (who was called Duke of Bauiere) Duke of Austring, and gaue him some other places; and to GUELPHO, Vncle to the Duke of Saxony, hee gaue certaine lands, and estate in Italy, which he enherited from MAVD, often before mentioned. This peace and agreement being concluded, and all other actions and debates in Germany ended, hee spent many daies in establishing peace, and in doing iustice. After which HENRY Countie Palantine of Rhine (a prince of great possessions) died without issue or any of his lineage, that might succede him; but the Emperour found a meane to make his brother CONRADE his heire; who had that countie, and he afterwards dying, left it to his onely daughter, which was married to HENRY Duke of Saxony, by which marriage he gat that estate. These and such like accidents and alterations which I finde in the Histories of Germany, written by the Germanes themselves, maketh me to doubt of these genealogies, and antiquities of linages, which they so much celebrate, to be of a thousand, and of two thousand yeeres continuance; descended in line masculine from the father to the sonne without basturdie; and other matters whereof the Germanes vaunt, which are, in a manner impossible, or at the least improbable: for we know that all those great houses and estates began since the time of CHARLES the Great; and I see that in those principall houses there haue bin notable alterations, & chaunges, from one linage to another, as heretofore hath bin seene in some of them; & now in this Countie Palatine, which in this place cleerely passeth from the auncient linage, to the house of Suenia, in this Emperours brother which happened in the second yeere of his raigne. This being past, the Emperour married the daughter of DIOPOLD Marquesse of Bospergh called ALDA, but forasmuch as it was found that they were within prohibited degrees of consanguinitie, a Synod was assembled in the cite of Constance, in which he was diuorced and separated from her; and then he married with the onely daughter of RAINOLD Earle of Burgundie, by whom he afterwards had five sonnes; HENRY, FREDERICKE, CONRADE, PHILLIP, and OTHO. These peaceable matters being ended, the Emperour determined to goe to Rome, to be crowned, by pope ADRIAN the third,

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who

Pope Adrian  
the third an  
Engl. so man.

who was an English man; and leuying a great armie, and setting order in the affaires of *Germany*, he departed towards *Italy*: it behoued him to doe so, for the cities of *Lombardy* and others subiect to the empire, through the long absence of the Emperours (for *CONRADE* had neuer visited them) were accustomed to such libertie, that any kind of subiection seemed to them intolerable, especially *Milan*, which of them all was the richest, and most mightie. And so *FREDERICK* being arriued in *Italy*, Ambassadors came to him from *Milan*; which after their due reuerence, entreated him to be pleased, to make *Como* and *Lodi* subiect to their citie, promising to giue him therefore a great summe of money: which request he held for vniust, and therefore would not graunt it them: which was the originall occasion of the rebellion of *Milan*, and of the euils which afterwards ensued: and the *Milanois* presently began to shew their discontentment, for the Emperours campe being lodged within a mile of the citie, they not onely refused to lodge or to entertaine him therein, but denied to giue him victuals for his people for his money: whereupon, taking this their contempt in very ill part (as hee afterwards manifested) he presently battered certaine Castles within their iurisdiction: but holding it no fit time presently to besiege the citie, his souldiers ouerranne their fields, euen to their citie gates; and he passing forwards, went to *Bercelli*, and to *Turin*, and passed ouer the riuier *Po*; and by the way burned *Aste*, for that it stood at defence; and afterwards besieged the citie of *Tortona*, for as much as it refused to receiue him, which was a very strong hold. And the siege continuing certaine daies space with great losse of men of both parts, in the end he tooke it, and made so great a spoile in it, that he left it (in a manner) desolate and wholly destroyed: whereupon those of *Paui*a (for feare) receiued him, making shew of great ioy; and there he receiued the second Crown, and thence marched towards *Rome*, whither hee went to be crowned.

The Emperour  
Frederick in  
Italy.

Pope *ADRIAN* at that time was not well pleased with the *Romane* people, about certaine Consuls which they had chosen, which was a kind of gouernment (which of a good space they had sought to introduce) greatly abridging the Popes power and authoritie: about which, great matters had passed between the citizens and some of his predecessors, as before hath been already touched. Wherefore to the end to auoide this trouble, and to preuent certaine practises, which *WILLIAM* the new king of *Sicilia* attempted against the patrimonic of the Church of *Rome*, the Pope absented himselfe, and with his Cardinals attended the Emperours comming in *Sutrio*; from whence, with a shew of great loue and good will, they came together to *Rome*, and the Emperour lodging his armie in the fields neere vnto it, he, together with the Pope (hauing a competent guard) entred the Vaticane, and the next day was crowned in *S. PETERS* Church with great solemnitie. But the coronation was scarcely ended, when vpon the same day all the *Romane* people rising in an vpror, without knowing any occasion thereof, together with their Consuls, put themselves in armes, as men discontented with the friendship betwene the Emperour and the Pope; and comming into the Vaticane, they set vpon the *Germanes* which came with the Emperour: and he knowing what passed, made certaine companies of souldiers, of those which were encamped neere to the citie, speedily to enter, which fought with the *Romanists*, and many were slaine of either side: but in the end the *Romanes* were constrained to retire by their bridges into the citie (seuen hundred of them being first slaine and taken prisoners). The Emperour remaining commander of the Vaticane, was so wroth, that but for the Popes entreatie, hee would haue caused the

The people of  
Rome rose a-  
gainst the Pope.

the citie to haue been assaulted, and would haue giuen the inhabitants a terrible remembrance for their mutinying: but the Pope mitigated his displeasure, and the *Romanes* stood all that night and the next day in armes; wherewith the Pope being griued, was little obeyed. The Emperour departed thence, and within few daies after his abode in that quarter, went into *Germany* (whereof the Pope complained for that hee left him at variance with the citizens) and by the way tooke some townes by assault; amongst which, *Spoleto* was sacked and burnt for resisting him: and so he afterwards passed through *Lombardy*, without any stay, with a determination to returne with greater power; where befell him some notable aduentures, which (to the end the better to expresse such as are of greater importance) I omit. Being returned into *Germany*, with great power and greater authoritie, for that hee was crowned by the hands of the Pope; the Duke of *Bohemia* whose name was *VLADISLAVS*, or *LAVESLAVS*, who came with him all this iourney, was (by reason of his great estate and the worthines of his person) made King: yet I finde it written, that the Emperour *HENRY* the fourth, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, eightie and sixe, gaue the title of King to *BRATISLAVS* Duke of *Bohemia*: but that title was then giuen to his person, and not to the countie; and so his successors enioyed not the same, vntill the time of this *VLADISLAVS*, which continueth vntill this day. And the Emperour passing forwards, without discharging his armie, marched against the Duke of *Polania*; who for certaine yeeres space had refused to pay the tribute, which hee ought to pay to the empire: but he compelled him to pay the same.

Vladislaus  
Duke of Bohe-  
mia made king.

The Emperour being gone out of *Italy*, great controuersie arose betwene the pope and *WILLIAM* king of *Sicilia*; wherein the pope recouered certaine places which *WILLIAM* had taken from him; *EMANUEL* Emperour of *Constantinople* (and *WILLIAMS* enemy) furthering those discords, who sent to the pope, and made great offers and promises to aide and succour him: whereupon, after some conflicts which past betwene them, *WILLIAM* by all meanes possibly fought the popes grace and fauour, submitting himselfe to his obedience; and the pope confirmed to him the title of King of both the *Sicilies*: wherewith the Emperour *FREDERICK* was much displeased, and greatly complained, for he hated *WILLIAM*; and at his comming into *Italy*, he came of purpose to warre against him, although afterwards hee could not effect the same as he thought to haue done. For this cause and other which are not mentioned, in those daies great strife and contentions arose betwene the Emperour and the Pope; which *PLATINA* nor *BLONDVS* specifie not, neither the other Italian authors: but *RVDEBICVS FRISINGENSIS*, who prosecuted the historie which *OTHO FRISINGENSIS* left a little before this place, and other Historiographers, describe the same at large: the summe whereof is, that the Emperour began to doe as some of his predecessors had done before him, in giuing ecclesiastical dignities, and inuesting prelates without the popes authoritie, or confirmation; and would not endure the Popes Legates in his countries, but when, how, and in what manner it pleased him; taking occasion hereof, that the Pope without his consent had made peace with his enemy *WILLIAM*: whereto the Pope answered, that he could doe no otherwise, for that the Emperour abandoned him in his distresse, when *Rome* rebelled against him. And the matter came to this issue, that the Emperour would not permit any appeales to be made to the court of *Rome*; and about that matter hee apprehended certain Bishops, which *NAVCLEVS*, & *HENRICVS MVCIVS*, proued by certaine letters passing betwene the Emperour and the Pope: which letters they

William con-  
firmed by the  
Pope king of  
both Sicilies.

they affirme to haue scene in a Monasterie in *Germany*. They also recount certaine very sharpe ambassades from the one to the other; and that in the end the Pope standing in feare of the Emperours power (being aduised by certaine prelates) and also for that there was great discord betweene the cities of *Lombardy*, whither the Emperour meant shortly to come; they came to an agreement of peace, which was concluded by Ambassadors in a Parliament, which the Emperour caused to be held in *Ausburgh*: wherein, after that this was ended, he made relation to all the princes, of the iniurie which the Milanoies, and certaine other cities in *Lombardy* had done him: and therein it was determined, that he should the second time come into *Italy*, with farre greater power then at the first. And whilst he was busied about these matters, the Milanois (which at that time were of great power and very rich) being offended with what hee had done in their fields and territorie, thought not onely to haue freed themselues from subiection, and to haue denied him their obedience, but they also resolved to attend his coming in the plaine fields with an armie, and to make themselues Lords of all that cuntry, with the marches thereof, and to shake off the Imperiall yoke, presuming vpon their great power, and the aide of their friends and confederates: and so they began to leuie men of warre, and to make leagues and confederacies with other cities, as with *Crema*, *Brescia*, *Placencia*, and other townes: and they repaired and fortified *Tortona*, which the Emperour had ruinated and destroyed. And presently after this, they made cruell warre against *Paui*, *Cremona*, and other places which held for the Emperour; and destroyed the cities of *Lodi* and *Como*, which of long time they had hated, and were vader the Emperours protection. The chiefe author hereof, was a man of great authoritie in *Milan*, whose name was *Gualphago*, who (as a Lord or tyrant) was of such power in the citie, that all was done at his pleasure and by his direction; which made the Emperour the more to hasten his coming into *Italy*; two yeeres being not fully expired since his first coming thither: and with him came the King of *Bohemia*, *LEOPOLD* Marquesse of *Austrich*, his nephew *FREDERICK* Duke of *Suenia*, and other princes, besides some which were sent before to guard the citie of *Cremona*: and after that the Emperour was in *Italy*, thither came to doe him seruice, *HENRY* Duke of *Saxony* with a thousand and three hundred men at armes, and *GVELPHO* with three hundred. The Emperours coming into *Italy* did put the cuntry in such feare, that *Brescia* (whither hee sent the king of *Bohemia*, and his nephew the Duke of *Suenia*) yeelded without assault, promising to be at his deuotion. From thence he marched with his armie towards *Milan*, and by the way had some skirmishes, which I passe ouer: and being come into the marches thereof, he staid, and tooke certaine castles, which hee did of set purpose, supposing that the Milanois would haue sued to him for peace, or haue vsed some complements: but they were now growne so proud, that they applied themselues to nothing else, but to fortifie themselues: whereof when the Emperour was aduertised, he commaunded the cities which were vnder his obedience, to send him men of warre; and so from *Cremona* (as saith the Abbot *WESPERGENSIS*) came to him thirtie thousand fighting men; so great was the enuie they bare against *Milan*: and from *Paui* and *Noisarra*, there came also great numbers; with which, and with his own armie he went to *Milan*, whither when he came, they sallied out of the citie into the field, in a very great number, both of foote and horse; and a battaile began betweene them, one wounding and killing another in most cruell manner: but the Milanois being vnable long to endure the furie of the Imperialists, retired, fly-

The Milanois  
tooke the field  
and fought  
with the Empe-  
rour.

ing to the walles of the citie; and those of *Cremona* were so greedie in pursuing them, that they (a great way) ouer went the battallions of the Germanes: which when the Milanois perceiued, turning head, they charged them in such manner that they made them retire, and in their retreat slew many of their people: And *FREDERICK* which saw all this, charged with his squadron with to great force and furie, that he made them of *Milan* to turne their backes; and wounding and killing many of them, compelled the rest to flie to the gates of their citie, and hee firing the Suburbs, presently besieged the same; and so hee held it besieged for certaine daies space, in which were many great and notable skirmishes. But the Milanois seeing the Emperours resolution, and great power, and the engines which he addrested to batter their walles, were in so great feare, that they resolved to yeeld, vpon the best conditions that they could get, and to send their Ambassadors to the campe; which confessing their offences, and crauing pardon, with a long set speech, entreated the Emperour to admit them into his seruice; and afterwards in particular they treated thereof with the princes in the armie, and (as some authors say) gaue great gifts and presents: finally, they obtained mercie, yeelded the citie, and were pardoned. *Milan* being now brought to subiection (as it was the head of all the rebels) the rest of the townes in *Lombardy* presently yeelded obedience, and gaue securitie, promising to serue the Emperour, and to doe what they should be commaunded; and the Emperour in person visited many of them, and appointed *Roncalia* to be the place whither they should send their Proctors or Agents with their authoritie; where hee determined to hold a Parliament, to treat of the common estate of these prouinces. And hauing had in so short space so good successe in *Lombardy* (as is already said) he abolished some of their lawes and customes, and prescribed other new, with greater rigour then (in trueth) hee ought to haue done: whereof many inconueniences ensued. The time appointed for their meeting being come, and they making their appearance accordingly; after many matters which therein were handled, by the aduice of some of his counsell, he caused an Instrument to be made, concerning an vniuersall peace; which he inioyned all the cities, and principall men, Marquises and Earles in all *Lombardy*, to obserue. This was done after the Germane manner, with penaulties therein accustomed; which being published and made knowne vnto them, they all murmured, and held themselues wronged, principally the Milanois; and this discontentment encreased in such manner, that it was the cause of greater euils then the former, by reason of the tolls and taxes which the Emperour imposed vpon all the cuntry; reseruing to himselfe the election and prouision of all officers: and although he did it by the aduice and counsell of learned men and Princes, which alleaged that the Emperour might doe it in all those countries; yet the people being vnaccustomed thereto, tooke it very grievously; which was the occasion of the euils which ensued, although in the beginning they durst not rebell. After this, the Emperour (for a trophie of his victories) made the citie of *Lodi* to be new builded, and with all speed and diligence to be walled and fortified; and the Castles, which had bin aduersaries to *Milan*, to be repaired and victualled; wherein he placed gouernors and garrisons, and did other things, which my breuitie permitteth me not to recite. And setting all things in the best order that he could (notwithstanding that he knew that *Milan* had not obeyed his lawes and ordinances, concerning the impositions which hee had set (as saith the Abbot *WESPERGENSIS*, and *IOHN CUSPINIAN* and others) he tooke his way towards the cuntry of *Burgundy*: which was an

*Milan yeelded  
to the Empe-  
rour.*

estate

estate which hee held by his wife: other authors recount not this departure, but recite what ensued, as though he had not gone out of *Italy*: but in my iudgment, *Milan*, *Crema*, and *Brescia*, and the other cities, would not haue dared so peremptorily to haue rebelled, if the Emperour with his armie had continued in *Lombardy*: wherefore (holding with *WESPERGENSI*, and such others as are of his opinion) I say that so soone as the Emperour was gone out of *Lombardy*, these things ensued, which we will presently relate.

The Pope made  
a league with  
William king  
of Sicilia a-  
gainst the Em-  
perour.

The Milanois (which neuer yeelded to obey the Emperours lawes) seeing themselves of great power, tooke the fildes with their forces, and went to a castle which the Emperour had builded neere to *Crema*, and assaulding it, tooke it by force; and so they began the warre, and did as much harme as at the first, but with greater resolution: and presently the cities of *Crema*, *Brescia*, and *Placentia* did the like, and all the rest of their partakers. IOANNES CREMONENSIS in his fourth booke saith, that the Pope made a league with WILLIAM King of *Sicilia* against the Emperour, which was the cause of great enmitie betwene them. The Emperour being aduertised of the bold attempts of the Milanois, and their adherents; with great celeritie (before that his whole armie was in a readines) returned into *Lombardy*, and went directly to *Milan*; and finding no resistance in the field, harried and spoiled the countie, leauing nothing standing vnderdestroyed: so great was the wrath and displeasure which he had conceiued against it: and departing from thence he went to repose himselfe in *Lodi* (to be cured of a lame legge which he had) whither to him came Ambassadors from *Cremona*, to complain of those of *Crema*, for the great hurt they did them, and to craue succour: the harmes done were the greater, by reason of the strength of the place, together with the aide and reliefe which they had from *Brescia*, and from *Milan*. As the Emperour was a man of a very haughtie minde, so he seeking a redresse for all disorders, sent his brother CONRAD, Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, and some other principall men, with part of his armie, to besiege *Crema*; and they went thither: and the men of warre which were in *Crema* tooke the field, and gaue them battaile, which lasted a long space, wherein many of both sides were slaine: but in the end the Imperialists had the victorie, and compelled their enemies to returne running to their towne; and they durst sallie no more: and so the siege continued. At the same time new supplies came to the Emperour out of *Germany*; wherewith came his wife the Emperesse, with many men at armes out of *Burgundie*, and with her came HENRY Duke of *Saxony*, and of *Bauiere*; of whom we haue much spoken: with which, and with the rest which hee had before, he laid a plot for those of *Milan*, whereby he tooke prisoners about three hundred of them, and slew fighting about sixe hundred: but holding it his best course, first to make an end with *Crema* (which by his commaundement was already besieged) he removed his campe thither, and the better to iustifie his quarrell, hee sent to require them to receiue him into their citie, as their Emperour and liege Lord: which they not onely refused to doe, but gaue him many peremptorie proud speeches: whereupon hee caused sundrie great engines and instruments to be made, therewith to batter the towne; and the besieged resolutely defended themselves, and all their prisoners daily taken of either side, were either hanged or slaine: but at length they were constrained of necessitie to yeeld, & held themselves for happy, and charitably dealt withall, that the Emperour would vouchsafe to giue them their liues; and that leauing the citie, they might depart with their wiues and children, and such luggage as they could carrie on their backs.

Crema besieged  
and taken by  
the Emperour.

Whilest

Whilest the Emperour was at the siege of *Crema*, Pope ADRIAN died; after whose decease, the Cardinals, being in number five and twentie, assembling together in *Rome*, chose ALEXANDER the third (before called ROUVLAND) in a manner by generall consent of them all, excepting only three which gaine said it, which stood for the Cardinall of *S. Clement*, whose name was OCTAVIANVS, whom the Emperour much fauoured: and this OCTAVIANVS (notwithstanding his few voices in the election) was so bold, as to proclaime himselfe Pope, and was called VICTOR: and there wanted not some to take his part, and to support him. The other Pope ALEXANDER, seeing himselfe thus pestered, sent his Ambassadors to the Emperour, lying then at the camp before *Crema*, whereby he requested him (that vsing the authoritie of the Emperour) he would fauour the Church, by taking away the schisme therein. The Emperour for answer willed the Pope to come to the citie of *Pania*, whither he also appointed VICTOR to come, to the end that there he might heare both parties, and so determine of their controuersie: herewith ALEXANDER was much discontent, and resolved to seeke other redresse. And the Emperour hauing raised his siege from before *Crema*, leauing to make warre against *Milan* vntill the next spring (which was after the Abbots computation, in the yeere of our Lord 1161) came to the citie of *Pania*, from whence he sent two Bishops in Ambassade to Pope ALEXANDER, warning him to come thither to him, where he said, many Bishops would meete in the name of a Councell, to the end that the schisme might bee decided; which Ambassadors behaued themselves towards him, as to a Cardinall, but not as to a Pope, for the Emperour (as he disliked his election) desired to support Pope VICTOR. ALEXANDER taking this in ill part, dispatching the Ambassadors, commaunded them to returne, and they went to VICTOR with the same message, to whom they spake, and did reuerence as to a Pope; and he presentlie departed, and went to *Pania*, and was by the Emperour very well receiued and entertained, and there was pronounced and proclaimed for right Pope, and the Emperour kissing his foote, vsed other accustomed ceremonies, whereof when ALEXANDER was aduertised, holding himselfe for intollerable iniured, he proceeded against the Emperour, and his Pope, which he excommunicated, and anathematized, and the Emperour sending his Pope into *Germany*, returned to the warres of *Milan*, wherein what passed, I will tell you. Pope ALEXANDER after his going to *Rome*, holding himselfe not there in safetie, through the assistance of WILLIAM king of *Sicilia*, went by galleys into *France*, where he was very well entertained by PHILIP the French king (I say PHILIP, for that BLONDVS, and all those Italian authors call him so; but hereafter I will tell you that it could not be PHILIP, but his father LEUVVS, comparing and agreeing the times) and there he called a Councell in *Clermont*, wherein he againe proclaimed the Emperour and his Pope for excommunicate; what after ensued, you shall vnderstand. The spring of the yeere being come, the Emperour very resolutely returned against *Milan*, *Brescia*, *Placentia*, and such other rebellious cities as were in league with them: but first he ouer-ran and destroyed all the countie round about *Milan*: before and after this time were many skirmishes and encounters, which for breuitie I ouerpasse, wherein for the most part the Emperour had the better, vntill that he hauing withdrawne his armie to take in a castle and fortresse at the passage ouer a riuer neere to *Placentia*, and the Milanois hauing a good armie, led by the tirant GVALPHAGO, with the aid of those of *Placentia* and *Brescia*, went to assault a strong castle, called *Carcano*, or *Coracio*, whereof the Empe-

A schisme in  
the papacie.

Anno Dom.  
1161.

our being aduertised, speedily sent for men to *Pauia*, *Noiarræ*, and *Lodi*, with which, and with his ordinarie troupes, he put himselfe betweene *Milan*, and the said castle (before which the Milanois then were) in such a place, and in such manner, that of force they must fight, or not returne. The Milanois seeing themselves in this extremitie, sent some the most principall men amongst them to the Emperours Camp, to intreate him to suffer them to passe, for they would not fight with him for the honor and dutie which they bare to his person: and the Emperour presuming that he alreadie held the victorie in his hands, or that they durst not fight, would not graunt their request, by reason whereof, his aduersaries drawing courage out of despaire, seeing themselves lost if their passage were stopt, and that they were vnable to relieue their houses and friends, or to be relieved by them, resolued either to make way, or to dye in the action, and so marched in good order against the Emperour, who likewise in most excellent order attended their coming, and there began betwixt them a most cruell battaile, as betweene very expert and valiant souldiers, and men in despaire. In the beginning the Emperour apparantlie had the better, and many of his enemies were slaine, and their standard was taken: but the fight continuing vntill noone, there came certaine companies from the vnitied cities to the aid of the Milanois, which charged with such resolution and fury, that the Imperialists retired, and their enemies (as masters of the field) slew and tooke prisoners very many of them, and the Emperour shewing the greatnes of his mind, amassed together great part of his armie in the best order that he could, and ranging his troupes into a round Battallion, most valiantlie defended himselfe against his enemies, but truly he had bin either slaine or taken if the fight had continued any longer: but it pleased God that he being in this danger, there fell so much raine, and therewith the aire was so darke, that they neither saw, nor knew the one the other; and so the Emperour held it for his best course to retire towards *Pauia*, and his enemies as conquerors, with spoiles and prisoners went ioyfullie to their houses, which afterward cost them very deere. This so notable an exploit, *PLATINA*, *BLONDVS*, and other Italian authors passe ouer in silence: but as they do not gaine say it, and the Abbot *WESPERGENSIS* and other Germane authors report the same, I haue thought good to make mention thereof. This aduenture being past and knowne in *Germany*, some Princes and great Prelates, with many very good men of warre, came to the Emperours aid, with which, and with all the rest he left *Pauia*, and with a mightie armie besieged *Milan*, purposing not to rise from before it vntill he had taken it, and the besieged being well fortified and victualled, were no lesse resolute to dye in their defence: by reason whereof, this was one of the most cruell and terrible sieges that hath bin scene before any citie, aswell for the long continuance thereof, as for the skirmishes, sallies, assaults, losse of men, and effusion of blood, with the famine and other calamities which the besieged indured, and for the lamentable and pitifull end which it had. The siege continued incessantlie two whole yeeres and one day: some authors reckon fve, and some more yeeres, accounting (as I thinke) from the time that the Emperour first made warre in the marches thereof. What skirmishes and affrayes were between the besieged and the besiegers, the reader may cōiecture, considering the power and wrath of the Emperour, and the obstinacie and despaire ioyned with the great force and multitude of the Milanois. During the siege, there was so great want of victuals in the citie, that after they had eaten all the beasts, and other food that might be eaten, they dyed of hunger, and being out of hope to haue any succour,

A battaile betweene the Emperour and the Milanois.

Milan besieged and destroyed.

succour, or meanes to liue (the Emperour refusing all other compositions) they were constrained to yeeld to his mercie; yet some affirme, that certaine Iewes gaue him entrance; and some there are which say, that he took the citie by force: but howsoever it was, the citie came into the Emperours power; who conceiuing in his minde, that enough of them were slaine, hee gaue the rest their liues; but in the citie, and in all the rest, he did the greatest harme that he could possibly: for first he commaunded all the men and women to depart the citie, and his souldiers to sacke it; and then the buildings and walles thereof to be throwne downe and laid waste; and this to be done by the inhabitants themselves, and by such as were borne therein: and whereas they sufficed not thereto, hee caused a great number of people to come thither from *Pauia*, and *Cremona*, which should wholly ruinate it, and leaue it waste and desolate, like to miserable *Ierusalem*: which truly should seeme to be one of the most lamentable spectacles that euer was scene in this world. Some writers affirme, that hee made the ground to be ploughed, and sown with salt. The inhabitants thereof (as *GVALHAG* the tyrant, the Bishop, and many of the most principall) hee commaunded to be sent prisoners into *Germany*: the rest of the people he permitted to dwell in certaine fields, which he appointed for them, farre from *Milan*, amongst bushes, in cabbins and cottages. The reliques and bodies of Saints which were in the citie, and held in great account, hee diuided amongst the Bishops and prelates which were there with him; of which, the three Kings, which came out of the East to adore *CHRIST* in *Bethlehem*, were giuen to the Archbishop and Cathedrall Church of *Colen*, where (it is said) they are at this day. In this manner was the citie of *Milan* laid waste, and left desolate; which a little before was so mightie, that it was of power able to fight with the Emperour in the plaine field, and to ouerthrow him: it hauing three hundred, threelcore and fve yeeres (as reckoneth *RAPHAIL VOLATERRANVS*, for so long was it after that the Lombards were expelled that Seigniorie) enioyed libertie, with good successe, vnder the soueraigntie and name of the empire: which happened in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, sixtie and two. Some say, somewhat more.

After this victorie and terrible reuenge, the Emperour came to *Pauia*, where his wife the Emperesse then lay; from whence hee sent to dismantell and throw downe the walles of *Brescia*, and *Placencia*; which (*Milan* being taken) yeelded themselves. *BLONDVS*, *PLATINA*, *PHILLIP BERGOMAS*, and other Italian authors say, that he also destroyed the citie of *Cremona*, which in my opinion seemeth not to be likely; for *Cremona* had euer serued him, and been obedient. I beleeue it is taken for *Crema*, the error being the writers, or printers; and not theirs. And the Emperour hauing tamed and subdued all the other cities which rebelled against him, and made them to yeelde obedience to pope *VICTOR*, he resolued to take his way towards *Germany*, for he well knew that in the same yeere many commotions and troubles began therein, and that there was great want of Iustice; which grew principally through discord and enmitie betweene a certaine Earle called *GUIDO*, Countie Palantine of *Tuigen*, and *GVELPHO* the famous Knight of the Dukes of *Bauiere* before named, by reason of some iniury done by the said Countie Palantine, to the said *GVELPHO*: whereupon young *GVELPHO* coming out of *Italy* (as a valiaut young man, desirous to reuenge the iniurie done to his father) raised a power against him, and the other in his defence, and many great princes taking part with either side, a cruell battaile was fought betweene them, wherein *GVELPHO* was ouerthrowne; whereof ensued

Factions in Germany.

fued great hurt, and the slaughter of many men, too long to be related: so as if the Emperor had any longer deferred his coming, the matter was come to that issue, that *Germany* was likely to haue been lost and ruinated: but so soone as he came, he endeoured in all that he could, to set peace betweene them: wherein he found great difficultie, by reason that so many men were slaine and taken prisoners of either partie. And notwithstanding that he had once concluded a peace betweene them, yet within one yeere it was broken, and warres were againe renewed: but the great valour and respect of the Emperour, was a sufficient meane to make an entier and perfect peace, and to pacifie all: wherein he was the more earnest, for that hee knew what was daily practised in *Italy* against himselfe, whether he had a great desire to returne. For so soone as he was gone out of *Italy*, leaving *Milan* desolate; the people conceiued a great feare and hatred against him: (as is vsuall against princes which too excessiue, and with crueltie punish the offences of their subiects) and their feare and hatred increased in such manner, that they made new leagues and confederacies against him; casting out the gouernours which he had placed, and taking his rents and customes into their hands. In which league, besides those which before were friends, which were *Brescia*, *Plarenzia*, *Crema*, and the *Milanois*, there now ioyned with them *Verona*, and the *Venecians* also, which greatly strengthened the league, theirs being a mightie commonwealth; together with *Padua* and other cities: all which took part with pope *ALEXANDER*, against pope *VICTOR*: and all these cities fortified and furnished themselves with men and munition. The Emperour seeing how resolutely those cities were bent against him, and knowing the doubtfull issue of the warre, and that the name and authoritie of Pope *ALEXANDER* was great; he determined therefore with himselfe to take another course, and by letters and ambassades dealt with *PHILIP* King of *France*, which supported *ALEXANDER* (yet in my opinion it could not be but *LEUVES*, for this was in the yeere of our Lord 1175, at which time, as it appeareth by all the French histories, *LEUVES* reigned) for a meeting between them two, whither he would bring with him *VICTOR*, whom he held to be Pope: for which purpose, a place was appointed in the frontiers of both *France* and *Germany*, and there a Councell to be held, wherein it should be determined whether of these two should be Pope: which (as some say) the Emperour procured, by that meane thinking to haue deprived Pope *ALEXANDER*. The King of *France*, at the Emperours request, consented that this Councell should be assembled: but Pope *ALEXANDER* would not come thereto, alleging that he held that for no Councell, which was not held by his authoritie. Finally, the French King and the Emperour grew ielous and suspicious the one of the other, which authors report diuerfly: but the truth is that the Emperor came, and brought with him his pope *VICTOR*; and with him came the King of *Scots*, and of *Bohemia*, and many other great princes and prelates, with a very great armie: and the French King brought no lesse; with whom came *HENRY* King of *England* with very choise men of warre (from whom in my opinion he ought rather to haue feared warre, then expected or hoped peace) and these princes encamped the one neere to the other, a riuer being betweene them. The Emperor vnderstanding that Pope *ALEXANDER* came not, but had summoned a Councell to be held at *Turon* in *France*, was greatly displeased therewith, and determined to depart: and the French King (to hold his word) without aduertising the Emperour thereof, came to the place appointed: and some say that he washed his hands in the riuer, and so returned to his campe. To be short, howsoeuer it was,

Excessiue punishment is often the cause of greater offences.

A league made against the Emperor.

was, they both returned into their countries, without doing or treating of any thing; and not well pleased the one with the other.

The Emperor, with the greatest preparation that he could make, resolved to returne into *Italy*, whither he sent Pope *VICTOR* before him; who being come to the citie of *Luca* (which held for the Emperour and him) there died. And by letters and commandement from the Emperour (persisting in his determination) the prelates which accompanied *VICTOR* (hee being dead) chose him a successor, whose name was *GUIDO*, borne in *Crema*, and was called *PASCUAL*. Pope *ALEXANDER* in *France* assembled the Councell which hee had summoned; whither came many prelates and Bishops, out of *England*, *Spaine*, *France*, *Sicilia*, *Grecia*, and many other parts: where they ordained what they thought good. The Emperours preparation for his coming into *Italy* being published, the aforementioned cities, which were in a league and confederacie against him, sought new succours, and provided an armie to make head against him. It happened at this time, that in *Rome* died a Bishop called *IVLIVS*, who was Vicar or gouernour thereof in the Popes absence; who being dead, the Pope sent thither a Cardinal called *JOHN*: who (notwithstanding a kind of gouernment by Consuls, whereby the Popes power and authoritie was much diminished) vsed such meanes, that *Rome* and many cities of *Italy* sent to entreat the Pope to returne; and he knowing with what affection he was called, resolved to depart thitherwards: and for that he would not go through *Lombardy* (which held for the Emperour) he tooke his passage by sea into *Sicilia*, and from thence went to *Rome*; with great company and provision, which *WILLIAM* King of *Sicilie* gaue him. Some write that he himselfe accompanied him, and that he was receiued into *Rome* with marvellous great ioy of all the people. With his coming, the cities which in *Italy* held for him, tooke such hart and were so much encouraged, that they (not contented to haue rebelled against the Emperour) began to warre against the Imperialists, and tooke some townes; wherein none were so forwards as the citie of *Verona*: which gaue the Emperour occasion to hasten his coming; which he had prolonged, to the end, to come with the greater power, seeing that his enemies forces daily encreased: and so he came into *Italy* with a greater armie then at any time before spoken of. What he did, and the effects which thereof ensued, I will recount as briefly as I may: for a raigne so long, and wherein happened so many and so great accidents, cannot be expressed in few words; neither reduced to a more breuitie. All this while reigned *EMANUEL* in *Constantinople*.

The Emperour *FREDERICKS* coming into *Italy* with so great power, made all the countrie greatly afraid of him; considering what harme he had done therein, in former times: but the hatred of those which were his aduersaries was so great, that they would rather hazard any daunger, then yeeld to his obedience. And he knowing by experience, that his rigour and seueritie had little auailed him, but had done him more harme then good, determined now to warre after another manner then theretofore; at the least in *Lombardy*, wherein he pardoned those which submitted themselves vnto him, and would not permit the countrie to be sacked or wasted; vsing all men honorably; dissembling and making shew, that he vnderstood nothing of any conspiracie, or league made against him; and so drew neere to *Brescia* with his forces, where he gaue good entertainment to all such as from *Crema*, *Verona*, and *Brescia*, came to visit him (notwithstanding that those cities were his greatest enemies, and which had most practised against him) and so passed by, without coming into any of them, or doing them any violence;

lence; and went to *Ferrara*, where he was receiued; and from thence passed peaceably through the territorie of *Bologna*: so as (at this time) he passed through *Lombardy* without doing any harme; and there he diuided his armie; part whereof he sent to make warres in *Tuscane*, and the marches thereof, for that it fauoured Pope ALEXANDER, and reiected Pope PASCUAL, which lay in *Luca*: and with the rest of his armie he marched towards the citie of *Ancona*; for that it held for his enemy EMANVEL Emperour of *Constantinople*: which he besieged, and began to batter with great furie: but it was so well defended, that the siege continued longer then he expected. The Captaines and men of warre, which he sent into the marches of *Florence*, *Luca*, and *Pisa*, after they had taken certaine townes, marched through the territorie of *Rome*, and made terrible warre against all such places as held for Pope ALEXANDER; and in *Rome* wanted not some which fauoured the Emperour, proceedings: yet the Pope left no meanes vsought, as well by gifts, as promises, to assure himselfe, and to haue all at his deuotion: wherein (it is written that) he issued much treasure.

Whilest the warre was prosecuted in this manner, the Emperour lying before *Ancona*; the Milanois which after the destruction of *Milan*, had for the space of five or sixe yeere liued as banished men, in cottages, cabins, and villages; gathering themselves together, being wonderfully aided and relieved with all manner of materials, instruments, officers and labourers, from the cities of *Verona*, *Placencia*, *Crema*, and other their neighbours and friends, began to reedifie their old destroyed citie; repairing what might be repaired, and the rest they new builded, and wrought with so good a will, that within two or three yeeres the Emperour could not let them: and they reedified it in such manner, that therein seemed nothing to be wanting. To all which (as writeth HENRICVS MCVIVS) the presence of GVALPHAGO (called Earle of *Angleria*) was a great helpe; who escaping out of prison in *Germany* came thither. Whilest that the Emperour lay before *Ancona*, and cruell warre was made against *Rome*, WILLIAM King of *Sicilia* died; and his sonne of the same name succeeded him, who was an excellent man of warre, and a great friend to the Church of *Rome*. At that time EMANVEL Emperour of *Constantinople* sent a solemne Ambassade to Pope ALEXANDER; whereby he promised in person with great power to come to his aide, and to driue FREDERICK BARBAROSSA out of *Italy*, and to conforme the Greeke Church, and to make the same subiect to the Latine; conditionally, that he would reduce the whole empire into one head, by taking it from the Germanes and depriving FREDERICK, seeing that hee had already excommunicated him, and that hee was a schismaticke and a rebell. But Pope ALEXANDER (notwithstanding that hee was much oppressed by the Emperour, reposing small confidence in the promises or power of EMANVEL) gaue a pleasing equiuocall answer, and sent Ambassadors to temporize with him, but not to conclude any thing at all. It happened at this time, that the flower of all the men of warre in *Rome* went to besiege the towne and castle of *Tusculano*, which is neere to *Rome*, and from whence they were annoyed; that towne holding for the Emperour, whereof a Germane prince was gouernour; and the besieged seeing themselves distressed, sent to the Emperour (lying before *Ancona*) for reliefe: to be brieft, from the Emperours armie came for Generall, CHRISTERNE Archbishop of *Mentz*; who with such troupes as he brought from the campe, and such others as hee could get by the way, came to fight with the Romanists which besieged that towne, being in number about thirtie thousand men; which fought with the Germanes (but not with order and

Ancona besieged by the Emperour.

valour like Romanes) and as they were fighting, the besieged gouernour with his garrison sallied out of the towne, and assailed his enemies at their backs, in such manner that the Romanists were broken and ouerthrowne, and so many of them were slaine in the battaile and in the pursuite; that some Historiographers haue compared this ouerthrow to the battaile of *Cannas*, wherein they were ouerthrowne by HANNIBAL. Although the comparison be great, yet it is certaine that in a long time after *Rome* could hardly recouer it selfe: and Pope ALEXANDER tooke it very grievously, and sought by all meanes possible to encourage and to animate the remainder of the citizens. The Imperialists, as Masters of the field, daily tooke townes belonging to the Church of *Rome*; and the Emperour (which still lay before *Ancona*) so soone as he vnderstood of this victorie, knowing the time to be fit for his purpose, departed presently thence towards *Rome*, and made no stay vntill he came before the same; wherein the Pope and his friends had already set all things in the best order that they could for their defence; and the Emperour presently made the Vaticane to be assaulted; and notwithstanding that the assault was terrible, yet the place was so well defended that it sufficed to keepe him from entering it: wherewith he was so much enraged, that the next day hee commanded a more terrible assault to be giuen, causing fireworks to be throwne vpon S. PETERS Church; in such manner, that the Pope out of hope to defend the place, abandoned the Vaticane, and fled into the citie, to lodge himselfe amongst the Frangipanes, which were his trustie friends, and set great guards to defend the citie, and made many bridges ouer the riuer *Tiber*: the which the Emperour (being master of the field, and hauing the Vaticane) greatly annoyed and oppressed; with a determination not to haue risen from before it, vntill it had yeelded, or that he had entred the same by force of armes: and during the siege, hee spoiled all the countrie round about *Rome*. WILLIAM king of *Sicilie* vnderstanding how greatly Pope ALEXANDER was distressed, and being willing to imitate his father WILLIAM, sent to the Pope vp the riuer *Tiber* to *Rome* two galleys, with a great summe of money, men, and such other necessities as they could beare, to the end that the Pope might in them flee thence, if he pleased. The Pope made great account of this reliefe, and presently diuided this money amongst his friends and seruants, wherewith they were greatly encouraged to defend the citie, and he sent backe the galleys to the king of *Sicilie*, and in them two Cardinals, to conferre with him, and to aske his counsell what was best to be done concerning his person. In the meane time, the Emperour seeing that the citie defended it selfe, and could not in short space be taken by force, went about to perswade the Romanes both by secret and publike messages, to giue vp the citie, and that then he would restore whatsoever hee held appertaining to the Romanes; and that by them all, in peace and quietnes it should be determined, whether of the two ought to be held for Pope; to the end that he, generally by himselfe and by all others, might be respected and obeyed. With these practises which bare so great an apparence of a certaine peace, great part of the Roman people were much moued, and were of opinion that these conditions ought to be accepted, whether the Pope would or not. The Pope vnderstanding hereof, held it for a great disgrace to his Holines, that hee being Christs Vicar, should be iudged by his enemies: and holding himselfe to be in no safetie in *Rome*, he for his more safeguard in a night departed the citie downe the *Tiber* to the citie of *Gateta*, and from thence to *Beneuent*: from whence hee wrote his letters to the Emperour of *Constantinople*, and to the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and to the cities of *Lombardy*,

Rome assailed by the Emperour.

WILLIAM king of Sicilia relieved Pope Alexander against the Emperour.

A great pestilence in Rome, and in the Emperors campe.

which held for him, imploring their aide and succour. And hauing in this manner abandoned *Rome*, within few daies after it the Emperour was forced to doe the like; for it pleased God to send so great a plague of pestilence, both in his campe and in the citie, that there died daily thousands of the one and the other partie: principally there died many Germane prelates, and some princes, which came with the Emperour: wherefore he hastily departed, leauing Pope PASCUAL with a good guard of souldiers in S. PETERS in *Rome*: which was in the yeere of our Lord 1168, and he with his armie came into *Tuscane*, and the marches of *Florence*, where hee tooke some strong holds which held for the Pope; in which, and in many other he placed garrisons of his owne souldiers: and in the marches of *Ancona* and in *Tuscane*, hee gaue some places to certaine principall men of *Germany*, with titles of Dukes and Earles, to the end to annoy and oppresse *Rome*. Whilest the Emperour was busied about these matters, Pope ALEXANDER procured aide and succour from all parts, and fought to support such as were his friends: and EMANUEL Emperour of *Constantinople* sent him an Ambassade, offering him a very great summe of money, desiring the same which we haue before specified, which was, that he taking and transporting the title of the empire from *Germany*, by depriuing FREDERICK, should giue the same to him and to his house: But the Pope for many considerations would not yeeld thereto, notwithstanding that he very pleasingly answered him. Within few daies after this, Pope PASCUAL died in *Rome*, where the Emperour left him: and the Emperour (persisting in his determination) in his place chose one JOHN borne in *Hungary*, and was called CALIXTUS, whom Pope ALEXANDER presently excommunicated. The Emperour hauing remained some space in *Italy*, desiring to returne into *Germany* (for there was need of his presence) sent a Bishop to Pope ALEXANDER with certaine articles of peace and agreement, which what they were, the authors write not, but they all say, that the Pope would not accept of them; and so they tooke no effect. And the Pope practised with the Romanists for his returne to *Rome*; but as then the citie was gouerned by Consuls, which were odious vnto him, hee could not effect the same according to his desire: and so went to other places in *Romagna*, and in the marches of *Pulia*, where he was fauoured and sustained by WILLIAM king of *Sicilia*. The Emperour came to *Paui* which held for him, where he fortified certaine townes, and so far as much as great part of his armie was sicke and many dead, hee could not make warre to any purpose against *Milan*, and the rest of the cities which rebelled: but within certaine daies hee tooke his way towards *Germany*, hauing done in *Italy* such harme as herein is expressed; without effecting what he principally desired.

And being returned into *Germany*, he tooke no such paines in any thing, as to make peace betweene all men, and to purchase the good will of the people, and to make himselfe rich; heaping money together, to the end to returne into *Italy*, which he determined to tame and wholly to subdue. At this time he inherited all the Castles, lands and goods, which belonged to his cosine germane FREDERICK, sonne of the Emperour CONRADE, who died of the plague at the siege of *Rome*: and hee inherited also the lands and goods of some other princes, which died without heires, and he also rewarded some, giuing them titles, and castles, and to some others he gaue new armes and dignities. To the king of *Bohemia* he gaue for his deuice, a red Lion in a siluer shield; and to others he gaue many such like honours. But in the meane time, GUALPHAGO tyrant of *Milan*, and the *Milanois*, were not carelesse, but continually fortified the citie which they had new builded:

builded: besides which, with the other cities in *Lombardy* of their confederacie, in honour of Pope ALEXANDER (vnder whose title and name they opposed themselves against the Emperour) by a common consent and contribution they began to build another citie, which they called *Alexandria*, after the name of the Pope, vpon the side of the riuer *Tanaro*, in such a place as it should serue for a frontier garrison against *Paui*, *Tortona*, and the Marquisate of *Monferrato*, which were loyall to the Emperour. And in this his absence they made such haste (but chiefly those of *Milan*, *Placencia* and *Cremuna*) that they walled & peopled the same, in such manner, that it became a principall strong fortresse; & many of those which liued in the borders thereof in villages, and vnfortified places, came thither to dwell, in such number, that the first yeer that it began to be inhabited, therein were fiftene thousand men fit to beare armes, which therein continued; so as at this day it is a good and a famous citie, and is called *Alexandria* of *Straw*, which name the enemies thereof gaue it in the beginning in contempt. This noueltie (added vnto the rest) made the Emperour to hasten his comming into *Italy*, when as he now had remained some time in *Germany*: And hauing set all things in good order, hee set forwards and came with a mightie armie by sundrie waies, addresssing his iourney directly towards the estate of *Monferrato*, and those places which held for him: but he first tooke a towne at the foote of the Alpes, called *Secusa*, which he made to be throwne down and destroyed, for that it rebelled: and from thence he marched (not without trouble) towards *Aste*, which yeelded vnto him, more for feare of the like fortune, as happened to *Secusa*, then for ought it wanted wherewith it might haue defended it selfe. And hauing such good successe in the beginning, he went to besiege the new citie of *Alexandria*, against which he came greatly incensed, purposing to haue vtterly destroyed and rased the same. In *Lumbardy* and in *Piemont*, the Marquis of *Monferrato* held for the Emperour, together with the cities of *Paui*, *Noüarra*, *Turin* and their territories, subjects and friends, and some othertownes. He besieged *Alexandria*, and lay before it foure moneths, in which time were done many notable feates of armes; at the end whereof, the Emperour was constrained to rise from before it, for that it was relievied by the riuer with great store of provision; and all the cities which were friends to it, sent thither souldiers to defend it. But the principall cause was, that the great Duke of *Saxony* of *Bauiere*, and of many other estates, called (as was his father) HENRY the proud, being at this siege before *Alexandria*, went from the Emperour with all his forces; alleaging that he would not be excommunicate, and a rebell to the Pope: it was suspected that he was bribed, and did this for money: or (which I rather beleue) that he had some practise or conceit to haue made himselfe Emperour, vnder pretext that FREDERICK was a rebell to the Church of *Rome*: for which cause the Emperour raised his siege, & went to ouertake him, & fought by al meanes to haue staied him; in so much that (as some write) he would haue cast himselfe at his feet, if the other had not letted him; and a priuate seruant of the Dukes called IORDAN standing by, said to the Duke, My Lord, suffer the imperial crowne to come to your feete, seeing that shortly you shall weare it vpon your head: Finally, Duke HENRY would not stay; and the Emperour had so few souldiers left, and was so voide of all reliefe, that within few daies he was constrained to leaue the warres, for that time; and so departed *Italy*, without effecting ought more then I haue said. And although that B LONDVS, & P LATINA conceale this his departure, let the reader neuerthelesse vnderstand, that I draw the webbe of my historie from all the best authors; and so I say, that hee departed in great daunger of his person.

WESPER.

*Alexandria in Lombardy builded in honour of Pope Alexander the third, and so called after his name.*

*Alexandria besieged by the Emperour.*

The Emperour  
deprived Duke  
Henry of Saxo-  
ny of his estate.

WESPERGENSIS, NAVCLERVS, and HENRICVS MCVIVS write, that hee was aided and succoured by those of *Nouarra*, and of *Turin*, in the passages ouer the mountaines, through which he tooke his way towards *Burgundy*, which was his wiues patrimony; and that vpon the way he was in some places in such danger, that he was driuen to goe disguised as another mans seruant. After all these extremities, arriuing in *Burgundy*, he gathered together his people, and raised some new companies, and so went into *Germany*; where the said HENRY had alreadie praisted some innouations against him, some Earles conspiring with him; for he was the greatest Lord in all *Germany*: but the Emperour brought him to be one of the least thereof; for as he was much feared and very valiant, the Duke could doe little against him. But the Emperour so soone as he came into *Germany*, assembled a Diet or Councel of all the princes, whither he summoned HENRY to come: but hee not daring to make his appearance, the Emperour proceeded against him (although not without contradiction and many difficulties) and in the end confiscated his estate, and all his lands: which hee might easily doe, by bestowing the same vpon men of great power, all which making warre against him at once, tooke the same from him: yet some write, that this sentence and confiscation was afterwards, in the yeere of our Lord 1180, when the peace was made betweene the Emperour and the Pope: It may peraduenture be, that at this time the proceffe began, and iudgement was then giuen, but afterwards put in execution; which was in this manner. The Dukedome of *Saxony* he bestowed vpon a valiant Knight, called BERNARD, Earle of *Anhalt*, whom the Archbishops of *Mentz* and *Coleu*, and the Lantzgrau of *Turingia* holpe to take the same. The best and greatest part of the Duchie of *Bauere* he gaue to one OTHO, Countie Palantine, not of the Counties Palantines of *Rhine*, but of *Wuilsbach*; which he tooke by the helpe of two of his brothers, which were men of great power: that of this state, which lay on the other side of *Danubia*, he added to the house of *Austrich*: other his lands and Earldomes he diuided betweene HENRY Lantzgrau of *Alacia*, LEVVS Marquis of *Turingia*, BERTOLD of *Carinthia*, and some others; all which together made warres against him; so as to him, to his offspring and descendents remained onely the Countie of *Braunswicke*, which afterwards in the time of FREDERICK the second was erected to a Duchy; and that estate encreasing, great enmitie continued betweene the Dukes thereof, and the successors of BERNARD, to whom was giuen the Duchie of *Saxony*. The Emperour did not onely applie himselfe to suppress this HENRY in *Germany*, but from the very first day of his comming thither, was carefull for the amassing of money, and the raising of forces for his returne into *Italy*: and so, being assisted by all those princes, to which he had giuen and promised to giue those estates, and by his owne house and kindred of *Suenia*, and his seruants and subiects; hee in short space raised so good an armie, that he went very mightie into *Italy*, and with him carried his wife the Emperesse. And being come to the citie of *Como*, in the moneth of Iune, notwithstanding that he wanted neither courage, discretion, power, or forces, yet matters prospered not with him as he expected, but rather cleane contrarie: for the *Milanois* and their confederates had now taken so much heart, and were in such readines, that they resolved to giue him battaile, after they had spoyled the fields about *Paui*, and such other townes as held for him: and so they tooke the plaine field iust in the way which leadech from *Como* to *Milan*, by which the Emperour was to passe; who had no lesse desire to fight then they: but was very glad, after that hee knew their resolution. The two armies being vpon a cleere day

come

come within fight the one of the other, and the squadrons and battalions of either side being ranged in very good order; the Emperour drew neere to the place which his enemies held; and (in a manner) with equall wrath, hatred, and power both parties began to fight; first the horsemen brake; and then all the rest; and so there was fought a very fierce and bloody battaile; the one wounding and killing the other most cruelly. It happened, that in this so great furie, he which bare the Standard and Imperial Eagle (through his rash hardines, and desire of victorie) aduanced himselfe so farre forwards amongst his enemies, that he was slaine, and the Standard taken: which when the Emperour saw, who (as it seemeth) was not farre from thence, he was therewith so much enraged, that encouraging his souldiers with a new furie and vehemencie, hee so oppressed and brake his enemies, that he slew and wounded many of them with his owne hands: but as this could not be done without great danger to his person; so in the thickest of the preafe, and greatest throng, his horse fell with him; being as it is thought, first wounded: and the charge on euery side was so hot, that the Emperour was held for dead; which gaue the *Italians* cause to gather courage, and the *Germanes* to lose the same; for both parties crying, certified the death of the Emperour, which so much discouraged the Imperialists, that the victory apparantly shewed it selfe for their enemies: and the Imperialists fled and abandoned the field, where a very great and cruell slaughter was made of them, besides those which thinking to escape by swimming, were drowned in the riuer *Tesino*, neere to the place where this battaile was fought. This battaile being lost, and all the Imperial armie broken and put to rout; all men holding the Emperour for dead; and his wife the Emperesse, remaining in the citie of *Como*, clad in mourning attire, suing to haue her husbands body, to burie the same, which she requested the *Milanois* to grant by her Ambassadors: the fifth day after the battaile, the Emperour appeared aliue, and in health, in his Imperial robes, in the citie of *Paui*: whither vpon the brute of his there being, came all those which were dispersed and escaped from the battaile; and those which most desired to aide him, and to doe him seruice. In what manner the Emperour escaped aliue, it is not written; but it may be coniectured, that being false, he remained in the field, although without hurt, and the night being come, escaped by secret and vnknowne waies. His enemies by reason of this victorie recouered so great credit and reputation, that many townes and principall men in *Italy* forooke the Emperour, and went ouer to pope ALEXANDER. The Emperesse with some princes and prelates of the Empire, being come to *Paui*, boldly and directly told the Emperour to his face, that for the schisme which he had made, and maintained in the Church of *Rome*, this calamitie was befallne him; for God would neuer giue him any entire victorie: and except he would reduce himselfe to the obedience of the Church, they could not well doe him seruice: whereupon he being moued with these admonitions, and knowing the time; (notwithstanding that his seruants and subiects daylie repaired vnto him with many warlike troupes) yet he sent his Ambassadors to the pope; vnfaignedly suing to him for peace: and so they began to treat thereof by Ambassadors. In the matters which did proceede, and by what means this peace was made, there is great difference betweene the authors; some recounting it after one manner, and some after another, which I recite not, auoyding the losse of time and labour: but they all agree, that after many daies spent in this treatie, the pope went to *Venice*, whither came the Emperour, and that there with great solemnitie the peace was concluded, and that the Emperour kist the

A battaile betweene the Emperour and the Milanois wherein he was thought to haue been slaine.

Note the pride of Pope Alexander the third.

A peace concluded betweene the Emperour and the Pope in the citie of Venice, where the Emperour prostrated himselfe at the Popes feete and the Pope in

insulting manner setting his foote on the Emperors necke, used these words: Super aspidem & balilicum ambulabo, & conculcabo leonem & draconem.

popes foote, and yielded him obedience: and a truce was graunted by the Emperour to the King of *Sicily*, for fifteene yeeres; and to the cities of the league, for fixe: which (according to most writers) passed in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred teuentie and seuen; and afterwards in the yeere, one thousand, one hundred eightie and three, the peace with *Lombardy* was concluded in the cite of *Constance*; but all in such manner as it pleased the pope; and such townes as were withheld from him, were commaunded to be rendred: and so the Emperour continuing there some few daies space, returned into *Germany*, and the pope to *Rome*, but he first graunted to the cite of *Venice*, and the Dukes thereof, great priuileges, immunities, and exemptions. And the pope being come neere to *Rome*, before he entred the cite, some speeches were vied concerning the deposing of the Consuls, and that no more should be chosen: but as it was a custome of fiftie yeeres continuance, so it could not then be abolished, but order was taken, that none should be chosen, but such as pleased the pope, and that before that they executed their offices, they should sweare to be in all things seruiceable, and obedient to his Holines. This being concluded, the pope came to *Rome*, where he was receiued with great solemnitie, and the other pope *CALIXTUS*, acknowledging himselfe to haue erred, cast himselfe at the popes feete, craving mercie (hauing first laide aside his pontificall habit) and renounced all the right and intrest that hee had to the papacie: and so *ALEXANDER* remained sole pope in peace all the rest of his life; and so this schisme (which had continued twentie yeeres) ceased. The Emperour *FREDERICK* being come into *Germany* (now old and tired with fife and twentie yeeres warres, and troubles) spent his time in preferuing the peace which he had graunted, and in establishing his fife sonnes in estates, which he did in such manner as you shall heare.

This peace being concluded, in such manner as I told you, pope *ALEXANDER* died, after that he had been pope the space of one and twentie yeeres, the most of them, in troubles and contention, and *LVCIUS* the third succeeded him: in the yeere before his death, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and eightie died *EMANUEL* Emperour of *Constantinople*, who raigned seuen and thirtie yeeres, and left a sonne who was a child and called *ALEXIVS* for his successor; appointing a kinsman of his, whose name was *ANDRONICVS* (a man of high parentage) to be his gouernor and protector; who was so very a villaine and so arrant a traytor, that after that he had gouerned certaine yeeres, and committed many insolencies he killed the young Emperour, and made himselfe tyrant of the Empire; putting many great men (such as he feared) to death: against whom for his detestable treason, *WILLIAM* King of *Sicily* made sharpe warre, and tooke many townes from him; which brought him to such end as he deserued, for the Constantinopolitans seeing themselves thus oppressed, rose against *ANDRONICVS*, and against him, made one *ISACVS* or *ISACIVS*, descended of Imperiall linage, Emperour, and *ISACIVS* preuailing, *ANDRONICVS* was apprehended, and hauing one of his hands cut off, and one of his eyes put out, was carried through the streetes vpon a Cammell; and by the generall good will of all men had such a death as he deserued, and as such deserue, as through ambition and desire to rule, are traytors and disloyall to their Lords. And so *ISACIVS* remained Emperour, and was an excellent prince: what end he made you shall know hereafter. The Emperour *FREDERICK* enioying peacefull times in his Empire, summoned a Councell to be held in the cite of *Mentz*, where he settled his sonnes in such estates, as you shall heare: his eldest sonne he caused to be chosen King

The young Emperour of Constantinople murdered by his protector.

of

of the Romanes, and his successor: his second sonne *FREDERICK* he made Duke of *Suenia*, which was his owne inheritance: to *OTHO* his third sonne, he gaue the title of Duke of *Burgundie*, appointing him to succede his wife the Emperesse, to whom that estate appertained: to his fourth sonne *CONRADE*, and to his fifth sonne *PHILLIP*, he gaue other rents, and some townes wherein they might liue: but it afterwards ensued otherwise, for *CONRADE* succeeded *FREDERICK* in the Duchie of *Suenia*, for that he died without issue; and *PHILLIP* after the death of his elder brother *HENRY*, came to bee Emperour. Pope *LVCIUS* knowing that there was great contention and discord betweene the princes of the Holy land, and the states of *Soria*, and fearing the daunger that thereof might ensue, endeouored by his letters and Ambassadors to reconcile them, and to make them friends: and procured *WILLIAM* King of *Sicily*, which then warred vpon *ANDRONICVS*, Emperour of *Constantinople* (who as I said made away the young Emperour *ALEXIVS*) to giue ouer his warres, and to relieue that countrie, which was oppressed by the Infidels; and so the King of *Sicily* sent thither fortie armed galleies; wherein went some principall men and souldiers to that seruice.

The Emperour *FREDERICK* before that the time of the truce by him graunted in *Venice* to the cities which had rebelled in *Lombardy*, was expired; (desiring by faire and gentle meanes without rigour or force of armes, to reduce them to his seruice) summoned a Councell, or Parliament, to be held in the cite of *Constance*; whither he willed them to send their Ambassadors, with sufficient power and authoritie to conclude a peace, making them signes of great loue and good will. The cities being wearie of the warres, imagining that this meeting would be for their profit, held it in a manner all for good, so as besides *Paui*, *Cremona*, *Aste*, *Alua*, *Tortona*, and some others which had still perseuered loyall & in the Emperors seruice; the cities of *Milan*, *Bercelli*, *Lodi*, *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, *Mantua*, *Verona*, *Nouarra*, *Vicencia*, *Padoa*, *Treuise*, *Bolonia*, *Fauentia*, *Modeno*, *Rezzo*, *Parma*, *Placencia*, and others sent thither their Ambassadors: with which the Emperour came to an agreement; graunting them perpetuall peace and pardon for all offences past; leauing to them, their lawes, customes, iuridictions, ciuill and criminall, with authoritie to chuse Consuls and Gouernors, and commaunded to bee restored all whatsoeuer had been taken from them in time of the warres; and they acknowledging him and his successors for their foueraigne Lords, sware to him fealtie, and homage: and it was set downe, how, and in what manner they were to doe him seruice; greatly to their aduantage and ease. And besides this, that where as certaine appeales for certaine summes should come to the Emperour; he ordained therefore to haue his agents in *Lombardy*, to the end that the people should not be constrained to come to him into *Germanie*: and that the Consuls and officers to be chosen, before they did execute their offices, should doe their homage and be sworne to the Emperour: setting downe likewise what seruices they should doe, at such time as the Emperour in person should be in *Lombardy*. Finally, there were new couenants and agreements made, which were sworne, and confirmed by the Emperour, and the Ambassadors. The instrument of all which, as it passed, appeareth at large, and in particular, in the Ciuill law, in the end of the volume intituled (*de pace constancie*.) This peace being concluded in this manner, the Ambassadors with great ioy returned; and all the townes approued and sware to obserue and keepe the same. Within few yeeres after this, in *Verona* died pope *LVCIUS* the third, whither he came to the end to haue assembled a

Exemptions granted by the Emperour to sundrie cities in Lombardy.

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generall

Saladine Soldan of Egypt.

generall Councell, for the relieuing of the King of *Ierusalem*, and the Christian princes of those prouinces in the East, betweene which was great controuersie. And the mightie King SALADINE did much oppresse them, who by stratagems, and wonderfull battailes, made himselfe Soldan, and Calipha of *Egypt*, King of *Damasco*, and *Areppo*, and held great part of *Almenia*, *Licia*, and the most part of *Mesopotamia*; so as on euery side he warred vpon BALDVIN the fourth, then King of *Ierusalem*, who valiantly carried himselfe; and against the princes of *Antioch*, *Tripoli*, and others which held, and defended those parts. And he so much oppressed BALDVIN (who in former time had been of such power, that *Egypt* was tributarie vnto him, and he held certaine cities therein, which his father and predecessor ALMERICVS had gotten, and had in person conquered *Palestina*, and other lands) that he now employed all his forces in no other thing, but to defend himselfe, and in the end what befell him, we will declare; for that it appertaineth to our historie, to shew the reason, mouing the Emperour FREDERICK to goe to the warres of the East, wherein he died.

Pope LVCIVS (as I said) dying in *Verona*, was buried therein; and in his place was chosen VREANVS the third, borne in *Milan*. At this time, which was in the beginning of the yeere, one thousand, one hundred, fourescore and sixe, the Emperour FREDERICK came peaceably into *Italy*, and with the good will of the Milanois, and of all *Lombardy*, and at their especiall request and entreatie went to *Milan*, and was therein receiued, with the greatest ioy and solemnitie, that could be deuised; and there a marriage was solemnized, betweene his sonne HENRY, King of the Romanes, and the sister of WILLIAM King of *Sicilia* (yet some say that she was his Aunt, sister to his father King WILLIAM of *Sicilia*, and daughter of his grandfather ROGER) she was a woman of the age of thirtie yeeres, but very faire, and he of one and twentie, as GODFREY VITERBINSIS; and OTHO in the addition to OTHO FRISINGENSIS his Chronicle, and the Abbot WESPERGENSIS also write, which in my opinion is true; notwithstanding that PLATINA and BLONDVS say, that this marriage was made after that the Emperour FREDERICK was dead, by the procurement of pope CELESTINE the third, and that she was threescore yeeres old, and that WILLIAM King of *Sicily* dying without heyres, the pope by this marriage made him King of *Sicily*. But in my opinion, the first authors are to be beleued, for that they might be eye witnesses; and the others deceiued; for as he was afterwards (through this marriage) King of both the *Sicilia*, they imagined it to haue been done then. This wedding feast being ended, the Emperour leauing his sonne HENRY for his Lieutenant and Gouvernor of *Lombardy*, returned into *Germanie*. Pope VREANVS knowing what passed in the East with the King of *Ierusalem*, and the other princes; so soone as he was confirmed pope, endeouored himselfe to perswade and to encourage the Christian Kings and princes, to goe to succour and relieue those places: but they making long delaies (notwithstanding that they sent thither some supplies) it came so to passe, that *Ierusalem*, and many other cities held by the Christians were lost, the cause whereof (as well for that it was so great a matter, as also for that it appertaineth to our historie, I will set downe, although it will be somewhat long; for I presume that the reader will not be discontented therewith, which so briefly as I can expresse the same, passed in this manner.

BALDVIN the fourth (as I said) reigning King in *Ierusalem*; and BOHEMYND who was a mightie prince being Duke of *Antioch*: and RAYMOND, OF REMON, Earle of *Tripoly*, who was also Lord of other cities, and of the prouinces of *Gali-*

lia,

ea, and *Tiberiades*, which he had by the marriage of his wife, which was a great princes daughter, and Lord thereof; and so other princes and Captaines: which although they banded, and had quarrels with the Knights Templars, and of Saint IOHNS, yet they ioynly together defended what the Christians held in the East (which was no small matter) against the forenamed mightie SALADINE. Matters standing in this estate, BALDVIN who was a man of great spirit and valour, being in the citie of *Nazareth* (wherein he then lay) was taken with such a leprosie, that he was not able to goe, nor to stand on his legges; whereupon he was carried to *Ierusalem*, and his disease held him in such manner, that he daily expected his end. Which being published, so much encouraged the Infidels, that they made continuall rodes and incursions into the countries of the Christians. And he seeing himselfe in this plight (hauing neuer a sonne to succcede him or to gouerne the land for him) made a man of great sort, called GUIDO LESIGNAN, gouernor thereof; who was the second husband of his sister SIBILLA, who by her first husband, called WILLIAM LONGSVORD, Marqueesse of *Monferrato*, had a sonne called BALDVIN; and a daughter called SIBILLA. With this gouernment some of the piinces were much discontented, and SALADINE with a mightie armie innading their countries, the Christians disagreeing amongst themselves, GUIDO the Kings brother in law, and Captaine General of all his forces, daring not to fight with him, the Christians daily lost townes and Castles: whereupon the sicke King BALDVIN determined to take another course; which was before his death, to make his Nephew BALDVIN, who was his sisters sonne, King, notwithstanding that he was but a childe, and RAYMOND of *Tripoly*, his Gouvernor and protector; and to put his brother in law GUIDO from the gouernment, by reason whereof, ensued new factions, which redounded to the losse of those countries, through conflicts, besiegings, assaults, and taking of townes, by SALADINE in fixe or fixe yeeres, that this warre lasted vntill the greatest losse of all; which was the death of King BALDVIN; which happened in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, eightie fixe. And RAYMOND Earle of *Tripoly*, comining to gouerne the kingdome, in the behalfe of the young King, GUIDO LESIGNAN and SIBILLA mother of the said King, were so inuested therein, that he could not execute his office: whereof ensued new troubles, the one for priuate and particular passions and quarrels (forgetting the publike good) seeking the destruction of the other. In this confusion died the young King BALDVIN, eight moneths after the death of his Vnde. His father in law GUIDO, and his mother SIBILLA, concealing his death; for feare that RAYMOND Earle of *Tripoly*, by meanes of his great power, would by the generall consent of the people, haue made himselfe King: and the matter was carried so cunningly, that by meanes of gifts and faire words, the Patriarch, and other principall men of *Ierusalem*, chose him for their King; which was the occasion of the euils which afterwards ensued: for RAYMOND Earle of *Tripoly*, was so highly offended herewith, that (to the perdition of himselfe, and of all the rest) hee made a league and confederacie with SALADINE; promising and assuring him, that he would neither aide, nor relieue the King of *Ierusalem*. This friendship being made, such courses were held, that after certaine truces and treaties of peace and breaches of the same, SALADINE began to war against the King, and kingdome of *Ierusalem* with greater furie then at any time before: and as GUIDO wanted the aide of the Earle of *Tripoly*, and BOHEMYND Duke of *Antioch* could hardly helpe him, by reason of the farre distance;

Anno Dom.  
1185.  
The death of  
Baldwin King  
of Ierusalem.

Guido resignan  
brother in law  
to King Bald-  
win deceased,  
was chosen  
King of Ieru-  
salem.

and for that he also had enough to doe, to defend himselfe against the Captaines of the said SALADINE, he was much distressed and daily lost townes and Castles; neuer ceasing by Ambassadors and letters, to solicite the Emperor, the pope, and other Westerne princes for aide; and they determining to yeeld the same, and making preparation for the voyage, it happened, that RAYMOND Earle of Tripoly (either made a double league, as some write, or knowing that if the kingdome of Ierusalem were lost, he should be assured to haue an euill neighbour of SALADINE) agreed, and made peace with the King of Ierusalem, and came with his power to his aide; whereupon SALADINE raised his siege from before Ptolomaida, and encamped himselfe before Tiberiades, which belonged to the Earle of Tripoly, strictly besieging the same. And the King of Ierusalem hauing amassed all the power that he was able to make, came with a great armie, the Duke of Antioch, being with him; whither came with all their power, the Earle of Tripoly the masters of the orders of the Knights and Templars, and of Saint Iohn, with other great men; Knights and Captaines; the Patriarches of Ierusalem, and of Alexandria, and certaine Bishops; so that (as it is affirmed) there were 30000. horsemen, and 40000. foote: which was the vtermost of the Christians power in the East. After many Councels and opinions, the King at the instance of the Earle of Tripoly, resolving to vnset Tiberiades, and to fight with SALADINE, which lay before it; presently began to march, and the troupes and men of warre which he had with him, which were such, that no man seeing them doubted of victorie; but it pleased God to permit it to follow after another manner: for SALADINE, which knew their determination (as a man which wanted not courage, and had an armie containing double the number of the Christians, of very well trained souldiers) resolved to fight with them; (but not neere to the besieged city) and to that purpose went to meete them vpon the way: and it happened that the two armies drawing neere together, and the King of Ierusalem one day purposing to march with his people with great speede, and to lodge them in a palace wherein was very great plentie of water (whereof in those countries is great scarcitie) SALADINE by especiall or some other misfortune being aduertised thereof, marched thither with so great celeritie, that before the comming of the Christians, his people had taken the same place; and the Christians comming extreamely wearie, and thirstie, by reason of their long march, and the heate of the Sunne, found enemies in the palace where they thought to haue found water and ease; wherewith they were much troubled: neuertheless the King seeing no other remedie, commaunded the place to be assaulted, presuming to haue repelled the enemy, but the enemy missing of his purpose, he with his armie was driuen to lodge all that night in the day fields; wherein they endured intolerable thirst, and by the breake of the dry, SALADINE (which the most part of the night had been busie, in ordering his troupes) tooke the field with his squadrons, wherein the Christians (with tired and weake bodies, through extream thirst, and their horses being in the same perplexitie) staid for them: and notwithstanding that they began the fight with great courage and resolution, yet their strength failing they were ouerthrowne by the Infidels; and there was the greatest and most cruell slaughter made of them, that in those daies had been scene, either in Asia or in Europe.

The King was (fighting) taken prisoner; and the Earle of Tripoly escaped by flight, and some say that he made all the rest to flie; and that he afterwards died miserably. The Duke of Antioch was slaine after that he was taken, with all the

Knights

A bataille  
fought be-  
tweene Sala-  
dine the Sol-  
daine of Egypt,  
and the Chri-  
stians.

Knights Templars, and of SAINT Iohns that could be found. SALADINE hauing obtained so notable a victorie, in execution thereof went to Ptolomaida, which hee easily tooke, and did the like by Berito, and other cities too long to relate. Finally, in his owne person, after the taking of many townes, which (out of hope of any succours or to be relieued) rendered; and the sooner, for that hee was a very iust prince in performing his promise, and courteous, entreating those very friendly which yeilded, he marched forwards and sate him downe with his armie before Ierusalem; and hauing fiercely besieged and assaulted the same, the space of thirtie daies continually, they yeilded, vpon the second day of the moneth of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1187. And so was this citie lost, and fell; and at this day is in the hands of the Infidels; fourescore and eight and almost eightie nine yeeres, after that it was taken by GODFREY of Buillon, and the other princes before mentioned: in which time therein had reigned nine Kings, with him which then was: To wit, GODFREY of Buillon, the first and onely King of that name; and then after him the two BALDVINES, and FULCO, and BALDVIN the third; then ALMERICVS, and BALDVIN the fourth, and BALDVIN the Child, and GUIDO which then reigned: and notwithstanding that the name and title of King of Ierusalem continued a long time, and that the Christians held many townes and cities in Soria, for the space of one hundred and odde yeeres afterwards, and many princes went thither to the end to haue made a conquest thereof; yet in the citie of Ierusalem they reigned no more, neither possessed the same, but a final time that the Emperor FREDERICK the second was therein. The East parts being brought to this estate, and Ierusalem lost; Antioch, and the princes thereto belonging, together with Tyre, Sidon, and Tripoli, were in the like danger.

The Emperor FREDERICK in Germany vnderstanding these vnhappie newes, (although now old and tired) resolved to aduenture his whole power with his person, for the recouerie of what was lost, and to defend the remainder: and God did put the like minde into the hearts of the kings of England and of France, and of many other princes. The fame of SALADINEs acts daily encreasing (it is written and affirmed) that besides the estate of Antioch, he took one hundred and fife and twentie walled cities, and that he made cruel warre ouer all the land: through sorow and grieve for so great losse, the greatest prouision and preparation was made to goe to the reliefe thereof, that hath been scene in Christendome, at any time before or since: For first, the Emperour (leauing his sonne HENRY, which alreadie was king of the Romanes, for his Lieutenant, and with him his two brothers, CONRAD and PHILIP) prepared a very great and excellent armie, both of foote and horse, and began to march through Hungary, Bulgaria, and Thracia, towards Constantinople, thence to passe ouer into Asia; and with him went his sonne FREDERICK Duke of Suenia, and BERTOLD Duke of Moravia, and his brother the Marquis of Banda, or Baden, and many other Dukes, Earles, Archbishops and Bishops. A little before this died HENRY King of England, who purposed to haue gone the same journey: for it was inioyned him for his penance, about the matter concerning THOMAS BECKET, called SAINT THOMAS of Canterbury, which I had no time vntill now to speake of. But his sonne RICHARD King of England, and PHILIP King of France, concluding a peace (for they were at wars about the Duchie of Normandy) either of them with the best armie that he could make, went to this warre in the East. The like did OTTO Duke of Burgundy the Emperours sonne: and the Venecians sent thither a great flete, and so did the Pisans, which then were mightie by sea. To this seruice also went CONRAD Mar-

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Ierusalem  
yeilded to Sa-  
ladine.  
Anno Dom.  
1187.

quis of *Monferrato*, and HENRY Earle of *Campania*, and many other great Lords and capitaines of *Italy*, *France* and *England*, whose names for breuitie I leaue to set downe. That which maketh me most to wonder in this zealous voyage of the Christians at this time, is, that from *Denmarke* and *Friseland* came fiftie galleys, it being so long a voyage from thence into *Soria*: and the Earle of *Flanders* sent twelue: and WILLIAM king of *Sicilia* did very well set his helping hand: for (besides the fortie galleys which he sent before) he furnished and relieued all such as went, and came by him, and wanted; with shipping, victuals, armes, and other necessities, and maintained (for a long time) a great Nauie, to assure all passengers that would goe this voyage, from rousers and pirats by sea. The successe which all these men had, and what befell them, as well by the way, as in that warre, is too long to be written (for they did great matters) and I should too much digresse from the historie of the Emperours (which is my taske) wherefore it shall suffice that the reader vnderstand by me the issue of these proceedings; the rest let him read in the authors which wrote thereof, which I will name: and I will conclude in the historie of the Emperour, who comming with his forces and companies to *Constantinople*, made a league and friendship with the Emperour ISACVS: and being there, was giuen to vnderstand, that GVIDO LESIGNAN king of *Ierusalem*, was gotten out of prison, together with the Master of S. Iohns: and that with such men of warre, as repaired vnto him, he had renewed the warre, and determined to take the field, in hope to haue recouered certaine places lost: whereupon the Emperour in great haste passed his armie ouer the streight at *Constantinople*, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, eightie nine, and began to march through *Asia* the lesse: where passing in peace through the countries of the Christians, he entred the countrie of the Soldan of *Iconium*, who was a mightie prince in those parts, with whom hee made peace; vpon condition, that hee should giue him victuals, and free passage; which if he performed, then he would not warre vpon his countrie. But the Heathen king not onely brake his promise, but gathering together a great number of Turkes, stopt his passage, and did him the greatest hurt that hee was able: wherewith the Emperour being very much moued, made cruell warre in his countries: and comming to the mountaines at the entrie into *Cilicia*, he made his passage with great difficulty and danger; for the Soldan had drawne head of a great multitude of Turkes, and other heathen nations, thinking to haue ouerthrowne the Emperour in those streights: but it pleased God that he passed, although with great daunger and some losse: and comming downe into the plaines, he fought with the Infidels: and ouerthrew them, and slew a very great number of them; and so taking and sacking cities & townes, he marched forwards, and entred *Armenia* the lesse, and by force of armes tooke the greatest part of all that prouince. The newes of his comming and victories, strake so great feare into his enemies, and so much encouraged the Christians; that GVIDO king of *Ierusalem*, and his brother EMERICVS, and other great men before named, which were there assembled; leauing the cities of *Tyre* and *Tripoli*, whither they had reduced themselves; with a well ordred armie tooke the field, and assailed *Ptolomaida* or *Acon*; purposing to haue the same, for that it was a Hauon of the sea, and of great importance; whither came the fleets from *Denmarke* and *Flanders*, and from other parts; and the siege was reinforced: and the Christians armie daily encreased; and all men knowing the Emperour to be neere at hand, SALADINE thought himselfe vnable to defend what he had gotten: and King GVIDO, and those which were with him, recouered force and courage: But it pleased

A voyage to  
Ierusalem.

Anno 1189.

The Emperour  
Frederick his  
victory against  
the Soldane of  
Iconium.

pleased God in his secret iudgement, that in time of this hope & of good successe, there happened so great a disaster, that all was changed and turned vpside downe; which was, the death of the Emperour; which happened by great misfortune, in this manner. The Emperour being very neere vnto *Soria*, vpon a very hot day in the summer time, desiring to wash and refresh himselfe in a riuer (as they write that other times he had done in others) the swiftnes and depth whereof, was greater then he thought or mistrusted; and so in the presence of his people going into the water, without that any of them was any way able to saue or helpe him, hee was carried downe the streame, and therein drowned; and so in a little water died he, for feare of whom all *Asia* trembled: which happened vpon the tenth day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and ninetie, in the eight and thirtieth yeere of his raigne: through whose death the enterprise was extremely hindred.

The Emperour  
Fredericke  
drowned.

At the same time befell another misfortune, which was a controuersie and discord betwene the Princes of those parts, which happened by reason of the death of SIBILLA, wife of GVIDO King of *Ierusalem*, and sister to King BALDVIN deceased. Whereupon, HERFRAND, who was married to ISABEL, sister to this Ladie, with the aide of some his friends, would haue bin King, by the right of his wife; which the widower GVIDO withstood; alleaging that he was the sworne and obeyed King, & therefore ought not to be deposed. And it followed, that CONRADE Marquis of *Monferrato*, tooke this Lady from him perforce, alleaging that she was not lawfully married to HERFRAND; and so he married her, and in like manner challenged to be King of *Ierusalem*; which (besides that it was a vile deed) caused great trouble; for this prince held the citie of *Tyre*; by which meanes the widower King GVIDO lost much of his authoritie, for that he would not fall at variance with them; yet he still held the name and title of King. The matter remaining in this great confusion, ensuing the sudden and infortunate death of the Emperour; a man may easily imagine and conceiue the great griepe and sorow of the whole armie: neuerthelesse, his sonne FREDERICK Duke of *Sueuia*, as a valiant and couragious Knight (being presently vpon the death of his father (as reason was) made Generall, and their head) encouraged his people, and taking the dead bodie of his father, marched directly towards *Soria*; and sent certaine messengers to GVIDO King of *Ierusalem*, who lay before *Ptolomaida*, to aduertise him of the death of his father, and desiring him to send him some such men as might guide and direct him in what was to be done. Which although it was not to be compassed without great daunger and trauaile (for the most part of their way lay through their enemies countries) king GVIDO sent him two Knights well experienced in the warres, which guided him and his people to the citie of *Antioch*, which lay neere to his way: where after that hee had (for some daies space) refreshed his armie, he thought to haue made great warres, and to haue recouered the cities lost in that estate; and so to haue proceeded forwards. But his armie of Germanes, which came wearied and tired of their long journey, finding there great abundance of victuals and delicacies, by meanes of their forepassed hunger, and their present disordred repletion and surfetting; or that it was Gods will that it should be so; there fell so great a plague of pestilence amongst them, that within few daies space the most of them died: in such sort, that FREDERICK (with such as escaped the plague) departed from *Antioch*, and drawing neere to the sea, embarked himselfe and sailed to the citie of *Tyre*, which (as I said before) was held by the Christians: and leauing there the dead bodie of his father, hee went from

The siege of A-  
cun or Ptole-  
maida.

thence with his people (but not without great daunger of the enimie) to ioyne with GUIDO LESIGNANKING of *Ierusalem*, which lay before *Ptolemaida*, which SALADINE had so fortified and garrisoned, that the Christians were much troubled in the siege thereof; and preuailed little, vntill the comming of the Kings of *England* and of *France*, after many accidents befalne them in the way which was in the same yeere: but they continued the siege, accompanied with other princes, although notwithstanding that there was euer little conformitie amongst them, where wee will now leaue them, to the end to make relation of the succession in the empire, for this their historie appertaineth not to my charge: and how HENRY the sixth, the Emperour FREDERICK his eldest sonne was chosen Emperour, who held his fathers place in *Germany*, being already made king of the Romanes, and what he did in *Germany* and in *Italy*. Yet forasmuch as this enterprize of *Ierusalem* was so notable a matter, and so great Kings came to the seruice, we will briefly tell you what end it had, although not the successe.

In *Constantinople* all this while raigned ISACIUS: In *Italy* a little before this, died without issue, WILLIAM King of both the *Sicilie*, wherefore Pope CLEMENT the third challenged those kingdomes to appertaine to the Church of *Rome*, and HENRY King of the Romanes, and future Emperour, pretended them to be his, by reason of his marriage with *Constance* sister to King WILLIAM. But the Sicilians and Neapolitanes, against the Popes wil, chose one TANCRED, which was Vncle to King WILLIAM, a bastard sonne of ROGER King of *Sicilie*: who seised on the kingdom. In writing this Emperours life, I haue spent longer time then I ordinarily vse to doe, for that many great matters happened in his time, and for that so much is written of him, I haue bin in a manner constrained there-to; and also as at other times I haue said, in matters which draw neere to our times, it shall not be amisse to make longer and more ample relation.

The authors out of which I haue written, and in whose bookes the same may be seene more at large, are these which follow: OTHO FRISINGENSIS in the historie which he particularly wrote in two bookes, of the beginning of the Emperour FREDERICKS raigne, and RAVDAVICVS in that which he added thereto, and GODFREY VITERBIENSIS, all eye witnesses, and the Abbot WESPERGENSIS in his Chronicle, an author of the same time, wherein he writeth his life; Abbot ROBERT in the addition which he made to SIGIBERTS Chronicle, OTHO of *S. Blasie*, BLONDVS in his declination of the Romane Empire, PLATINA in the liues of the Popes, IOHN COLUMNA in his *Sea of Histories*, IOHN BAPTISTA IGNACIUS, IOHN EVTICHIVS, BENEVENT DE ROMALDIS, IOHN CARION, IOHN CVSPINIAN, RAPHAEL VOLATERRANVS, in their particular writings of the Emperours, HENRY MUCIUS, GASPAR CHVREVS in his booke of the affaires of *Germany*, in that part wherein he treateth of FREDERICK the first, FRANCISCVS IRENICVS, PAVLVS CONSTANTINVS PHRIGIO, CHRISTIANVS MASEVS, MATHEVV PALMERIUS, and the rest of the general Historiographers, treating of these times, as S. ANTHONY, ANTHONIUS SABELLICVS, IOHN NAVCLERVS, which best of all handleth the matters of *Germany*, PHILIPPVS BERGOMAS; and besides these, PAVLVS EMILIVS, ROBERT GAGVIN, and other French writers, POLIDORE VIRGIL in his English Historie, Pope PIUS in his Historie of *Bohemia*, IACOB MEIER in his abridgement of the Historie of *Flanders*, ANTONIUS SABELLICVS in the Historie which he particularly wrote of the Venecians, ALBERT CRANTZ in his Historie of *Saxony*, GEORGE MERVIA in the Historie of the Dukes of *Milan*.

Avov-

AVGVSTIN IVSTINIAN in his *Annales of Genoa*, MICHAEL RICIVS in his booke of the Kings, and some others which I now remember not.

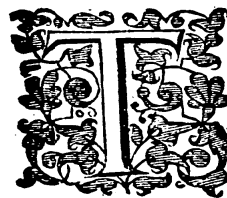
## THE LIFE OF HENRIE THE SIXTH OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESORE AND EIGH- TEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.



### THE ARGVMENT.



After Fredericke, succeeded his eldest sonne Henry, who so soone as he had the government of the Empire, went into *Italy* to be crowned, and to get the kingdom of *Sicilia*, which came vnto him, by the right of his wife; and was crowned by Pope Celestine. He would haue made a conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*, but the plague made him returne into *Germany*. He againe came into *Italy*, upon the same occasion of *Sicilia*, wherein finding Tancrede dead, he easily obtained the kingdom, notwithstanding that he committed some cruelties therein worthy of blame. Being returned into *Germany*, he sent many men to the warres of *Ierusalem*. And liuing in peace and quiet, he came in progresse to visit his new kingdom of *Sicilia*, where, for his pleasure riding on hunting (as his custome was) he fell sicke and died, when he had raigned eight yeeres.



THE accidents which happened in the time of the Emperour FREDERICK, were so many and so great, that I imagine to haue in some manner satisfied the desire, which men commonly haue to reade of great adventures: and if they yet remaine with an appetite, from this time forwards they shall haue such and so many, that I presume they shall not want. I say then, that as euill newes are commonly more swift of foote, then the good: so the death of the worthie Emperour FREDERICK was soone knowne in *Italy* and in *Germany*, for which all Christendome generally was forie; as well for that it was so infortunate, as for that it brake off and interrupted the enterprize which he had begun, and followed with such courage and good successe. His eldest sonne HENRY, who (as wee said)

Henry the eldest sonne of Frederick Barboffa chosen Emperour.  
Anno Dom. 1191.

(said) in his fathers life time was alreadie King of the Romanes, and future Emperour; so soone as he vnderstood of the death of his father, wrote to the electors, and to the other princes of the Empire, and they yeelding him the obedience which they had promised in his fathers time, hee tooke vpon him the state and maiestie of Emperour: which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, nintie and one, and was called HENRY the sixth; yet the Italians call him the fifth, for that they reckon not the first HENRY. This man was a wise prince, of a sharpe and quicke wit, well spoken, of a pleasing countenance, but somewhat pale faced, of a meane stature, and tender and delicate of body; but of a fierce and cruell minde, and very valiant, wherefore he was greatly feared of his enemies, and was more addicted to hunting, then was fit for the good government of his estate. In the beginning of his raigne, those of *Colem* rebelled, and with them certaine Earles and other principall men, but it was a matter of no great importance and so was it soone pacified. Being freed from this care, seeking the aide and fauour of his friends, he made preparation to goe into *Italy* (which was in the next yeere) with a desire to be crowned in *Rome*, and to get the kingdome of *Sicilia*; which fell to him by the right of his wife the Emperesse CONSTANCE, whereto he was inuited and called by pope CELESTINE the third, who was newly chosen pope (yet some authors say, that at this time, this CONSTANCE was giuen to him in marriage by this pope CELESTINE, who gaue her a dispensation for that she was a professed Nunne, to the end, that they should haue the kingdome) for the bastard TANCRED, King of *Sicilia* and of *Maples*, who possessed the same, was odious and an enemy to the pope.

The Emperor Henry the sixth crowned in Rome by Pope Celestine the third.

The Emperor HENRY being then come into *Italy*, passing peaceably through the States of *Lombardy* (according to the agreement made betweene his father and them) went towards *Rome* to be crowned; but before the pope gaue him the crowne, he went against the citie of *Tusculano*, which was situate in the Mountaines neere to *Rome*, which rebelled, and did, and had done the Romanes much harme; and he taking the same (for it yeelded without any resistance) gaue it to the Romanes (for so was he enioyned to doe, before the crowne should be giuen to him) and they presently destroyed the citie, and vsed the citizens with great crueltie; whereof the Emperor was much noted, and blamed for permitting so cruell a fact. This crueltie being executed, and the Emperor being with great solemnitie crowned in *Rome* by pope CELESTINE; and other covenants and agreements being made betweene them concerning the kingdomes of *Sicilia*, and of *Naples*, as feodatorie kingdomes to the Church of *Rome*, and the fee and tribute set downe to be paid for the same: the Emperor marching forwards, found all those countries in armes against him, holding for TANCRED, whom they had chosen, and held for King, and their soueraigne Lord; yet he tooke some townes by force of armes, and went so farre as *Naples*, and besieged the same, as the head of that kingdome; and the Neapolitanes valiantly defending their citie, the siege continued the space of three monethes; in which time there fell in the campe so great a mortalitie, and so many of the Emperors souldiers died, that without effecting what he had purposed, he raised his siege and returned into *Germany*: and as he arose from before the citie, his wife the Emperesse (some say going into *Germany*, which seemeth most certaine, and others say that she comming to her husband, to goe with him to the warres) was taken by certaine Captaines vpon the way; but so great diligence was vsed, and such a course was taken, that she within few daies was set at libertie; and they which tooke her,

The Emperor besieged Naples, but could not take it.

were

were seuerely punished: and so at this time, he returned crowned, but not victorious, into his country. Two yeeres of his raigne being expired, and he frustrated of his purpose, and desire to recouer the kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, but yet he still had a determination to returne thither againe (as he afterwards did) where let vs leaue him; and I will tell you what happened vnto his brother FREDERICK, and the other princes which had continued in the East euer sithence the death of his father the Emperor FREDERICK BARBAROSSA: wherein if all the skirmishes, encounters, battailes, and feates of armes done by these three Kings, of *Ierusalem*, *France*, and *England*, in those two yeeres warres should be written, I should haue much to say; but the successe thereof was this, that the siege of *Ptolomaida* continued two yeeres, reckoning from the time that GVIDO King of *Ierusalem* first besieged it, vntill it was taken; during which time, many great matters passed betweene them and the besieged, and SALADINES other forces. At this time, died there the said FREDERICK Duke of *Sucunia*, sonne of the Emperour FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, and brother to the Emperour HENRY, and other great personages. At the end of this time, the citie was yeelded to the Christians; and the Kings were growne so mightie and so much feared, and the mightie SALADINE had lost so many men, that thinking himselfe vnable to defend his countries, he caused the walles of *Cesaria* in *Palestina*, with *Ascalon*, *Gaza*, *Porfiria*, and of other cities vpon the Sea coast, to be throwne downe: and the power of the Christians so much encreased, that SALADINE began to parle of the giuing vp of *Ierusalem*, vpon condition that he might liue in peace. But God otherwise disposed thereof, for the Kings of *France*, and *England*, were so ill met, that they could neuer agree vpon any thing: wherefore the King of *France* resolved to leaue the warres, and to returne into his countrie, and did so, and left the greatest part of his people with the Duke of *Burgundy*; and so the oportunitie of the taking of *Ierusalem* was lost; for by reason of his departure, SALADINES mind altered: neuerthelesse, RICHARD King of *England* was a prince of so high courage, and carried himselfe so valiantly in those warres, that besides, that he new builded and fortified *Iapha* (whilom called *Ioppa*) and some other townes; he reduced the warres to so good order and estate, as they were in before the French Kings departure. It followed in this time, that CONRAD Marquesse of *Monferrato*, which was possessed of the great citie of *Tyre*, and the marches thereof, and was called King of *Ierusalem*, for that (as I told you) hee married with ISABEL sister to SIBIL, which was King GVIDO his wife, was in the same citie slaine by certaine fugatiues, Turkes; and the widow ISABEL hauing one daughter by her husband, was married to HENRY, called Earle of *Campania*, Nephew to the French king; and he marrying her, had with her that citie, and the title to the kingdome of *Ierusalem*, against GVIDO, which held that name and title. Whereupon king RICHARD dealt with GVIDO, to renounce the right which he pretended to the kingdome of *Ierusalem*, and he would giue him the dominion of the Ile of *Cyprus*, with the name of king thereof; which Iland the king of *England* tooke in his way as he came to this warre. GVIDO accepted this bargaine, and prouiding men and shipping necessarie, sailed into *Cyprus*, as king of that Iland, and raigned therein all his life time; and that kingdome remained in him, in his heyres and successors, vntill the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, foure hundred and sixtie, that the Venecians (I know not by what title) made themselves Lords thereof: and the house of *England* hath euer since pretended right to the kingdome of *Ierusalem*, as saith PLATINA, and other authors. This

being

Ptolomaida yeelded to the Christians.

The French King left the warres in the Holy land.

Richard Cheuer de Lion King of England his warres in Palestine.

The cause why  
Ierusalem was  
not taken by  
the Christians.

King Richard  
Coeur de Lion  
taken prisoner  
coming from  
the warres in  
the Holy land  
by the Duke of  
Austria.  
Anno Dom.  
1193.

being past, and many other matters in this warre, amongst which was a great battaile which continued from noone vntill night; wherein the valiant SALADINE was ouerthrowne, and the King of England, and the princes with him, had the victorie; which resolved to goe and besiege the citie of Ierusalem, knowing for certaine that SALADINE durst not abide them, for he sued to him for peace, or truce, promising to render Ierusalem, and other places in those marches, to the end that he might obtaine the same for some long time: but the Christians were of such power that they were not therewith satisfied. And vpon a sodaine the King of England (very vnaduisedly) gaue out in speeches, that he would returne into his countrie, for that he was certified that the French King had entred and taken his Duchie of Normandy: which if he had concealed, he might haue had what composition he would haue required: but SALADINE knowing his determination, and that the fleetes of Pisa and of Venice were already departed, by reason of discord and dissention betweene them, would not resigne Ierusalem. In the end the king of England concluded a peace with him for five yeeres, and leauing garrisons and gouernors in the cities which the Christians had recouered; (O THO Duke of Burgundy, and HENRY the husband of ISABEL, which challenged the kingdom of Ierusalem, remayning commanders thereof, with the Knights of Saint Iohns and the Templars) he departed homewards, in the yeere, one thousand, one hundred nintie three, and by the way was taken prisoner by the Duke of Austria, and was ransomed, and other accidents afterwards befell him: and so he left the affaires of the East, and more townes, and better fortified then he found therein: yet not so many as a man would haue thought that so great Kings, and such mightie armies, might haue gotten: what ensued, you shall vnderstand hereafter. The Emperor HENRY (as some men write) was well relieued and furnished with the money which the King of England payed for his ransome, towards his journey into Italy, for which he then made preparation, but he first made his brother CONRAD Duke of Suenia, for that his other brother FREDERICK was dead in the East without issue. He then marching towards Italy, to conquer the kingdomes of Sicilia and Naples, which fell to him by his wife, and the popes graunt; and hauing sent certaine Captaines before with an armie, by which the warres were already begun; King TANCREDE which possessed those kingdomes died; and a little before him his eldest sonne called ROGER, who was married to YRENE the Emperours daughter of Constantinople, and he left another sonne called WILLIAM (whom they presently made their King) and two or three daughters: by reason whereof the Emperor hastened his journey, leading with him his brother PHILIP, and other great princes: but for all this, the great men, and cities of those kingdomes left not to rebell, and to withstand the Emperor HENRY, who with his men of warre entred the countrie, besieging and battering cities with such rage and fury, that whatsoeuer citie resisted him, he caused to be destroyed and burnt: vsing greater crueltie then befitted a vertuous or Christian prince; and so perforce, and for feare, all the cities in the kingdom of Naples, and the most of those in Campania, and Pulia, yeelded; and thence marching into Calabria, did there the like: and seeing himselfe Lord of the estates in the maine land, he passed ouer into Sicilia, wherein, as there was not any King, or head, to rule and commaund (for TANCREDES sonne was a childe, and his father had been wicked, and a tyrant) in short space he became Lord of great part of that Iland. Neuerthelesse, after this the prelates and great Lords of those kingdomes, with the greatest power that they possibly could leuie, gathered head

neere

neere to the citie of Catania, with a full determination to try their fortune: and they fought with the Emperour (yet some say that the Emperour was not in the battaile) and the Sicilians were ouerthrowne, and the citie taken; and of them was made great slaughter, and in it was executed extreme crueltie, putting to sword both men and women, so many as were found therein; not sparing those which had retired themselues to the Churches for sanctuary: and some Noble men and Bishops were taken prisoners. After this, many of the most principall men conspired by any meanes howsoeuer to kill the Emperour; which being reuealed vnto him, he made extreme iustice to be inflicted vpon all those which he could get, and had been accused to haue been of that conspiracie, with such crueltie and rigour, that he could not auoide blame for it: for some he made to bee fleyed aliue, others to be burnt, and of some he caused sharpe nailes to be driuen into their heads: finally, he executed so horrible crueltie vpon those which had yeelded, that hee made himselfe the most feared man in the world: by meanes whereof within short space he became Lord of the whole Iland; and comming with his forces to the citie of Palermo (which was the richest and most populous citie therein) he was receiued without battaile or resistance, and made his entrie most solemnely, with all the representation, triumph and shew of victorie that could be imagined: in that citie (it is affirmed) that he found many precious iewels, and great riches, which had been the Kings of Sicilia, and there were kept. He gat also into his power YRENE the Emperours daughter of Constantinople, who was betrothed to the deceased King TANCREDES son, ROGER; which YRENE he married to his brother PHILIP, although against her will. And the child whom the Sicilians had made their King, hee made his eyes to be put out, thereby to make him incapable of the kingdom; and made him to be carried prisoner into Germany, where he afterwards died miserably: and his mother the widow with her two daughters, hee commaunded to be put into a Monasterie in Germany, so that he left nothing forgotten that might assure him of those kingdomes. This being done, he went into Calabria, carrying with him for hostages, such men as he held to be of greatest account in both the kingdomes: and for his better assurance, both in the maine land, and in the Iland, he placed Germane gouernours and captaines; to some of which he gaue certaine estates and titles. Before this, his wife the Emperesse which was there with him, bare him a sonne called FREDERICK; at whose birth, by reason that some doubted whether that a woman of her yeeres might be with child or no, he permitted all that would be present at the birth, commaunding it first to be published, at such time as it was thought she should be deliuered. In this manner did the Emperour HENRY leaue the two Sicilies in peace and subiection: and with the hostages before mentioned, which were great Lords and prelates, departed towards Germany (Milan and all Lombardie peaceably obeying him, both at his comming and going) which was in the fifth yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord 1195.

It is true, that although the Emperour obtained his desire in the conquest of Sicilia and Naples, yet all writers affirme that he therewith acquired the name of a very cruell, and vindicatif Prince, for the great cruelties which he therein committed. And PHILIP BERGOMAS affirmeth, that through these cruelties, he fell at such oddes with Pope CELESTINE, that he excommunicated him, by certain Bishops and other men of orders, which the Emperour apprehended, and put to death: and that he afterwards suing to the Pope for pardon, was absolved. He was

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also

Anno Dom.  
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also noted and taxed of excessive couetousnes, for the great loanes and imprests, which he exacted from the people in those kingdomes: which gaue occasion that it was not long before that in *Palia*, some townes and great men, began to stirre and to rebell against him: whereupon he put out the eies of all the hostages, which hee had sent into *Germany*; and sent Captaines and souldiers to suppress the Insurrections; and they by his commandement, inflicted cruell punishment vpon the offenders. And being in this prosperitie, so as no man rebelled, or held vp his hand against him, his brother **CONRADE** Duke of *Sueuia* died, at such time as he began to warre against **BERTOLD** Duke of *Zeringe*, which then, and before that time was, and had bin, a great house in *Germany*: and his brother **CONRADE** being dead without issue, the Emperour gaue the Duchie of *Suenia* to his brother **PHILIP**, who (as I said) married the Emperours daughter of *Constantinople*.

Frederick the Emperours son being a child was chosen King of the Romanes.

After all these things, he sought by all meanes possible, that the princes Electors should chuse his sonne **FREDERICK** (a child of little more then two yeeres old) for King of the Romanes: and forasmuch as he was of great power, and much feared, they did so: notwithstanding that it seemed to them, to be a matter very vniust and vnreasonable. At this time Pope **CHELBSTINE** very earnestly solicited the Princes of Christendome. And especially the Emperour (seeing that the time of the truce, made in the East by the King of *England* was expired; and that the great **SALADINE** was dead, but a little before, on whome depended the chiefest force of the Infidels) that they should not now forget the conquest of *Ierusalem*, seeing they had so fit an oportunitie thereto. The Emperour (with the zeale of a Christian Prince (though a cruell one) seeing that hee could not goe himselfe in person, by reason of his small asurance in his kingdomes of *Sicilia*, and the tranquillitie of *Germany*: many Princes offering themselues to goe that journey voluntarily, and many souldiers and men of warre, which he sent in his pay, at his own charges) prouided a very great and good army: wherewith went the Archbishop of *Mentz*, the Bishop of *Ratisbone*, **BERNARD** Duke of *Saxony*, **CONRADE** Chauncellor of the empire, **LEOPOLD** Duke of *Austrich*, **HARMAN** Lantzgrau of *Turinge*, the Duke of *Brabant*, and some other Marquises, Earles, and men of estate; all which leauing their houses and countries, of meere deuotion, with valiant mindes, after long trauaile by land and sea (wherein they were much aided and relieued by **ISACIVS** Emperour of *Constantinople*) came to the coast of *Palestina*, to the citie of *Tyre* and *Ptolomaida*, which they called *Acon*; where they presently applied themselues to the warres; the truce graunted by the king of *England* being expired. In which time, **GUIDO** king of *Cyprus*, which before had been king of *Ierusalem*, deceased; and forasmuch as hee had no sonne, his brother **ALMERICVS** had that kingdome: and it also happened, that at that same season, **HENRY**, which was called king of *Ierusalem*, by the marriage (as I said) of **ISABEL** sister to **SIBIL**, in his citie of *Ptolomaida* fell out of a very high terresse or gallerie in his palace, and so died infortunately: and **ALMERICVS** king of *Cyprus*, sought to marrie with his wife, wherewith she was content; and so for a time hee was called king of *Cyprus* and *Ierusalem*. But for as much as he was negligent, and of small experience in the warres, and in matters of gouernment, he afterwards lost the title of *Ierusalem*, which was giuen to **JOHN DE BREGNA**, a Frenchman, being a man of great fortune and valour, who married the daughter of this **ISABEL**, which she had by her second husband **CONRADE**. The Germanes sent by the

Another waye to Ierusalem.

Emperour

Emperour ioyning with **ALMERICVS** his forces, became masters of the field; and marching forwards, besieged and assaulted some cities, tooke *Berito*, and recified *Ioppa*, now called *Iapha*. While the armie did these things in the East, the Emperour **HENRY** setting all things in order in *Germany*, came with his wife and his young sonne into *Italy*, to visite his estate of *Milan*; and from thence went into *Sicilia*, the better to confirme himselfe in his new dominion; and the better also to prouide for the warres and conquest of the Holy land, which was generally desired. He came then into *Sicilia*, to the citie of *Messina*, with his wife and his son, (who was already called king of the Romanes) and gouerned the empire, and those kingdomes in peace, enlarging the same more then the Pope would hee should haue done, for he held from him the *Marca de Ancona*, and some places in *Tuscane*. But it pleased God to frustrate all his thoughts by his death: for being much delighted in hunting, it happened that hunting vpon an extreame hot day, in the moneth of August, he laid him downe one night to sleepe in a Greene field, neere to certaine fresh springs of water; and awaking, with the cold and the dew of the night, he felt himselfe very ill, and was carried to *Messina*, where his infirmite increasing, hee died; when hee had raigned eight yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord 1198. hauing first recommended the protection and gouernment of his yong sonne **FREDERICK**, which was called king of the Romanes, and of the two *Sicilies*, to his brother **PHILIP** Duke of *Sueuia*, vntill that he should come to age fit to rule: and wrote his letters concerning the same to Pope **INNOCENT** the third, who succeeded **CHELBSTINE** the third, which died a little before him in the same yeere. This Emperour was a wife, a valorous, and a mightie prince, but his ouer

Anno Dom. 1198.  
The death of the Emperour Henry the sixth.

much fiercenes and crueltie obscured and blemished those vertues. All this while raigned **ISACIVS** in *Constantinople*, which he gouerned very well for the space of eleuen or twelue yeeres in peace; after the death of the tyrant **ANDRONICVS**, as we recounted in the life of the Emperour **FREDERICK**.

Nnn 2

THE



# THE LIFE OF PHILIP THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESORE AND NINE- TEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

And of ISACIVS and ALEXVS Empe-  
rors of Constantinople.



## THE ARGVMENT.

**H**e Emperour Henry being dead, the Empire was diuided betwixt two competitors, which were Philip and Otho, and either of them marshalling the forces of his abettors and assistants, many sore battailes were fought betwene them. They both were crowned: but Otho his coronation was ratified by the Pope, and Philips reproued, and himselfe excommunicate: but he making slight accompt of the excommunication persisted in his attempt; and hauing in a bickering ouerthrowne the Lantzgrau, became very mightie; and Otho his power did daily debilitate; and he himselfe in the end was driuen to flye, and to goe into England. Philip afterwards sought to pacifie the Pope, and to be in peace with him: and the reconciliation being made, a peace was procured with Otho: which was concluded by making him his sonne in law, and his successor in the Empire: but this ioy lasted not long: for Otho being come to the Court, the Countie Palatine of Wittelsbach, who was Philips secret enemy, vpon a day (with a resolution to kill him) came to his chamber, desiring to speake with him, and being let in, he tooke his sword from his Page, and there-with slew the Emperour, when he had reigned tenne yeeres.

The death of  
great princes  
cause great al-  
terations.

**I**T is a common and vsuall thing through all the world, that vpon the death of great Kings and princes, ensue great chaunges and alterations, which is verified and experimented by the death of HENRY the sixth, whose

whose historie wee now ended to write: for by reason thereof, ensued great innovations, and vnexpected accidents. First in the army which he sent into the East, to the conquest of *Ierusalem*, and which had begun the warre with good successe, his death being published, the princes and prelates which went thither, agreed together in all haste to returne home to their houses, and did so; nothing preuailing with them the counsell and entreatie of SIMON of *Monferato*, a most excellent warriour, who came thither with certaine troupes of Frenchmen to their aide: and so they left the countrey so thoroughly abandoned, and in such necessitie, that the Infidels taking the citie of *Iapha*, destroyed the same, and laid it euen with the ground; and king ALMERICVS and the Christians were brought to such extremitie, that they were driuen to sue to the Infidels for peace: so as it appeareth, that it was not Gods will that the warres and conquest of the Holy land should euer haue any good successe. Here in *Germany* ensued the greatest tumults, warres and battailes, about who should be Emperour, that euer had been seene for the like cause. Pope INNOCENT attempted, and began to recouer some lands, which the Emperour HENRY held from his Church. The Emperesse presently sued to the Pope, for the confirmation of *Sicilia* to her and her sonne, which she hardly obtained, with sufficient losse of lands and dignities. So great effect worketh oftentimes the absence, or presence, of one man onely: for PHILIP Duke of *Suenia*, whose historie I now begin to write, was interrupted by his brothers death in *Italy*, he going to visit him; from whence, so soone as he vnderstood thereof (for as some authors say he was not present when he died) he returned into *Germany*, and by the way encurred many daungers: with an intent (notwithstanding that he had the title of his Nephewes Protector) to get (if he might) the Empire for himselfe: whereto, being come into *Germany*, as well by meanes of his estate and authoritie, as also for that hee was the brother and the sonne of an Emperour, hee found great fauour, and great contradiction and resistance also, by many princes which were enemies to his house and family: and for some other respects. Principally, the Electors voyces being diuided into two opinions, the one part named the same PHILIP for Emperour; for of his nephew, by reason of his infancie, and also for that he was king of *Sicilia* (notwithstanding their promise made to his father) they made small account: and the other partie chose OTHO, Earle or Duke of *Brunswike*, sonne of HENRY the proud, which had been Duke of *Saxony*, and was dispossessed (as we said) by the Emperour FREDERICK, wherefore some authors call him Duke of *Saxony*: this OTHO his mother was sister to the King of *England*, by whose meanes (as some say) hee was called to the Empire. Betwene these two was the cruell sharpe warre, and competencie, hauing recourse to their armes: yet the Abbot WESPERGENSIS saith, that BERTOLD Duke of *Zeringe*, before, or at the same time, was a third competitor, and was called Emperour: but Duke BERTOLDS challenge continued not long, for he soone agreed with PHILIP, and for that most authors write it not, I will passe it ouer, with the only remembrance thereof. PHILIP and OTHO being in armes, each of them with his partakers and friends, began to warre, killing, robbing, and imprisoning one another. OTHO was holpen and supported by the King of *England*, as his vncler and friend, and by the Lantzgrau of *Turinge*, the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, the Duke of *Liconia*, the Earle of *Limburgh*, the Archbishop of *Colen*, and his prelates and Suffragane, the Earle of *Flanders* and his friends, and some other princes and prelates: Pope INNOCENT also fauoured his cause, calling to minde that the ancestors of this OTHO, Dukes of *Saxony*, had

Philip chosen  
Emperour.

Otho chosen  
Emperour.

Bertold called  
Emperour.

greatly holpen and defended the Church of *Rome*: and to the contrarie, PHILIPs predeceffors Dukes of *Suenia*, had persecuted the same, causing schismes and diuisions; as HENRY the fourth, FREDERICK the first, and his brother FREDERICK had also held many places in *Tuscane*, and *Ancona*, belonging to the Church of *Rome*. Those which tooke part with PHILIP, were the king of *France*, the Archbishop of *Meniz*, the Dukes of *Saxony*, and of *Austrich* (which then came from the warres in the East) the king of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Bauiere*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, and of *Brabant*; and all the rest of the princes which tooke not part with OTHO (but yet the successe chaunged these fauours) and PHILIP for his person was better beloued and more esteemed then OTHO, for he was gentle, of a noble condition, discrete, and liberall (whereby good will is principally gotten) very valiant, although of but a weake bodie, and of a meane stature; of a good countenance, and faire, white and red. OTHO had not so good parts of a man in him; for he was held to be, not very wise, rash, and without measure audacious. PHILIP hauing assembled his friends together in the citie of *Mentz*, was there annoynted and crowned Emperour by the Bishop of *Tarantasia*, the Bishop of *Sutrin*, who was the Popes Ambassadour and Legate, being there present, who came thither for another purpose; wherewith the Pope was extremely angrie. OTHO and his friends perceiuing that PHILIP was crowned, went to *Aken*, which PHILIP had already taken; and besieging and scaling it, tooke the same vpon composition: and there ADOLPH Archbishop of *Colen* preposterously crowned him, and he therefore was held for right Emperour: which coronation was afterwards confirmed by Pope INNOCENT, who sent GVIDO Cardinall of *Preneste*, for his Legate, to the citie of *Colen*, for the same purpose, and to excommunicate PHILIP, and all his followers and abettors. And PHILIP (as a man of great spirit) sought to fight with OTHO, and to that end entred his enemies countries, destroying the same with fire and sword, and tooke some strong Castles neere to *Argentine*, where betwene his and OTHO his troupes, were many skirmishes and encounters, and many men were slaine of either side: and the next yeere following hee came against the same citie of *Argentine*, which held for OTHO; which yeelded vpon composition, and he was therein receiued and obeyed. And OTHO in like manner with all his whole power came against PHILIP: and betwene the soldiers of the one and other, were some battailes and skirmishes, wherein PHILIP for the most part had the victorie, which made some to come ouer to his side: but yet the coming of the Popes Legate at this time, and the publishing of the excommunication, did greatly hinder PHILIPs proceedings, and was a great helpe to OTHO, with the prelates and ecclesiasticall personages. PHILIP hauing the greatest quarrell against the Lantzgrau of *Turinge*, for that by his meanes principally OTHO was chosen; he therefore resolved to enter his countrie, and to destroy it, and putting the same in execution, took one or two very strong townes of his: the Lantzgrau raising his power, and sending for help to the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, and to OTHO CHARVS, king of *Bohemia* (who now ioyned with OTHO, by reason of the Popes excommunication) and to other his friends and kinsmen; leuiued so great a number of good men of warre, that PHILIP not daring to fight with him, retired to a strong towne, wherein they besieged him: but he vsed such meanes, that in the night he gat out of the town, & put himself in safety: and within few daies after came OTHO to the aid of the Lantzgrau with his whole power, in hope to haue taken PHILIP, for they had written to him, that he could not escape from the place wherein they held him besieged. So as OTHO being then master

Philip crowned  
Emperour.

Otho crowned  
Emperour.

of the field, summoned a Diet or Councell to be held in the citie of *Mersburgh*, in the month of August, in the yeere of our Lord 1203; where, in the presence of the before named Princes, and of his friends, he was the second time crowned by the Popes Legat; and his first election was approued and confirmed, and many reuolted from PHILIP to him, vnder colour that they did so, by reason of the Popes censures. At this time, the Empresse CONSTANCE, tutresse of the young FREDERICK, King of *Sicilia*, dying, recommended the protection of the child to Pope INNOCENT, who sent certaine Legates to gouerne those countries in the behalfe of the young King; who afterwards was Emperour, as you shall heare. OTHO his fauourites and partakers being departed from this Diet or Councell, with victorie; the next yeere following their fortune altered: for PHILIP with the aide of *France*, *Saxony*, *Austrich*, *Mentz*, *Wittembergh*, *Suenia*, *Bauiere*, and the rest of those which held with him, came vpon the Lantzgrau and his confederates, and entring his countries (as he had done the yeere before) tooke certaine castles, and the King of *Bohemia* and the Countie Palatine came to ioine with the Lantzgrau, and so to fight with PHILIP: but PHILIP met and fought with them before they could ioine with the Lantzgrau, and obtained the victorie, although bloody. The Bohemians running away and disordering themselves in the beginning, so as great slaughter was made of them in the chace. PHILIP thorough this victory wan so great reputation, that many of those which vntill then had been silent and neutrall, came to serue him, and from his enemy came to him not a few. And the Lantzgrau seeing his succours ouerthrowne and scattered, and his countrey spoyled, sought meanes to come to some composition with PHILIP, and to serue him: and PHILIP (as he was a gentle and courteous Prince) admitted him into his fauour and friendship, and the Lantzgrau with great humilitie came and yeelded himselfe into his power. And after him came ADOLPH, Archbishop of *Colen*, who nothing fearing the popes Excommunications, against such as tooke part with PHILIP, or defended his quarrell, compounded with him also, promising to bring the Dukes of *Lorraine* and of *Brabant*, to his deuotion; a thing which PHILIP much desired, and gaue him to effect the same a great summe of money: which was the cause that many others did the like. So as this partie growing now to be strongest, a meeting was appointed to be had in *Aken*; and for as much as PHILIP had not been crowned therein by a generall assent, he was againe with great solemnitie crowned Emperour and King of the Romans, by the hands of the said Archbishop ADOLPH, who despised and contemned his popes censures and commandements: whereupon pope INNOCENT depriued and deposed him from his Archbishopricke; and sent commandement to his Legate, which then lay in *Colen*, to cause another to be chosen: and the Chanons assembling, made choice of one BRUNVS, a man of great account: and OTHO tooke such order, that he was presently consecrated by two Bishops which came from *England*: wherewith PHILIP was so enraged, that he presently went and set vpon the citie of *Colen*, and being vnable to take it by force, spoyled the fields, and put the deposed Archbishop in possession of some townes in the marches and territorie thereof; so as neither the one nor the other could gouerne that Church. The like happened afterwards in many Churches, some holding of the one faction, and others of the other: and miserable *Germany* at this time indured grieuous calamities, for besides the great warres and battailes, the Churches and Monasteries were robbed. After all this, the next yeere following, which was the yeere 1205, PHILIP, with great power of Prin-

Anno Dom.  
1203.

The Bohemians  
ouerthrowne.

Anno Dom.  
1205.

ces and marshall men, came to make warre vpon OTHO, who with his friends and allies was in *Colen*; with whom, amongst such others as came thither, was GUIDO the popes Legate, and BRUNVS the Archbishop thereof. And with PHILIP came the deposed Bishop, and OTHO hauing no sufficient forces to fight with him in the field, held himselfe within the citie, not daring to keepe the field against him: which PHILIP perceiuing, sent for all the forces that he could leuie, and besieged OTHO and those which were with him in *Colen*: so as OTHO was in greater distresse than he thought of in the beginning; and the siege was so sharpe, that it was impossible for any man to get in or out, without the leaue of the besiegers. And OTHO knowing that if he staied any longer therein, besides the reputation which he lost, his person and life would be in great danger, resolued therefore to make way thorough his enemies, or to dye in the action; and making choyse of his best men, both of horse and foote, besides the principals, hee one day suddainly sallied and charged into his enemies campe, and in the beginning made great slaughter of them; but being oppressed with the multitude, he vsed the meanes and remedie prepensd, and so escaped by flight: yet in the chace, many of those which sallied with him, were taken prisoners and slaine: amongst which, BRUNVS the new Archbishop was taken prisoner, whom PHILIP held in irons about one whole yeere after: and in this flight, OTHO neuer stayed vntill he came into *Saxony*, where he was harboured, and protected by Duke BERNARD. And PHILIP preuailing, offered so honorable composition to those of *Colen*, that they rendred, and came all to his seruice; and restoring ADOLPH to his seat and Bishopricke, he wholly disannulled and made voyd the new election of BRUNVS, without any regard of the popes commandements. OTHO perceiuing that PHILIPS power did daily more and more increase, and that he had not any forces wherewith he might defend himselfe, tooke shippe and sailed into *England*: and so for that time remained PHILIP peacefull Emperour, finding no man that in field made any resistance, but what the pope did with his Fulminations, whercof (as it seemeth) he made small reckoning. And the better to assure vnto himselfe the loue of the people, (he naturally desiring to end matters by clemencie) gaue his eldest daughter in marriage to the King of *Bohemia*, and another daughter to the Duke of *Brabant* eldest Sonne: and so vpon other Princes he bestowed fauours and benefits, wherein (as saith the Abbot WESPERGENSIS) he spent his whole patrimonie, giuing Townes and Castles, and euen Churches and their reuenues: for so much doe men desire to raigne, that to bring the same to effect, there is no lawe but they will breake and violate, yea, and they thinke they may lawfully doe it, which may well and sufficiently be proued by such matters as passed in these times in the Empire of *Constantinople*, which, for that they make to our purpose and historie, I will here briefly recite, although so great accidents, require a long relation; and so for a while, we will leaue OTHO fled, and banished into *England*, and PHILIP to inioy his victorie.

In *Constantinople* then reigned ISAC, or ISACIVS (of whom we haue made mention) as a iust Prince and good gouernour; who with a great summe of money redeemed a Brother of his, a valiant and excellent captaine, called ALEXVS; who in the warres was taken prisoner by the Turkes, to whom after his comming to his court (besides the lands and estate allowed him for his maintenance) he gaue so great authoritie and commaund in the gouernment, that all matters of greatest importance were ordered by his direction: and he being in this fauour, the

the diuell, ambition, and desire to raigne, possessed him, so as to bring his purpose to effect, he resolued to breake all lawes, both diuine and humane, together with the bands, wherein he stood bound to his soueraigne Lord and brother: for in requitall of the benefits receiued, with the helpe and assistance of such as himselfe, he apprehended his brother, and did put out his eyes, and seised vpon the Empire to his owne behoofe: and a son of ISACIVS, called after his trecherous Vncles name ALEXVS, fled, and came into *Germany* to the Emperour PHILIP, whose wife YRENE was this young mans sister: but as PHILIP was not so firmly seated in his Empire, as to be able to succour and relieue another, by reason of his warres with OTHO, so he could not therefore doe as he would haue done. At that time by chaunce (or else it was Gods will it should be so) were in *Venice*, BALDVIN Noble men in *Venice*, Earle of *Flanders*, and his brother HENRY: and BONIFACE Marqueesse of *Monferrato*; LEVVIS Earle of *Sauoy*; and other noble personages, with many souldiers and men of warre; induced to meete there, by pope INOCENT, for the conquest of *Ierusalem* and the Holy land: where they stayed for shipping to goe on their voyage, whither came recommended to them by the Emperour PHILIP and this young ALEXVS: whercupon these princes (by the consent of the Duke and Senate of *Venice* and of the pope) concluded to goe against the tyrant ALEXVS: whereto the Venecians gaue great ayde, sending an Admirall with a great flecte. The league and couenant being made with the Nephew ALEXVS; hee promised, that being restored, hee would reduce the Greeke Church, to the obedience of the Latine; and many other matters in recompence; and so they departed with good and faire weather. And omitting such accidents as befell them in their voyage (wherein they tooke the Ile of *Creta*, now called *Candia*, and other places:) it was so that they arriued neere to the citie of *Constantinople*, where the tyrant ALEXVS in a readines awaigh-ted their comming, with a very great number of people; and they setting their men on land, had a battaile with THEODORE LASCARVS the tyrants sonne in law, who sallied with an armie to fight with them; and he being ouerthrowne, they pursued him to the gates of the citie, which they besieged both by Sea and land. And at the end of eight dayes, that they had been there (wherein were many braues skirmishes and fierce encounters) the tyrant ALEXVS seeing that he could not preuaile, fled out of the citie by night: and after him followed the most part of his complices; and the next day, the citizens opening the ports, tooke the blind Emperour ISACIVS out of prison, and with him went forth to the Campe, where very willingly they tooke the sonne to be Emperour, together with the father: and he was with great solemnitie receiued into the citie, and crowned in the Church of Saint SOPHIA, in the presence of all the Latine Captaines; wherewith the blind father was greatly recomfited; and it seemed that all went well, and to the contentment of all men: and the Knights, and commanders of the Latines, to auoyde the scandales, which might arise betweene their people & the citizens, went to their tents in the campe. In the meane while, that the new Emperour and his father made payment to the Venecians, of what they had promised, and accomplishing the same, the Greekes greatly murmured, for the naturall hatred which they bare against the Latines, and the blind Emperour ISACIVS died, and presently began new scandales and tumults in the citie, they all exclaiming against the promises made by the young ALEXVS to the Latines, and alleaging that they ought not to be performed, put themselves in armes against them, but yet the new Emperour desired to haue throughly accom-plished

plished the same. Yet some authors lay to his charge, this inconuenience, saying, that he would not haue held his word. Finally, the matter fell so out, that the tumult infinitely encreasing; one MIRTILLVS, which had been a fauorite of the Emperour ISACIVS (being the chiefe occasion of this mutiny, and whom the Greekes chose for their Generall, calling him Emperour) went to the palace, where the new Emperour ALBXVS was, and with his owne hand slew him; within one moneth after his coronation: and the new vpstart traitor MIRTILLVS was set in his place, who presently studied how he might set the fleets of the Venecians and of the princes of the Latins on fire, and to cut off all victualles from them, and by assaulking them in their lodgings, to haue ouerthrowne and defeated them; but the effect ensued after another manner; for after many skirmishes, slaughters, and effusion of much blood (which for breuitie sake I omit) the Latines had the victorie; the tyrant fled, and they were Lords of the citie together withall the countrie round about it. And forasmuch as the Empire was without any lawfull successor, and that they had made a conquest thereof; by a generall consent they resolu'd to chuse an Emperour; and making among themselves fiteene electors; BALDVIN Earle of *Flanders* was chosen, and created Emperour; and for such was sworne, receiued and obeyed; and the Patriarch, THOMAS MOROSINI, a Venecian Gentleman, presently went to *Rome*, where his prelatie, and the Emperors election, and all the rest was approoued and confirmed by the pope; and he with his owne hands inuested him, and gaue him for the Emperour the Imperiall ensignes. This great attempt being atchiued by these Captaines, according to their first agreement, they diuided what they had gotten, and the Iles of then *Creta*, now *Candia*, and *Euboea*, now *Negrepente*, were giuen to the Venecians; which they haue held vntill this day; and forasmuch as *Candia* was first giuen to BONIFACE Marquesse of *Monferrato*, the countrie of *Thessalia*, which is a prouince of *Macedonia* was giuen him, with the title of King; with other rewards and shares made to other princes, aswell in the Ilands, as in the maine; of which, remained estates, and houses, which I omit: and so the Empire rested in BALDVIN and his successors, for the space of more then three-score yeeres; with such aduentures, as you shall heare hereafter: but the citie of *Adrianople* rebelling, defended it selfe all this while; THEODORE LASCARVS the Emperour ALBXVS his sonne in law, who (as we said) sallied out to fight with the Latins, being gotten into the same. And the new Emperour BALDVIN besieged that citie, and died before it, and his brother HENRY succeeded him in the Empire: the rest you shall vnderstand when the turne commeth. Now let vs returne to our storie of PHILIP Emperour of *Germany*, whom we left victorious; and to OTHO fled into *England*: yet let the reader consider, and abhorre the treasons of ALBXVS and MIRTILLVS; whereof the one put out the eyes of his owne brother; and the other murdered his soueraigne Lord, and let him consider what ends they had, and therewith, how little stabilitie and assurance there is in the Empires and principallities of this world; and with how vnjust titles they are oftentimes gotten and possessed; of all which, there hath been a sufficient and apparant example, in that which hath now been spoken of the Greeke Empire.

The Emperour PHILIP hauing expelled OTHO out of *Germany*, he and his followers imagining that their aduersaries should now neuer be able any more to molest him: neuertheless in regarde of peace, hee being in disgrace with the Church of *Rome*, by the aduice and consent of the princes which were assembled for

for that purpose, sent his Ambassadors to the pope, excusing his doings, alleging the equitie of his cause, entreating him to establish some peace in the Empire, to absolue him, and to confirme his election, and therewith yeelded himselfe to his obedience. The pope hearing the ambassade, gaue also eare to the treaties, and sent for his Ambassadors, Cardinals Legates of great account to the Emperour, to treat of a peace: which being come, and with much honour receiued; among other motions, one was, that the Emperour should marrie a daughter which he had to be married, to RICCARD the popes nephew; and should giue him therewith the estates of *Spoletto* in *Tuscane*, and the *Marca de Ancona*, which belonged to the Church of *Rome*, and were in the Emperours possession. This motion (as saith ABEL VESPERGENSIS) was made by the Emperour, by that meane to winne the popes grace and fauour: yet some attribute it to the pope. These and many other matters were motioned, and there were many meetings of princes; whither his competitor OTHO also sent his Ambassadors; and afterwards came out of *England* into *Saxony* in person: and of the one side and of the other, many demands and offers were made (the Cardinals Legates being vmpieres and mediators betwene them) in the end, in a generall meeting which was held in a towne in the borders of *Saxony*, OTHO being in a Castle neere vnto it, securitie being giuen by either partie, a generall peace was concluded, vpon condition that OTHO should marrie with the daughter of the Emperour PHILIP, and be held for king of the Romanes, and future Emperour after the decease of the said PHILIP: which agreement was confirmed and sworne, and a generall pardon was giuen by the one to the other, and the pope dispensed with their neerenes of blood; and all such as were excommunicate, were absolued by the popes Legates: and so all was in peace and quiet, and OTHO remained the Emperours sonne in law, and heire apparant, and for such was presently sworne, and the Legates returned to *Rome*: all which passed in the yeere of our Lord 1207, wherewith all men were very glad and well contented, hoping that it would haue long continued: for PHILIP was an exceeding liberall and courteous prince, and deere beloued generally of all men. But it otherwise happened, for the yeere following, the Emperour being in the towne of *Bambergh*, OTHO Countie Palatine of *Wiltshire*, who had been his deadly enemy (and was so still in secret) came to the Emperours court, shewing himselfe publicly to be his loyall seruant. His coming (as it afterwards appeared) was but to practise the Emperours death, and as a traytor to kill him, which PHILIP nothing suspected. The Emperour being one day after dinner in his chamber reposing himselfe vpon his bed, for that hee finding himselfe somewhat ill at ease, had been let blood that day; the Countie Palatine called at his chamber doore, accompanied with some which were acquainted with his pretence: and the Emperour vnderstanding who he was, made the doore to be opened, notwithstanding that none were with him but his Chancellour, the Bishop of *Spire*, and a page which waighted on his Cup, called HENRY of *Wiltshire*, without any weapons: and the Countie Palatine at his entrance, imagining the time now fit for him to execute his diuillish intent and treason, at the doore he tooke his sword from a page which carried the same, and suddenly drawing it, before that the Bishop or page could rescue him, wounded the Emperour in the throat: which wound, although it were not great, yet it was mortall, and he presently died thereof, the organ pipes being cut. The page making an outcrie, would haue shut the doore, to the end that the Countie Palatine should not haue gotten forth; but he gaue him a fore wound over the face, and opening

Anno Dom.  
1207.

opening the doore departed, and ioyning with a Bishop and a Marquis, which were his confederates in this treason, they all together fled from the court, vpon poast horses wch they had laid for that purpose. This murder was committed vpon the 22. day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord 1208. in the tenth yeere of this Emperours raigne. Great was the tumult which grewe hereof, and the concourse of the people which ranne to the Emperours chamber: which finding him dead, made great moane and lamentation for him: for he was a Prince well beloued, for the noblenes and liberalitie of his mind: al men abhorring the Countie Palatines treason; for which he escaped not unpunished; for he was slaine by the Emperours steward HENRY, in reuenge of his Lords death. The Emperour PHILIP had neuer any sonne, but foure daughters then married, one with OTHO the King of the Romanes, when the peace was made betweene them, which OTHO succeeded him: and another with the King of Bohemia, another with the Duke of Brabant eldest sonne, and the fourth with RICHARD Earle of Tuscany, nephew to Pope INNOCENT. In Constantinople reigned HENRY brother of BALDWIN, of whome we of late made mention.

## THE LIFE OF OTHO THE FIFTH OF THAT NAME, AND HUNDRETH ROMANE EMPEROUR.



### THE ARGUMENT.



After the death of the Emperour Philip; Otho, without any contradiction was taken for Emperour: and notwithstanding that he was chosen for his successor in Philips time, it pleased the electors to chuse him anew: & he being confirmed, was crowned by the Bishop of Colen. After the ceremonies were ended, he applied himselfe to persecute the murderers of Philip: and notwithstanding that he was well pleased with his death, neuertheless he made this shew of reuenge. He came afterwards to be crowned in Rome, but a great tumult and affray arising betwene his people and the citizens, he departed in choler with the Pope; and made warre vpon him; so as the Pope excommunicated him, and deprived him of the empire: whereupon

whereupon many Princes of Germany denying him their obedience, chose another Emperour, which was Frederick King of Sicilia, and although that Otho assaied by many waies to recover the Empire, yet he could neuer attaine thereto, and so died a private Lord in Saxony, when hee had reigned five yeeres.



Y how much PHILIP was a better Emperour then his competitor OTHO, it was not long before that the same OTHO made it apparant; notwithstanding that in the beginning he gaue some signes to the contrarie: so as we may hold the old common adage to be true, which saith, that authoritie will manifest a man. So soone as the violent death of PHILIP was published (the agreement being yet fresh in memorie, that OTHO should succede him) by common consent he was held for Emperour: and notwithstanding that in the life time of PHILIP he had been twice crowned, neuertheless the princes electors (according to the ancient custome) met at Franckford; and he being there new chosen, went to Aken, and there was crowned by the Archbishop of Colen, although with some delay; for the Archbishop of Spire, which was Chauncellor to the late Emperour PHILIP, and was present (as we said) when he was slaine, had lodged himselfe in a very strong castle, and would not deliuer the Scepter, the Crosse, the Crowne, and the Imperiall ensignes, which remained in his custodie; except hee were first confirmed in his office of Chauncellor: whereupon the new Emperour confirmed him; and so was crowned peaceably with great solemnitie: which being ended, pope INNOCENTS Legates came to him (who had euer been his friend) to wish him ioy of his election, and to approue and confirme the same: the comming of which Legates, the Emperour attended in the citie of Hiperboli; and they deliuered their ambassade, and treated of other matters concerning the generall peace and publike good: and offered the Emperour in the behalfe of the pope, that if he would come to Rome, the pope should crowne him with his own hands, as his predecessors had done by his. OTHO hauing dispatched these Legates, took his way towards Suenia, to take possessiō therof, in the right of his wife the Emperour PHILIPS daughter; with whom, at the establishment of the peace he was married; and to whom (he said) that state did appertaine: yet FREDERICK king of Sicilia, PHILIPS nephew, which afterwards was Emperour, was called Duke of Suenia; and was so afterwards. And OTHO comming into Suenia (protesting his comming thither to be, to quiet the troubles, by abolishing robberies and violences committed in that countrie; much whereof hee redressed) gaue so ill entertainment and countenance to the Earles, Barons, and Gentlemen of that great Duchie, that many of them abandoned the countrey; and he made himselfe to be generally ill beloued: yet there wanted not some, which to flatter him, commended his doings (a thing which maketh kings and princes most to erre, and to perseuere in their errors). And within few daies after hee went to Augsburgh, which is in the same prouince; whither he summoned the princes to come; and with their consent he proceeded against OTHO, Countie Palatine of Wittelsbach, (who murdered the Emperour PHILIP) and against such as were his complices in the murder: all which were condemned, being absent as guiltie of high treason, and were deprived of all the dignities, goods and lands which they possessed; of which, some he bestowed vpon others, and part hee confisked to the chamber of the Empire. And notwithstanding that all men iudged that he was well pleased with the death of PHILIP, yet he inflicted this punishment; and outwardly made

According to the Germane Emperours this Otho should be the fourth, but holding the ordinary course he was the fifth of that name.

shew of much sorrow for the same : and some were of opinion that the Countie Palatine killed the Emperour PHILIP, in hope that his successor OTHO would haue rewarded him for it. But whatsoeuer any man thought, he did as I say, and well might hee be pleased with his death; and displeased with the treason. By meanes of this punishment, and for righting some other wrongs; hee began in many mens opinion to be reputed a good Emperour, and a great Iusticer : yet a mongst men of the better sort he was blamed, for the oppression which he vsed, both in *Suenia* and in other places : but in the beginning hee was without contradiction obeyed of all men. Few daies after this, in the moneth of March, in the yeere 1209, he summoned a generall Parliament or Diet, to be held in the citie of *Haguenau*; wherein the principall point that was handled, was but how to get aide and reliefe from the princes and estates of the empire, towards his iourney into *Italy*, to the end to be crowned in *Rome*; and it was concluded, that he should doe so; and many offered him their seruice, and to accompanie him in that iourney : and so hee, and those which were to goe with him, leuied their forces, and put themselues in a readines, with such expedition, that in the beginning of Iuly following, they all met in the citie of *Augsburgh*; from whence hee tooke his way towards *Italy* : first leauing his wife the Emperesse in *Saxony*, in the citie of *Brunschauel*, which was his inheritance; which, with other townes, hee held and defended, being part of the estate of HENRY the proud, when hee was deposed; and descending down through the valleys of *Trent*, he went directly to *Verona*; where he was receiued and obeyed as their Lord : and from thence went to *Milan*, and by other cities of *Lombardy*, to *Bologna*; whither he summoned the cities of *Lombardy*, and all the townes and cities subiect to the empire in *Italy*, to come to a Councell : wherein he was so fortunate, that all obeyed, and came at his summons peaceably, and furnished him with both men and money for his iourney; and many Earles and Barons accompanied him in person, in such sort, that hee departed thence very mightie towards *Rome*; where Pope INNOCENT attended his coming; and he and all his Nobles which came with him, were there receiued with great ioy, and he himselfe was there crowned in S. PETERS Church by the Pope; who had much desired to see that day, perswading himselfe that he should haue had a great friend of him, seeing that hee had euer procured his greatnes against the Emperour PHILIP : and the Emperour, after the accustomed manner, swore obedience to the Church of *Rome*, and to enlarge, and not to vsurpe the patrimonie thereof; which he afterwards hardly performed. And the same day, betweene his people, which remained in his campe neere to the walles of *Rome* (part whereof were come to see the citie) and the citizens; arose so great a tumult and affray, that about a thousand of the Emperours men were slaine; wherewith he was very wroth; and so was the Pope also, who indeed was his friend : And seeing that greater inconueniences were likely to haue ensued, he departed, and came directly to *Milan* with his armie, accusing and blaming the pope for what passed; and in *Milan* he was receiued and serued, and lay there all the winter, which was very tempestuous. And leauing there his Imperiall ensignes (wherewith the Milanois held themselues greatly honoured) reinforcing his armie (for that he had discharged a great part thereof) he departed in the spring, to make a conquest of the Church lands : first in the prouince of *Tuscane*, wherein he tooke many places : and thence he went into the *Marca de Ancona*, where hee did the like, and could not be resisted : and from thence it was thought that hee would haue warred in the territorie of *Rome*, and haue besieged the citie. And the Pope sent his Legates vnto

Anno Dom.  
1209.

A Councell  
held by the  
Emperour in  
*Bologna*.

The Emperour  
made warres  
against the  
Pope.

vnto him, putting him in mind of the fauours and good turnes which he had done him; and to perswade and adonish him to desist from his enterprife : but the Emperour making no account thereof, leauing garrisons in those townes, departed towards the kingdome of *Naples*, and began to warre against FREDERICK king of *Sicilia* : and tooke (the young king mistrusting no such matter) the citie of *Capua*, and many others in those quarters : wherewith the Pope was no lesse displeased then with the former, but rather more, for that he held those kingdomes for feodatorie to the Church of *Rome*; and also for that the pope had the protection and gouernment of the young king : so that the pope seeing that all his ambassades and warnings preuailed not with him, resolved to vse a more violent course, proceeding against him by censures and excommunications, and by his letters and messengers excommunicated him through all *Italy* and *Germany* : and he also excommunicated all such as followed him, or did him seruice : which excommunications some prelates obeyed; whereupon new troubles began. But this the Emperour not onely regarded not, but was rather therewith the more incensed, and prospered well in the warre, and tooke all *Pulia*, and *Calabria*; and placing garrisons in the Castles and fortresses therein, made account to haue bin king thereof. Whereupon the pope leuied souldiers, and fortified the citie of *Rome*, fearing to haue been besieged; and againe sent into *Germany*, to proclaim and publish the Emperour for deprived; and to release his subiects from the homage and faith which they ought him. OTHO being aduertised hereof, and that the Archbishop of *Mentz*, the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, and some others, claue to the pope; and that there were both priuate and publike treaties and practises against him, with the king of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Austrick*, and other princes, he was therefore much afraid : and leauing garrisons in such places as he had taken, he in great haste left the kingdome of *Naples*; and marching by long iourneys, came into *Germany*, in the yeere of our Lord 1212, and called a Councell to be held in the citie of *Norimbergh*; in which Councell it was decreed, that hee should warre against the Archbishop of *Mentz*, and the Lantzgraue of *Turinge* : and so the war began, and was very cruel. At this time died his wife the Emperesse, daughter of the Emperour PHILIP. Notwithstanding al this, HARMAN Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, SIFRID Archbishop of *Mentz*, the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Austrick*, the Archbishop of *Trenier*, and others which determined to take armes with them, and to obey the Popes censures, and to denie their obedience to the Emperour; taking the Popes aduice in the matter, who in all interposed his authoritie; chose FREDERICK King of *Sicilia* for Emperour; who was but a youth, little more then eightene yeeres old : and sent their Ambassadors vnto him, with their authoritie, soliciting him to come into the Empire, alleaging that in right he was, and ought to be Emperour; for that he was chosen and sworne King of the Romanes, in the time of his father HENRY the sixth : the like reason they alleaged to the other Princes in *Germany* : whereat Pope INNOCENT greatly reioyced, and in word and deed approued the same. OTHO herewith was very much troubled, and seeking meanes to defend his estate, by force of armes made terrible warres against his aduerfaries. The Germane Ambassadors were well receiued by the King of *Sicilia*, who was in great doubt to vndertake so great an enterprife; but being perswaded by them, and by the French Kings letters (who

was OTHO his enemy, for his affinitie to the house of *England*) he consented thereto, and was called Emperour.

FREDERICK hauing in this manner accepted the Empire; first applied himselfe

Anno Dom.  
1212.

Frederick king  
of *Sicilia* chosen  
Emperour.

selfe to recouer such townes as O T H O had taken from him in the Kingdome of Naples; which being done, with the greatest power that he could raise, he tooke his way towards Germany: and in his journey went to kisse the popes foote, and to intreate him that he might be crowned Emperour of the Romanes, seeing that he was called and chosen: but the pope resolued him that his request could not be graunted, for that thereby the auncient custome in the election and coronation of Emperours should be peruered; and so encouraging him to proceede in his enterprise he sent his Legat with him, to be present at his Coronation in Germany; and therein to vse his authority, and to proceed against such as were disobedient, or rebelled against him. Herewith the Emperour elect continued his journey; wherein, the cities of *Paui* and *Cremone*, and some other, ayded and assisted him; *Milan* and the rest being against him. Finally, with much trouble and danger he arriued at the citie of *Constance* in Germany, whither many men of warre repaired to him, together with some princes which were of his faction: which O T H O vnderstanding, as he was very valorous, so with the greatest power that hee could leuie he went to that citie, thinking to haue been able to haue either slaine or ouerthrowne this new Emperour FREDERICK: but the men of warre which he brought with him, daily forsooke him and went ouer to FREDERICK; in such fort, that he seeing himselfe abandoned, retired into his countrie: and FREDERICK, very mightie, and accompanied with a great armie, marched a long the riuers side of *Rhine*, to the citie of *Mentz*; where many prelates and princes were assembled; all forsaking O T H O, holding him for deprived, in performance of the Pope and his Legates commaundement: amongst which, thither came the Archbishops and Bishops of *Mentz*, *Treuer*, *Colen*, *Constance*, *Basil*, *Spire*, *Hiperboli*, the king of *Bohemia*, the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, besides those which were already come with him; from whence, after the handling and concluding of many matters, FREDERICK departed towards *Aken*, where he was crowned with the first crowne, in the presence of the Popes Legate, who approoued and confirmed his election: and so he attained to the empire; and for his better assurance in that estate, hee procured peace and a league with PHILIP, then king of *France*. And the Emperour O T H O seeing himselfe in *Saxony* thus forsaken, gat from *England*, and other parts, such forces as he could, and came into the countrie of *Guelthers*, wherein he made cruell warre, for that it held with FREDERICK; and from thence, together with the Earle of *Flanders*, who was so, for that hee married with IOANA daughter of BALDVIN Earle of *Flanders*, which held the empire of *Constantinople*, and at that time held with *England* against *France*, and with the Earle of *Bologna* in *France*; they went to ioyne with the king of *Englands* forces, to fight with the French king (which O T H O did for the alliance betweene him and the house of *England*) thinking, by ouerthrowing the king of *France*, who was enemie to them both, hee should be restored to his empire. But his conceits deceiued him: for the king of *France* came and fought a battaile with them, neere to the citie of *Tournay*; which is recorded to haue been very bloudie and cruell, wherein the French king was in great daunger to haue been slaine by the Emperour O T H O, who dismounted him: but he being rescued, encouraging his people, obtained the victorie; and O T H O escaped by flight, but the Earle of *Flanders* was taken prisoner, and some other principall men: and O T H O in the best manner that hee could gat into *Saxony*, voide of all hope to recouer the empire, when he had bin Emperour the space of fuyeeeres, and they not fully expired; and there with sorow and anguish of heart he ended his

Frederick  
crowned with  
the first crowne  
in Aken.

his daies. How long he liued after that he was deposed, the authors write not: but true it is, that his raigne as Emperour, ended in the yeere of our Lord 1213.

In *Constantinople* (as writeth BLONDVS) the same day that Otho was ouerthrown, HENRY (brother to the Greeke Emperour BALDVIN) died; who being Earle of *Flanders* obtained that empire; and hauing warred with the Duke of *Walachia*, (which is part of the ancient *Dacia*) he made a peace with him, marrying himselfe with his daughter, and married his owne daughter to PETER, Earle ALTISIODORENSIS: and he (as I said) dying at this time without any heire, the said Earle PETER had the empire, and came afterwards to *Rome*, and was crowned by the Pope. In time of the Emperour O T H O; by whose aide, and the assistance of HENRY Emperour of *Constantinople*, an excellent French captaine, called IOHN DE BREGNA, had the kingdome of the East, with the title of king of *Ierusalem*; being called thereto, onely for the valour of his person; marrying him with the daughter of ISABEL, to whom that kingdome appertained, as is aforesaid: the Capitaines and masters of those parts denying their obedience to ALMERICVS king of *Cyprus*, of whom particular mention hath bin made. And so IOHN DE BREGNA had that kingdome, of whom wee must of necessitie speake hereafter: for which cause I remember him in this place,

Emperour Otho  
the fifth deposed.  
Anno Dom.  
1213.

## THE LIFE OF FREDERICK THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND C. ROMANE EMPEROVR.



### THE ARGVMENT.

Frederick hauing obtained the Empire, made a publike solemne vow to goe to the warres of the Holy land; and comming to be crowned in Italy, was earnestly perswaded thereto by the Pope; wherupon he entred into the Croisade; and he deferring his going, many Lords went into the East without him. In the meane time there grew discord betweene him and the Pope, for that he withheld certaine lands belonging to the Church of Rome; and for deposing certaine Bishops from their Bishopricks in *Sicilia*; and placing others at his pleasure; upon which occasions the Pope proceeded against him with his pontificall armes; and excommunicated him: But the King

of Ierusalem comming afterwards into Italy, and giuing the Emperour, his daughter to wife; he was absolved, and againe promised to goe to the warres in the East; but delaying the time, and finding daily new occasions to deferre his going; he was in the end againe excommunicate; by reason whereof he resolved to goe: but being arriued in the East, he procured an agreement with the Soldan, and obtained the citie of Ierusalem, and therein was Crowned: but this satisfied not the Pope, neither the Christian Princes; and then he returned into Europe with small reputation, and went into Germany, wherein his sonne (through his Fathers absence) had taken vpon him very great authoritie, whereof grew some suspitions betweene them which were soone ended; neuertheless, the Emperour comming into Italy (by reason of Lombardy) and finding that his sonne was his enemy, he therefore causing him to be apprehended, made him to die in prison, and bending his forces against Lombardy, principally against Milan, he used such rigour, that the Pope became his open enemy; and calling a Councell to be held in Lions in Fraunce, he excommunicated him, and induced the electors to chuse a new Emperour: which was the Lantzgrau Henry, who lived but a while after, and then the Earle of Holland was chosen, against whom his sonne Conrade continually warred, although with no great good successe. But Frederick being in Italy, seeking to be reuenged of certaine cities which rebelled, and seeing that his enemies became daily more mighty, by reason of an overthrow giuen him, he reduced himselfe with dishonour into Pulia, where falling sick he died (as it was thought) through the practise of his bastard sonne Manfred, when he had held the Empire, about fife and thirtie yeares.



IN such manner as I haue declared, had this second FREDERICK the Empire, and therewith the Duchie of Sueuia, hauing first been King of Naples, Sicilia and Sardinia, and held the same the space of thirtie and odde yeeres, with great reuolutions, warres, batailles and troubles, as you shall heare: wherefore I must spend more time in writing the historie of his life then of some others. He was at no lesse variance with the Church of Rome, than the other FREDERICK his Graundfather was before him; and it now seemed to be an hereditarie maladie, thorough which, the Emperours and the popes neuer failed to be at contention and discord; for the popes would vphold their supreme authoritie, their lands and patrimonie: and the Emperours after they had obtained the Empire, and were established in their thrones, pretending that all the iurisdiction and supreme power in both ecclesiasticall and temporall causes, both in Germany and in Italy appertained to them, and therefore could endure no superioritie; and there wanted not men of either side to perswade them that they had reason: and sometimes ambition and couetousnes of either side were the occasions of the controueries aforesaid, and of such as we will relate. FREDERICK seeing himselfe freed from his aduersarie OTHO: the better to iustifie his title and raigne, caused a new assembly and meeting to be held of the Princes of the Empire, and of the Proctors of the Imperiall Cities, and went to Aken, and there made himselfe to be the second time Crowned with great solemnitie; and then made a publike solemne vowe, within a certaine time to goe in person to the warres and conquest of the Citie of Ierusalem, for the victorie which God had giuen him: and in requitall of the ayde and fauour receiued from pope INNOCENT, he gaue for euer to the Church of Rome the Citie and Countie of Fundi; with all which the pope was very glad. After this coronation, FREDERICK went thorough sundry prouinces, and making himselfe absolute Lord thereof, brought them to his obedience as to their Emperour. And for as much as HENRY Duke of Brabant had not yet done him homage, he with all the speede possible, with a great Armie, marched into

Discord betweene the Pope and the Emperour.

Frederick the second time crowned.

into that prouince: and the Duke seeing himselfe in danger, sought his fauour, offering to obey, and to doe him seruice, and was admitted, he giuing his sonne and other noble men of his house, for hostages, and assurance thereof. Few daies after this (by the Emperours consent) pope INNOCENT assembled a generall Councell in the Citie of Rome, whither came from all parts of Christendome, Greeke and Latine, the Patriarches of Ierusalem and Constantinople, threescore and ten Archbishops Metropolitans, foure hundred and twelue Bishops, eyght hundred and odde Priors and Abbots couentually, and Ambassadors from the Emperour FREDERICK and King of Sicilia, and from the Emperour of Constantinople, and from the Kings of France, England, Spayne, Arragon, Hungary, Cyprus and Ierusalem; and from other Kings and Princes: in which Councell were condemned certaine sects newly risen in France; but the chiefe matter that therein was handled, was for the warres and conquest of the Citie of Ierusalem, whereto they all gaue their consent, promising ayde and assistance. And the Pope sent his letters into all parts of Christendome, inciting and instigating all men to this war: granting large Indulgences and Pardons to such as dyed in that action: and all such as gaue their names to goe to that warre, tooke for their deuice the signe of the Crosse of Ierusalem, which they ware vpon their apparell; and so were called Croisars. And so an infinite number of men, and many Princes tooke the same: amongst which, in Germany the Emperour FREDERICK tooke it, and HENRY Duke of Brabant, the Duke of Moravia, the Duke of Iuliers, the Countie Palatine of Tubingen, the Marquis of Baden, the Earle of Nassau, the Duke of Limburgh and other Princes, with the Archbishop of Mentz, and many other Bishops: and in France, were many which prepared and armed themselves for this expedition, which afterwards tooke no such effect, as the preparation seemed to prognosticate. Amongst other matters, the great warres betweene the Pisans and the Genoayes (then two mightie common wealths by Sea) was a great let and hindrance; wherefore the Councell being ended (which was one of the most famous that euer had been) the pope went from Rome to Perugia, to the end, by his authoritie to haue established some peace or truce betweene these two common wealths; where, within few dayes, without concluding ought, he dyed, hauing gouerned the Church of Rome eyghtene yeeres and an halfe: he being dead, HONORIUS the third was chosen, who in the beginning of his Papacie, crowned PETER and his wife, Emperour of Constantinople, who (as I told you) succeeded his Father in law HENRY. While these matters passed, the Emperour FREDERICK applyed himselfe to settle and confirme his estate in the Empire; and to prouide for his comming into Italy, to be Crowned in Rome, deferring his journey to Ierusalem vntill this were done. But pope HONORIUS (hauing a prophetic reuealed vnto him, importing that in his time the Citie of Ierusalem should be recovered) vsed all meanes possible to cause those which had vnder taken the same to depart into the East, and neuer ceased to require the Emperour FREDERICK to accomplish the vow which he had made; threatening him with censures, if he performed not the same: but the Emperour delaying his going, by the popes perswasion there went into the East, ANDREW King of Hungary, the Dukes of Bauiere, and Aufrich; and out of France, the Earle of Niuerne; WALTER the Kings chamberlaine, and other great men; and with them, went JOHN DE COLUMNA the Popes Legate, with so many good men of warre, that it was hoped that they would haue effected some great matter: which being arriued in Palestina in Asia, in the harbour at Ptolomaida, otherwise called Acon: after certaine

A councell held by the Pope in the Citie of Rome.

A voyage into the Holy land.

consultations,ioyning themselues with Iohn de Bregna, King of *Ierusalem*, and with the Masters of the Knights Templars, of S. Iohns, and the Dutch orders and all their forces, whose number was great; they departed thence with a prosperous winde to the Citie of *Damiata*, called in auncient time *Pelusium*, in the coast of *Egypt*, in one of the mouthes of the riuer *Nilus*, where it falleth into the Sea, which they besieged the space of eyghteen moneths: in which time many accidents befell, which the authors write and I ouerpasse, as nothing to my purpose. The Soldan of *Egypt* was herewith so much put to his shifts, that he offered to giue vp the Citie of *Ierusalem* and the marches thereof, vpon condition that they would raise their siege from before *Damiata*: and notwithstanding that there were sundry opinions betweene the Kings and Princes concerning the same; yet in the end it was concluded not to accept thereof, wherein they greatly erred, as by the sequell it appeared. In the meane time, the Soldans sonne *Conradus*, who was in *Ierusalem*, seeing what distresse *Damiata* was in, and that both he and his Father were out of hope to defend *Ierusalem*; threw downe and ruinated all the walls thereof. In the end, the Christians tooke the Citie of *Damiata*, and certaine other townes in that quarter, and in all things had then good successe, although afterwards the contrarie ensued.

At this time, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1220, the Emperour *Frederick* came into *Italy*; and by letters and Ambassades vnderstanding the Popes mind, came to *Rome*, and was therein receiued and crowned, with the ceremonies and solemnities accustomed, and there he againe vowed and bound himselfe, to make his voyage into the East, promising also great matters to the Pope: but being out of *Rome*, their friendship lasted not long, for he presently seised certaine townes into his hands, alleaging that they appertained vnto him; and then came into *Lombardy*, to settle that estate; and passing through *Tuscane*, there arose some controuersie betweene his people and the inhabitants of that countrie; the like happened afterwards in *Lombardy*; so as he began to grow odious, and ill beloved: and from thence he gaue a turne to visit his kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*; wherein besides the taking of some townes and places from the Pope, he placed certaine Bishops, in some Churches displacing such as the Pope had enstalled therein; alleaging that the Kings of *Sicilia* had a priuilege to doe so. Whereupon the Pope and he fell at open variance, and the Pope proceeded against him by his fulminations, commanding him particularly to accomplish his vow, for the conquest of the Holy land, and pronounced him for excommunicate, if within a prefixed time he rendred and restored not what hee had taken; and performed not his vow: and so this contention continuing, hee seising many townes into his hands (which hee left garrisoned and fortified) returned into *Germany*. Whilest these matters passed in *Italy*, great discord and dissention arose in the armie in the East, betweene the Kings and Princes, and the Popes Legate about the superiority: and about what time, and in what manner the war was to be made: but finally, the Christians agreed to take the field, and to besiege the great citie of *Babylon* in *Egypt*, called *Cair*, and other townes thereabouts, in the moneth of Iuly, in the yeere 1221, with an armie of threescore and tenne thousand excellent men of warre of foote and horse, besides groomes and horseboyes. And notwithstanding that the Soldan had an exceeding huge armie, yet he durst not, or would not fight with them, of purpose prolonging the warre, vntill that about two moneths after (the Christians hauing not encamped themselues in such place and order, as was conuenient, and as they ought to haue done) the riuer *Nilus* swelled and ouer-

*Ierusalem* dismantled by the Soldans sonne *Conradus*. The Citie of *Damiata* in *Egypt*, taken from the Soldan, by the Christians. Anno Dom. 1220.

*Babylon* besieged by the Christians. Anno Dom. 1221.

flowed, as it vsually doth in that countrie yeerely in August: besides which, the Soldan caused the dikes and bancks thereof to be broken and cut, which in ancient time were made for a defence, and to keepe in the waters of that riuer: so as the Christians campe was enuironed with water, in such sort that they could not forrage or get any victuals: finally, they were so distressed, that they sent to the Soldan (who lay not farre from them) offering to come to a composition with him: In conclusion (to be brieue, and to returne to my historie) after many treaties betweene the Kings, the Legates, and the Soldan; a peace and truce was concluded for eight yeeres, and that hee should suffer them freely to depart; and that therewith they should presently render the citie of *Damiata*, and such other townes of lesse importance, which they held in *Egypt*; and that all captiues of either side should haue libertie; and that the Christians should depart with their troupes, to the cities of *Ptolomaida*, *Tyre*, and such other places as they held in *Soria*. These conditions being agreed vpon, the Soldan made prouision for them, and holpe them vpon their way, vntill they came to *Damiata*; where the Christians againe fell at variance amongst themselues, about giuing vp of the citie: but in the end it was yeilded, and the Christian armie returned into *Palestina*, part by land, and part by sea. And from the port of *Ptolomaida* the king of *Ierusalem* returned to his countrie; and the king of *Hungary*, and the other Dukes, into *Europe*, vnto theirs; with little contentment and lesse ioy; extreme sad and sorowfull for their ill successe; hauing done little or nothing to any purpose: by reason whereof, there was great sorow and heauines through all Christendome; and all men murmured against the Emperour *Frederick*, for that hee went not that iourney. In the next yeere, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1222, the Emperour summoned a Councell to be held in the citie of *Hiperboli*, where hee procured the electors to make his young sonne *Henry*, of the age of eleuen yeeres, king of the Romanes; and for such he caused him to be crowned in the citie of *Aken*. Presently after this, *John de Bregna* king of *Ierusalem*, seeing the small power of the Christians in the East, resolved to come in person to seeke reliefe, leauing the best garrisons in the countrie that he could (notwithstanding the truce) and came from *Soria* into *Italy* to *Rome*, where the Pope gaue him honourable entertainment, and hee presently vndertooke to be a mediatur betweene the Pope and the Emperour, who then was a widower; and the peace was made in this manner: The king of *Ierusalem* gaue his onely daughter in marriage to the Emperour *Frederick*, with the right of inheritance of the kingdome of *Ierusalem*: and the Pope absolved him of his excommunication: whereupon he promised presently after the marriage to goe with his whole power to the warres in the East, and to reforme all matters whereof the Pope accused him; and to restore such lands as hee held from his Church. Vpon this agreement he came from *Germany* to *Rome*, whither the kings daughter of *Ierusalem* was brought; and the marriage was solemnized with great ioy and feasting. By this title, and by the marriage of this Lady with the Emperour *Frederick*; *Conrade* their sonne, and those which vntill this day haue succeeded in the kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, haue been, and still are, called Kings of *Ierusalem*. This being ended, the king of *Ierusalem* went into *France*, where he receiued a great summe of money, which king *Philip* left him by his last will and testament, towards the warres: there hee staid certaine daies for the Emperour, whom all men beleueed (for that the inheritance of that land belonged to him, and for the great power and fit oportunitie which he had thereto, being king of *Naples* and *Sicilia*) would now haue perfourmed his vow and promise.

A peace betweene the Christians and the Soldan.

Anno Dom. 1222.

promise. But he departing from *Rome*, went with his spouse into the provinces of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, visiting his kingdomes, without proceeding on his journey, in more then two yeeres space: for which cause, and forasmuch as he had not thoroughly accomplished the agreement with the Pope, they againe fell at variance. After this, his eldest sonne *HENRY* (who was in *Germany*) held a Councell in *Frankford*; vnder pretext to procure certaine princes to goe with their power to the conquest of *Ierusalem*; to which the Emperour sent his letters, certifying his speedie comming into *Germany*, to the end to goe that iourney: wherefore, many princes gaue in their names, promising to goe with him. At this assemblie was *HENRY* king of the Romanes, the Emperours sonne, married to *MARGARET*, daughter, to the Duke of *Austrich*. The yeere following, the most of the cities in *Lombardy* made a league, & rebelling against the Emperor, denied him their obedience, alleaging the principall reason thereof to be, for that he was disobedient to the Church: wherewith he was very much displeased; and many ambassades were sent from the one to the other; and there were many tumults, and much leuying of men, which continued many daies; which the Emperour alleaged to be the cause why he deferred his iourney. At this time died Pope *HONORIVS* the third, hauing bin Pope tenne yeeres and halfe, in the end of the yeere 1226. This Pope is held for a very good Pope, the greatest reason why he is so esteemed, is, for that he solemnly confirmed the orders of the Franciscane and Dominicane Friars. After *HONORIVS* succeeded *GREGORY* the ninth, an Italian borne, nephew to *INNOCENT* the third. The first matter that he tooke in hand, was to require the Emperour to restore what he detained from the Church of *Rome*, and to goe the iourney which he had vowed to *Ierusalem*; publishing him for excommunicate, if within a certaine time limited, he did not put the same in execution; which he afterwards incurred: yet he presently answered, that he was content to goe from *Sicilia*, where he then was, and sent to his sonne to call a Councell in the citie of *Aken* in *Germany*; where (through his perswasion and the Emperours letters) many princes offered to goe that iourney: And the Emperour sent to them, that (with the greatest expedition that might be) they should repaire into *Italy*, to the port of *Brandizzo*, which is in the furthestmost part thereof, whither hee promised presently to come: and there met many men of warre, princes and prelates, attending the Emperours comming all the summer: but he came not, alleaging that he was sicke and ill at ease. Which (as most authors affirme) was but fained: and as *BLONDVS* and others affirme, he treated vnder hand with the Soldan of *Egypt*, hoping to haue concluded some peace with him before his going out of *Sicilia* into *Italy*: so as by reason of the great heat of the summer, the most of the men of war at *Brandizzo*, and the countie thereabouts, attending his comming, died, together with many principall personages, amongst which was the Lantzgrau of *Turinge*, a rich and mightie prince: which when the Emperour vnderstood, he came to *Brandizzo*, where he seised into his hands all the gold, siluer, armes and other things which the Lantzgrau brought with him; and it was said that the Emperour came thither for no other purpose. But the sicknes increasing in the host, and letters comming daily from the Pope, the Emperour to perforce his promise, departed with all his armie towards the East: but within few daies failing hee returned, and arriued in *Italy*, alleaging that the contrarie winds had constrained him so to doe. But this was held but for fained, and he was therefore ill spoken of by all men: and Pope *GREGORY* holding himselfe for diluded by the Emperours promise (other discord and disagreement remaining betwixt

twixt them) sent to declare him for excommunicate, & for such proclaimed him through all *Germany* and *Italy*. At this time died the Emperesse, wife to the Emperour *FREDERICK*, and daughter to the king of *Ierusalem*; which left behind her one sonne, whose name was *CONRADE*.

*The Emperour Frederick the second excommunicated by the Pope.*

These matters which we haue recounted being past, the Emperor seeing himselfe in a streight, by reason of the Popes censures on the one side, and the entreatie of many his friends on the other; with the greatest power that he could make, and with a great number of ships, set his courle towards *Soria*, and landed in the citie of *Ptolemaida*, otherwise called *Acon*; yet *BLONDVS* & some other say, that he first stayed in the Ile of *Cyprus*, and from thence sent a captaine with the greatest part of his armie to *Acon*; who by his commandement began a treatie of peace with the Soldan, before that he himselfe came to the warre. And *FREDERICK* comming afterwards thither, the Masters and Knights of the Orders, ill agreed with him, for they had intelligence, that he treated of a peace and agreement with the Soldan. And in *Italy* he was at as much oddes with the Pope: for *RAINOOLD*, the Dukes sonne of *Spoleto*, whom he had left for Captaine and Gouvernor in the kingdome of *Naples*, began to make warre, and tooke certaine places from the Church of *Rome*, in the *Marca di Ancona*, and other parts. Whereupon, the Pope called to his aide, *JOHN DE BREON*, King of *Ierusalem*, who then was readie to haue taken shipping, to haue gon to defend his countries in the East; and to haue holpen *FREDERICK* in the warres; which (it was thought) he would haue made: and so open warre began betweene the Pope, and the Emperours captaines and countries. I haue not read in any author, in what manner hee began and continued the warre, during his abode in *Palestina*, onely they say, that prosecuting the treatie of peace begun with the Soldan, it was concluded, and that they came to an agreement, which was, that the Soldan should deliuer vp the Cities of *Ierusalem*, *Nazareth*, *Iapha*, and other places in that kingdome; and should retaine to himselfe certaine fortresses of greatest importance, and that there should be peace and truce betweene them for ten yeeres. Many dayes were spent about this matter, and vpon Easter day, in the yeere of our Lord 1229, the Emperour entred *Ierusalem*, and made himselfe to be crowned therein, and was called King of *Ierusalem*; and he presently sent an ambassade to Pope *GREGORY*, giuing him to vnderstand of all that had happened; therewith requesting him, seeing that he had accomplished his vowe, to declare him for absolved à *pena & culpa*, for his long delaying the same, and for some other matters. But when his ambassadour came, the Pope adiudging the peace and agreement made by the Emperour dishonourable (sith the Soldan should continew in possession of the fortresses and strong holds; presupposing that so soone as the Emperour should be departed from those countries, the Soldan would presently resume them into his hands, as he afterwards did) protested that the Emperour had donethis, but only to make a shew to haue performed his vowe: wherefore, and by reason of the warres which his captaines then, and before that time had made against him: he not only affirmed the Emperour to haue made no satisfaction, neither to be freed from the excommunication: and so practising with the Emperours subiects in *Pulia* to renounce their obedience to their Soueraigne, he recovered some townes which had been taken from him: which when the Emperour vnderstood, with the greatest speede that he possibly could make, he imbarked himselfe, leauing part of his armie in *Palestina*, and the townes fortified and garriioned in the best manner that he could; and with a faire gale of winde landed

*An agreement betweene the Emperour and the Soldan.*

A peace concluded between the Emperour and the Pope.

ded in *Palia*, so as this enterprise of the Emperour **FREDERICK** the second, had no better successe than the rest. So soone as he was arriued in *Italy*, those places which had rebelled and had held for the Pope, reuolted and held for him; and he sent for men into *Germany* and into *Sicilia*; and began to warre vpon the Popes townes, and tooke many of them; and notwithstanding that he seemed to haue sped well in the warre, yet he fought to be at peace with the Pope, by reason of some tumult and insurrections in *Germany*. And by the intercession of the Master of the Order of the Knights and Friars, called *Tentonici* (which like the Knights of *S. Iohn* and the *Templars*, lay in the East) and the Archbishop of *Messina*, a peace was concluded betweene the Pope and him: **LEOPOLD** Duke of *Austria*, with other Princes and Prelates of *Germany*, being there present: and the taken townes were restored, and the Pope wholly absolving him, proclaymed him King of *Ierusalem*, *Naples*, and *Sicilia*; and they met at a place appoynted, and with great shew of loue and good will dined together at one table, and so peace was established betweene them for that time; wherein, and in that which I haue already recounted, were sundry opinions, as the custome is in this life, some excusing the Emperour, and others imputing the fault to him, for what had passed: others attributed the fault to the Pope, for practising against him in his absence. This peace being made, the Emperour returned into his Kingdome of *Naples*; and the Pope to pacifie matters in *Perugia* (wherein had been great tumults and contentions) went thither; what befell in *Rome* in time of this his absence, I will presently tell you; first, bringing in few words to minde, the estate and successe of the Empire of *Constantinople*, whereto I am also bounden; for as the Emperour **FREDERICK** reigned long, it is not conuenient to leaue this, to make mention of another matter, wherein were great changes of Emperours, through the small time of their continuance: and thus it was.

By the death of **HENRY** Emperour of *Grecia* (as we haue aboue said) **PETER** had the Empire, for that he married his daughter **IOLIS**; who returning crowned by Pope **HONORIVS** to his Empire, had warres with **THEODORE LASCARVS**; who holding the Citie of *Adrianople*, was called Emperour, for that he married the sister of the Emperour **ALEXVS**, who killed his owne Brother, as is before declared: and a peace was made betweene them, wherein **PETER** being intrapped and taken prisoner by **LASCARVS**, was afterwards put to death in prison, when he had reigned three yeeres onely: which when his wife **IOLIS** vnderstoode, she making her sonne, called **ROBERT**, to be proclaymed Emperour, vnderooke the gouernment, vntill that he should come to *Constantinople*: (for he was in *Italy* when his Father dyed) and he being come, was obeyed, and began to gouerne the Empire. Within few dayes after this, dyed **LASCARVS** the Tyrant of *Adrianople*, and left the vsurped name of Emperour to his sonne in law, **IOHN DE PLOBATACIO**, who married his onely daughter, called **YRENE**; by whom he had already one Sonne, called **THEODORE LASCARVS**, as was his Grandfather. **ROBERT** hauing made shew of a good Prince (by the diuels instigation) fell in loue with a faire young damfell, which was betrothed to a Burgonian Knight (a man of great fort, and which had serued the Emperour) and by the consent of her mother, brought her to his court, and married her, and made her to be honoured and held for Emperesse: which did so much grieve the Burgonian that should haue been her husband, that after some dayes dissembling, he tooke a terrible reuenge, which was, that ioyning himselfe with his friends and Parents, together with many Greekes, which hated this **ROBERTS** rule

Peter, Emperour of Constantinople put Lascarus the Tyrant of Adrianople to death.

rule and gouernment: accompanied with them all, with armed hand he came one night into the Emperours Pallace, to the Emperesse which should haue been his wife, and cut off her nose: and her Mother which had been the cauler of the marriage, he threw out at a window into the sea, wherein she was drowned: and hauing done this, he departed, and put himselfe and his friends into a place of safetie, so as the Emperour **ROBERT** could not punish the fact: who shortly after came to *Rome* to be crowned, and returning homewards, fell sicke in *Macedonia*, and dyed, leauing behinde him one Sonne, called **BALDVIN**; others say, a Brother, who was presently receiued for Emperour and his successor. And for as much as he was very young, by a generall assent **IOHN DE BREGNA** King of *Ierusalem* was sent for to be his gouernour and assistant in the Empire, who then was in the Popes seruice in *Italy*; and he with the Popes leaue and good will came into *Gracia*, and tooke vpon him the gouernment of the Empire of *Constantinople*; and betrothed a daughter which he had, to the young Emperour **BALDVIN**, and gouerning that Empire so long as he liued (which was about some fixe or feuen yeeres) he left it in peace to his sonne in law: who in what manner he afterwards lost the same, you shall know hereafter. This comming of **IOHN DE BREGNER** to *Constantinople*, was about the same time (little before or after) that the peace was made betweene the Emperour **FREDERICK** the second, and Pope **GREGORY** the ninth: which (as I then said) being concluded, Pope **GREGORY** went to *Perugia* to pacifie the Citie and the marches thereof: and the Emperour went to his Kingdome of *Naples*. In the time that the Pope was absent from *Rome*, the gouernment of the Consuls being abolished, (which was so hatefull to the Popes) and now the gouernment of a Senatour being brought in: sometimes one, and sometime siue, which gouerned the body of the Citie; a man of great power, called **HANNIBAL**, was aduanced to that dignity; who incensed the people against the Pope, he being absent, and the Pope coming to *Rome* at that time, many matters ensued; and in the end, this **HANNIBAL** was deprived of his office, and one **IOHN DE POLI**, a sedicious fellow also, succeeded him, who put the Citie in armes against the Pope, and against such townes as held for him, and open warre began betweene them, yet the Pope by all meanes that could be imagined sought peace. The Emperour **FREDERICK** being in *Pulia*, was aduertised hereof; offered to come to his ayde, and came to speake with him (and as saith **BLONDVS**) gaue him for a pledge of his friendship a Bastard Sonne which he had, whose name was **HENRY**, whom he had made King of *Sardinia*, the Germanes call him **ENCIVS**, and so doe some authors call him; but the Emperour performed not what he had offered; for within few dayes after he departed for *Germany*: the Pope remaining in the chiefeft of his troubles with the Romanes; wherewith he was extremely discontent, but yet not so as to breake the peace betweene them. And before the Emperours departure, the Pope with his money drew the Germane Souldiers to his seruice, and with them recovered certaine townes which rebelled; and his armie ouerthrowing the Roman armie, he compelled them to be quiet; yet for that time he could not safely come into *Rome*. And the peace betweene the Pope and the Emperour lasted about cyght yeeres, although there were but little good will betweene them. The Emperour being come into *Germany*, from whence he had been absent a good space, wherein his eldest Sonne was resident for his Father, and had taken greater authoritie vpon him ouer the cuntry than his Father would he should haue done: there grew some suspitions and icalousies be-

tweene his father and him, and many Princes held with the Sonne, against the Father: vpon this occasion, many meetings and Councils were held; but in the end, FREDERICK constrained his Sonne to leaue the countrey, and to goe as his Fathers Lieutenant and Viceroy, into *Sicilia* and those Countreies. After this, the Emperour being a widower, married with the King of *Englands* sister. In this journey, the Emperour bestowed vpon FREDERICK, Sonne of LEOPOLD Duke of *Austrich*, the title of King, and that his eldest Sonne and his posteritie should so be called: but his successors haue not enioyed this priuilege, the cause whereof I thinke to be, for that this Duke FREDERICK dyed without issue that might succcede him; and there was great strife for his estate; but in the end, RODOLPH Earle of *Habsburg* had it, who was afterwards Emperour, and gaue the estate of *Austrich* to his eldest sonne ALBERT, as when the time commeth shall be declared. This being past, the Emperour made no long abroad in *Germany*, but so soone as he could, leuyed an army and went into *Italy*: for many cities in *Lombardy* rebelled, and some men in them waxing mightie, tyrannized the same, and many of them retained the old league and contederacie, which they held in the time of FREDERICK the first; as *Milan*, *Brescia*, *Mantua*, *Bologna*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Padua*, *Triuigi*, and many others, which being assisted by the Venecians held against the Emperour; and for the Emperours good, *Cremona*, *Bergamo*, *Parma*, *Modena*, and *Rezzo*, these remained freinds, and bound the one to the other. The Emperour being come neere to *Verona*, after some skirmishes, the towne was driuen to yeelde, through the policie and power of one ENCELINVS, called by his surname ROMANVS; who was the mightiest man in all those partes, and by discent a Duch man, nephew to another of the same name, which came into those parts in the time of OTTO the third. From *Verona*, the Emperour went into the territorie of *Mantua*, wherein he tooke and sacked two strong townes, the one of which was called *Marcaria*, and the other *Claro*. From thence he went to *Cremona*, where he was ioyfully receiued, & made his aboad there the space of nine monethes: at the end of which time, spreading a rumour that he would goe to besiege *Mantua*; he hastily returned, and came before *Vicenza*, which he besieged; and the inhabitants being taken vnawares and vnprouided, offered to yeelde vpon composition; and the Emperour gaue eare to their parle, giuing them good words; but vpon a sudden, he commaunded the citie to be assaulted; and entring it perforce, set it on fire, and did much harme therein. And passing forwards spoiling the fields and marches of *Padoa*, thinking to haue taken *Triuigi*, he besieged it, and put it to such distresse, that if from *Padoa* had not come reliefe, he had entred, and destroyed it. And as he lay before *Triuigi*, he had certaine intelligence, that his sonne HENRY, King of the Romans, whom (for that in *Germany* he practized against him) he had made gouernour of *Sicilia*, was confederate with the citie of *Milan*, and the rest of that faction; and that some Princes of *Germany* were of that league also, and that they assembled their forces, to the end to succour those cities: the Emperour stood in such feare of this practise, that he determined for his refuge to flie to pope GREGORY; (notwithstanding that he knew him to be displeased, for abandoning him, when he had warre with his citizens of *Rome*) and by letters and Ambassadors complayned to the pope of the perfidie and disloyalty of his sonne, humbly entreating him, to graunt his letters against him, as against one that was disloyall, and disobedient to his Father: and the pope knowing that it was true, did so, thinking it a iust request; or else for feare of the Emperours power. And wrote his

The Emperour  
Fredericks  
sonne Henry  
conspired a-  
gainst his Fa-  
ther.

his letters to the Princes of *Germany*, commaunding the vpon paine of excommunication, not to ioyne with HENRY King of the Romanes, against his father the Emperour; neither to obey his commandements. The popes command was of such authoritie, that none stirred to come into *Italy*, accordinglie as they had promised; & the Emperour vsed such meanes, that he apprehended his sonne, and sent him prisoner to a Castle in *Pulia*, where he afterwards dyed: some men thought him to be poysoned by his Fathers commandement: and he inioyned the Dukes of *Bohemia*, and of *Bauiere*, to make warre vpon FREDERICK Duke of *Austrich*, (whom he had made a King) for hauing conspired with his sonne against him. The Emperour committed his sonne to prison where he dyed.  
Within few moneths after that HENRY King of the Romans was taken; his Father the Emperour leauing the affaires of *Lombardy*, in the best order that hee could (notwithstanding that *Milan* and other cities still continued disobedient) doubting of the estate of *Germany*, went thither; and making war in the countrey of *Austrich*, tooke the citie of *Vienna*, and many other townes; so as taming and well punishing the Duke of *Austrich*, he was much feared, and generally obeyed. And knowing that his sonne HENRY was dead, (who left a lawfull sonne called CONRADIN, of whom hereafter much mention shall be made) he vsed the meanes to assemble the Princes electors; and that they should chuse his sonne CONRADIN (whom he had by his second wife IOLAS, and whom he had already made Duke of *Suenia*) for King of the Romanes, and notwithstanding that the electors did it in his absence, yet for the better assurance of what was done, he and his sonne called a Councell in the citie of *Ratisbone*, where what was already done was approved, and CONRADIN was againe chosen and crowned King of the Romanes; from whence they both sent their ambassadours to the pope, for a confirmation of the title to the kingdome of *Ierusalem*, which his father in law IOHN DE BREIGNA had resigned vnto him. The pope graunted his request, for the Emperour was of great power, and it was said that he would againe come into *Italy*, which put him in feare, notwithstanding that the speech went, that he came but against *Milan* & the other cities of that parciality; with which he was much displeased, and had determined to bring them to subiection: and the cities alleaged that they were content to serue him, according to the agreement made with the Emperour FREDERICK the first, called the peace of *CONSTANCE*, as we haue declared in his historie; wherewith he held himselfe not satisfied, and so raising a very great power came againe into *Italy*, leauing his sonne CONRADIN, King of the Romanes, in his place in *Germany*.

The Emperour comming into *Italy*, tooke his way directly towards *Padoa*, and the Padoans being induced thereto by ENCELINVS (who bare a great sway in *Lombardy*, receiued him into their citie; assuring themselves, that the libertie and priuilege which the Emperour FREDERICK the first had giuen them, should haue been maintained: but this FREDERICK was of another mind, for when he was within the citie, he prescribed them such lawes and ordinances as pleased him, as to his vassals and subiects. Pope GREGORY hauing intelligence of the Emperours comming into *Italy*, sent a messenger to meete him, called GREGORY DE MONTE LONGO, by whom he both desiring and requiring him, (in requitall of the benefits which he had receiued of his Church, as well in the peace and absolution graunted him, when he came from *Ierusalem*; as in the fauour which he had shewed him against his sonne; and in dispensing with his marriage in *England*) that his now comming might be for the good, and the peace of the countrey: and that he would maintaine that peace and agreement which was

The Emperour  
committed his  
sonne to prison  
where he dyed.

Vienna in Au-  
strich taken by  
the Emperour.

Isabel daugh-  
ter of Iohn King  
of England,  
married to the  
Emperour Fre-  
derick the se-  
cond, dyed in  
childbed.

granted by his Grandfather, to *Milan*, and to the other cities, and which was confirmed by the authority of the Church. And after this he sent three Cardinals with the same Message; but to neither of them he gave any good answer; so as they perceived by him, that he was scarce friend to the pope: and they all feared that he came no less against him, then against *Milan*; so as without any conclusion, they returned to *Viterbo*, where the pope then lay: and the Emperour leaving *Padoa* garrisoned, marching thorough *Lombardy*, tooke his way towards the citie of *Brescia*, which was of the league; & besieged a towne called *Claramont*, and taking it by assault, (the more to terrifie the Brescians, and to make them to yeeld) he destroyed and burned the same. But the Brescians for all this dismayed not, but shewed rather a greater obstinacie: and **FREDERICK** at that time besieged not their citie, but marched towards *Milan*, the capitaine and head of all the rebels: and the Milanois (with the help of the Venecians, and of others cities their friends) had an army in a readines; whereof, **PETER TREVPOLO** the Duke of *Venice* his sonne, was Generall; together with **CHARROCHIO** a principall citizen of *Milan*, and other principal men of other cities: all which with great courage (for that not long before they had overthrowen his Grandfather **FREDERICK**) stayed to fight with him in the field; and met with him, neere to a place called *Crotoma*, and he came with as great a desire to fight with them; so as they fought a very cruell battaile, the armyes being in number and in force (in a manner) equall: but after they had fought many houres, the Milanois began to shrink, and the victorie shewed it selfe on the Emperours side; and **PETER TREVPOLO** their Generall, and other captaines were taken prisoners; all which the Emperour commanded to be put to shameful death. After this victory he came to *Cremona*, to refresh and to reinforce his army, of what he had lost in the battaile, where some cities which had rebelled, compounded, and yielded their obedience.

The Pope being aduertised of the calamitie of the Milanois, and of those of the league (whose cause he seemed to allow and defend) fearing the Emperours greatnes (whom he knew to hate him) made a league with the Venecians (which he knew to be much grieved for the pitifull death of their Dukes sonne) and determined to succour *Milan*, and their confederats. And the better to bring this to passe, he made a kind of peace and truce for tenne yeeres, betweene the cities of *Venice* and *Genoa*, which at that time were at warres: and used such meanes, that he himselfe was received into *Rome*, hauing euery since the last troubles liued out of it. And being in *Rome*, he sent abroad his Bulls against the Emperour, which he published to all Christendome: and excommunicated both him, and all such as tooke his part, who then from *Cremona* (where he had refreshed his army after the battaile) came to *Paui*, leaving *Milan*, to make warre vpon the Venecians. And there he was aduertised of the Popes fulminations, and of the great preparation made by the Venecians against him, both by sea and land. Vpon this he raised new forces, and so with a great victorious army (wherein many Moores of *Africa* (which they called Sarazins) serued him on horsebacke) he tooke the field, and ouerran the lands of the Venecians, wasting and spoiling the same; and encamping himselfe by the waters side in sight of *Venice*, the Venecians sailed forth with a great number of Archers and others, in barks and boates, therewith to annoy his campe, so much as they could from the water. The Emperour seeing how little he profited by lying there, returned to *Padoa*, leaving **ENCLINVS** to warre against *Triuigi* and the countie there about, and with him carried some principal men of *Verona* and *Padoa*, for hostages, spreading a report, that he went to besiege

*Mantua*,

*Mantua*, and passing by it, hee went to *Parma*, and from thence to *Luca*, and from *Luca* to *Pisa*, with a determination not to stay, vntill he came to *Rome*. At this time **GREGORY DE MONTE LONGO** (who was the Popes Legate in *Milan*) came to *Bohemia*, and from thence tooke the field, with the troupes which came to him from *Milan*, and other parts; and ioyning with the Venecians, and others of the league (first taking *Ferrara* by force of armes) euery where began a most cruell warre; which was the greatest, that of long time either before, or after, had bin seene in *Italy*: some holding for the Pope, others for the Emperour. This warre was so great, and so many and so great accidents happened therein, that if I should relate what I finde written, I should neede to spend great part of this volume onely therein: wherefore I will write but onely the summe thereof.

First the Emperour being in *Pisa*, with a determination to besiege and to batter *Rome*; the great plague, of the parcialities and factions in *Italy*, began (which fired and destroyed the same, and continued a long time therein) betweene the Guelphes and the Gebelins: the Guelphs holding for the Pope, and the Gebelins for the Emperour: the originall of which, the authors write confusedly, that I will not enter into disputation concerning the same. Let their roote and beginning be what it will: I thinke it was the inuention of some most peruerse diuels, as it should seeme by the sequell: for within short space, these factions extended themselues so farre ouer all *Italy*, that no place was free from this infection (*Venice* except) wherein this pestilence tooke no hold: all the rest was diuided into these two names and factions, without any other foundation of loue or hatred, but only for the names sake: and there daily ensued scandales and slaughters; and in families and linages it often happened that the father was against his sonnes, and brothers were against brothers; which fighting, killed one another, ransacking townes, burning and ruinating houses, in worse sort then if they had been traitors, or Infidels, with so great rancour and hatred, as the like thereof before that time had neuer been seene nor heard of. And truly it was a wonderfull matter to be considered of: these two factions were so dissonant, and with such enuie were different and contrarie the one to the other, that they could not in anything endure any conformitie or resemblance: for they differed in their ensignes, in their colours, in the fashion of their apparell, in attiring themselues, in their disports, in their feasts, yea, euery vnto their very manner of going, speaking, feeding, riding, and in all things that mans wit could imagine. The Emperour and his adherents were called Gebelins; and he proclaimed that all such as tooke part with him should be so called, which was perfourmed throughout all *Italy*: and all the Guelphes held with the Pope. With this name the Emperour departed from *Pisa* towards *Rome*; wherein the fire of these factions was already kindled, and the greatest part of the people were Gebelins, which were ready to haue set vpon the Guelphes, and to haue robbed and killed them, without any redemption. The Pope seeing himselfe in so great daunger, tooke the heads of **S. PETER** and **S. PAUL** (as they say) and made a solemne procession, and therewith a long oration to the people; shewing them how vaine a thing it was for men to kill one another, for that they had onely taken contrarie names; and dissuading them from their determination, perswaded them to defend his Church and their countie against his enemy **FREDERICK**, who was comming thitherwards: and of his bountifull liberalitie he gaue to all such as in his quarrell would take armes, and would beare the signe of the Crosse, plenarie Indulgence, and absolution. The people were herewith so much perswaded, that when the Emperour with

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his

A battaile betweene the Emperour and the Milanois.

The originall of the Guelphes and the Gebelins in Italy.

The factions of the Guelphes and Gebelins betweene the Emperour Frederick the second and Pope Gregory the ninth.

his armie came before *Rome*, presupposing that the greatest part of the citizens had been Gebelins, he to the contrarie found them all markt with the signe of the crosse, in armes against him: and comming with his people to the gates of the citie, some companies sallied to skirmish with him; and so some were slaine of either side, which made him to vse extraordinarie crueltie; for all those of the citie which were taken with the signe of the crosse, he made to be slaine: some of which had their heads clouen a crosse; and of some others hee made crosses in their foreheads with hot irons: and priests hee made to be crossed vpon their crownes: and after three daies (despairing to take *Rome* by force, spoyling the countrie round about it) hee went into *Campania*, and gaue a sudden turne and came to *Beneuent*, which he tooke and sacked, and commaunded the same to be dismantelled and defaced: and so marched through many parts of *Italy*, warring vpon the popes townes, and such as tooke his part; wherein he tooke *Rauenna*, and besieged *Fauencia*. And in *Sicilia* he confiscated the goods of many ecclesiasticall persons, and apprehended and put some Bishops to death: others he banished out of that countrie; and he particularly caused all places, which appertained to the order of the Knights Templars, to be sacked and spoyled; vsing herein the seruice of his horsemen, which were Moores of *Africa*, which serued him in that warre, to which he gaue many preheminences and double paies; and the citie of *Nuceria* in *Pulia* to inhabite, which they possessed many yeeres after. Pope GREGORY seeing himselfe so driuen to his shifts, sent his Legates to the kings of *France*, *England* and *Spaine*, bewailing his miserie, and complaining of the Emperour, implored succour, aide, and counsell: whereto they gaue him gentle answeres; and by their consent he called a generall Councell, for the reformation and conseruation of his estate, pretending reliefe, and a conquest to be made of the Holy land, which was now in greater distresse then euer before. The Emperour hauing intelligence that a generall Councell was summoned, and imagining that the chiefe intent thereof was against himselfe; resolved therefore by all meanes possible to let it, by stopping the passages, and apprehending such as went to it; and sent his sonne ENCIUS (king of *Sardinia*) to *Pisa* (which then was of great power by sea) where hee armed a great number of ships and galleys, to the end to stay the comming of the Cardinals, the Popes Legates; which with many prelates of *Spaine* and *France* came to the Councell: and they being vpon the sea, betwene *Corfica* and *Pisa*, within sight the one of the other, the Legates would haue fled, and so auoided the fight: But the Admirall who was a Genoais, would not alter his course, so as they fought a most cruell battaile, which lasted the greatest part of the day: but in the end, the king of *Sardinia* had the victorie, and the Cardinals and Legates being taken prisoners, were carried into *Pulia*. The French Bishops and Abbots which were taken, the Emperour set at libertie, at the request of the French king; the rest lay long in prison: so as the Councell could not be held, nor begun, as the pope would haue had it; wherewith he was so much despised, that with very rage and anger he fell sicke and died; hauing been pope about fourteene yeeres, whereof the most part was in trouble and contention. He died in the yeere of our Lord 1241. This Pope in his lifetime, first canonized S. FRANCIS and S. DOMINICK for Saints: and afterwards S. ANTHONY, called S. ANTHONY of *Padoa*, although a Portingall, and borne in the citie of *Lisbon*. He compiled also the booke of the Decretals, and instituted the singing of *Salve Regina*, at certaine times and houres, with the ringing of the Sacring bell: and that our Ladie should bee praied vnto in the night, with *Aue Maria*, which should agree with

Pope Gregory  
the ninth died  
for anger.  
Anno Dom.  
1241.

with the ringing of the bell, and did many other things like a Pope.

Pope GREGORY being dead, by the generall consent of all the Cardinals which were in *Rome*, GVANFREDE DE CASTILION, a Milanois borne, was chosen Pope, and called CELESTINE the fourth; who presently sought to be at peace with the Emperour, and to that effect sent his Legates to his campe to him, he then lying before *Fauencia*: but this Pope could not tarry for an answer, for he died the eighteenth day after his election. CELESTINE being dead, the Cardinals could not agree about chusing him a successor: some say, that for feare of the Emperours threatnings, they durst not chuse whom they would haue chosen: PLATINAT saith, that the Cardinals of *Rome* determined to chuse no Pope at all, vntill that the Emperour released those which he held prisoners: BLONDVS following his author (who as he said was an eye witness) affirmeth the cause to be, for that the Cardinals which were prisoners, sent to require, and therewith protested, that no Pope should be chosen without their voyces. So as vpon some of these occasions, or for all together, for the space of twentie moneths *Rome* was without a Pope. And in all this time the Emperour would not release those Cardinals which were his prisoners, neither would those of *Rome* chuse a Pope. In which time the Emperour tooke the citie of *Fauencia* (which held out against him, about one yeere) and came before *Bolonia*; and seeing that he could not take it, he spoiled the countrie; and passed the Vniuersitie from thence to *Padoa*; and afterwards went to *Modena*, and to *Rezzo*, which also stood vpon their guard; and tooke townes appertaining to the Church of *Rome*: so as there were great warres in all parts of *Italy*, which cost many men there liues.

At the same time, that the Emperour thus warred in *Italy* against the faction of the Guelphes, the Tartarians inuaded *Hungary*: these Tartars are a barbarous nation in the North, which comming in time past out of *Scythia asiatica* (as some say, and VALATERRANES saith, out of *Taurica Cheronesus* in Europe) about the yeere of our Lord 1202 warred in *Asia*, and subdued some prouinces therein, vnder the leading of their King and Captaine, called CANGVISTA; and they afterwards so much encreased in the beginning of the Emperour FREDERICKS raigne, about the yeere 1222, that they conquered *Georgiana*, *Armenia* the lesse, and other prouinces in *Asia*; and suppressed the power and people of the Turkes: (which I for breuitie sake then passed ouer) and comming afterwards into Europe by the *Caspian* sea, crossing the mountaines *Riphei*, became masters of those countries, and made warres in *Russia*, and in *Polonia*, and subdued a great part of *Sarmacia*, which at this day is called after them *Tartaria*; and their King is called the great CAN: they receiued the sect of MAHOMET, through their first conuersing with the Turkes, and in such manner they warred, that they put the world in feare of them. And the Emperour now making warre in *Italy* against the Guelphes, the Tartars vnder the leading of their king, called BATVS, came into *Hungary*, and warred therein three yeeres, and did much harme; VBLA the fourth being then king thereof; at the end of which time they returned to the countries, which they before had gotten: and so *Hungary*, a prouince of the empire, endured as great miserie as *Italy*.

And it so happened that the Emperour of *Constantinople* liued not in peace in those daies, for IOHN DE BREGNAKING of *Ierusalem* (who was gouernour of the Greeke empire, with yong BALDVIN which married his daughter) being dead, the empire remained in BALDVIN, against whom IOHN LASCARVS (nephew to the other of that name, who was called Emperour in *Adrianople*) raised such

power,

The originall  
and successer of  
the Tartarians.

Anno Dom.  
1202.

Anno Dom.  
1222.

*Hungary* inuaded  
by the Tartarians.

power, and found so many friends, that he tooke *Smirnia*, and *Satilia*, with other cities, townes and Ilands: so as the Emperor BALDVIN, accompanied with the Earle of *Toloufa* (which had been with him in all his warres and troubles) came into *Italy*, to sue for aide and reliefe against his enemies: and finding it in such estate as you haue heard (imagining that in time of such confusion he should not get any) he sought meanes to haue a Pope chosen, and so came directly to the Emperour; who hauing then taken the citie of *Parma*, and driuen the Guelphes out of it, went thence to *Placencia*. And BALDVIN comming thither, and being well receiued and entertained, vsed such meanes to the Emperour FREDERICK, that at his request all the Cardinals were released and set at libertie, which he had long detained prisoners in *Melphi*: and the Emperour of *Constantinople* with the good leaue of the Emperour FREDERICK, went to *Palagna*, where the Cardinals were, to treat with them concerning the election of such a new Pope, as might be acceptable to the Emperour FREDERICK, to the end that peace might be maintained betweene them. And he was with great ioy honourably receiued, in Iune, in the yeer 1244, and they presently conferred about the election of a pope, and one SINO BALDVS Cardinall of S. LAVRENCE borne in *Genoa*, was chosen, and called INNOCENT the fourth; who was the Emperours greatest friend of al the Cardinals: which when the Emperours friends and seruants vnderstood, with all possible speede they gaue him to vnderstand thereof: when the newes was brought vnto him in the citie of *Parma*, it is reported that he presently said, (prefaging what would follow) I haue exchanged my best friend, being a Cardinall, for my greatest enemy, being Pope. After the election, the new Pope, the Emperour of *Constantinople*, and all the Cardinals came together to *Rome*, where they consulted of a peace to be concluded with the Emperour FREDERICK, and Ambassadours were sent from the one to the other: but the Emperour in the time that the Papacie was void, was growne so great and so mighty a Lord in *Italy*, that he would not accept such conditions as were proponed: and so gaue equiuocall and incertaine answeres, such as they knew not how to resolute vpon. And foure moneths being spent in this parle, the Pope was certified that the Emperour had secret conference and intelligence with sundrie in *Rome* against him: the effect whereof was, that in a place called *Castello amar*, whither it was agreed that the Pope should come, to yeeld his resolution concerning the peace, and there expecting the Emperours comming should be apprehended. This being discovered, and the Pope seeing how small power he had in *Italy*, speedily went to *Hofia*, and there embarking himselfe in certaine galleys of *Genoa*, which hee had secretly caused to be brought thither for that purpose, went to *Genoa*, where he fell sicke, and recovering health he there againe shipped himselfe, and went into *France*; and arriuing at *Aigues mortes*, and comming vp the riuer *Rhodanus*, the French king receiued and entertained him with great solemnitie: and then he went to the citie of *Lions*, where he complained of the Emperour, and within some few daies after, proclaimed through all Christendome, a Councell to be held at *Lions* in *France*, in the beginning of the yeere 1246, whither hee cited the Emperour to come and to make his personal appearance; and in many his sermons and orations which he made to the people, he with a lowd voyce summoned him to appeare: and so prelates from all parts of Christendome repairing thither, the Councell began; and the Emperour sent his Ambassadours to make his excuse; and otherwise made many large offers. But the Pope would accept neither his offers nor excuses; but published, that if within a certaine time limited

he

Anno Dom.  
1244.

Pope Innocent  
went into  
France, where  
he excommu-  
nicated the  
Emperour, and  
released his  
subiects from  
their allea-  
geance.  
Anno Dom.  
1246.

he appeared not, he would then pronounce sentence against him; as is contained in the chapter, *Ad apostolicam sedem, de re iudicata, libro sexto*, wherein he condemned him in the losse and deprivation of the empire, and of all the other kingdoms and dominions which he possessed; and presently proclaimed the same through all Christendome: and commanded the princes electors with all speede to chuse a new Emperour, releasing them from all alleageance and orthes made to the Emperour FREDERICK whatsoeuer. At this time BALDVIN Emperour of *Constantinople*, vnderstanding that his enemy ROBERT LASCARVS was dead, returned, and had such successe as you shall heare.

So great account was made of the Popes sentence pronounced against the Emperour in *Germany* (it being approued by the Councell) that the Electors began to treat of the chusing of a new Emperour: and notwithstanding that his sonne CONRADE King of the Romanes, was therewith much grieved, and by all meanes sought to haue letted the same; yet they met at *Hiperboli*, and chose HENRY Lantzgrau of *Turinge*, Emperour: and he according to the accustomed manner went to *Aken*, where he was crowned: whereupon presently betweene him, and CONRADE the Emperours sonne, began a cruell warre; the end and successe whereof we will recount hereafter, when we haue related what FREDERICK did when he vnderstood that hee was depriued. It was so that so soone as he knew it, he in extreme choler made the houses of the Popes friends and kinsmen in *Parma* to be throwne downe, and their goods to be spoiled: and wrote his letters into *Germany*, excusing and iustifying his proceedings, and to animate his sonne. But imagining his estate to be in great hazard, he relolued to goe in person to the Councell at *Lions* in *France*; and so that effect he first made a league of friendship with the Duke of *Burgondy*; and had a safe conduct & assurance from the French King, for his going, aboad, and returne. And leauing his sonne ENCIVS (King of *Sardinia*) in *Parma*, he commaunded him not to sally out of that citie, for that hee held the same and the marches thereof, to be of great importance: and so being accompanied with men of both peace and war, he tooke his way towards *France*; and hauing trauiled so farre as betweene *Turin* and *Lions*, messengers ouertooke him, which gaue him to vnderstand, that *Parma* (whereof he made so great account) was lost, through his sonnes oversight: for he through a greedie desire to haue taken *Brescia*, which was of the contrary faction, by the aduice and procurement of those of *Cremona*, went from *Parma* with part of the garrison which lay therein; and in the meane time that he was about this exploit, the Popes friends and kindred, which liued in *Placencia*, hauing intelligence with some which were within *Parma*, came thither, & by surprise took it, although not without shedding much blood. These ill newes touched the Emperour FREDERICK to the quick, and he fearing on the one side, his vn safe going into *France*, and on the other side, that other cities in *Italy* following the example of *Parma* (he being absent in a strange countrie) would also rebell, resolued therefore in great furie to returne: and raised forces in *Sicilia* and *Naples*: and from *Triuigi* came his great friend ENCIVS with a great troupe of men of warre; all which hee sent against *Parma*, whither he himselfe marched with a full resolution to haue destroyed the same, and to haue laid it waste, and vsed some speeches to the same effect: but he failed of his expectation; for GREGORY DE MONTE LONGO, who from the time of GREGORY the ninth had been the Popes Legate in *Milan*, and in the other cities of that faction in *Lombardy*, getting souldiers from *Milan*, and other cities of the league, put himself with them into *Parma*: and furnished and provided it with

all

all things requisite to endure a siege. It was not long before that the Emperour came before it with his army (wherein were three score thousand men) and besieged it, with a full resolution not to rise from before it, vntill that he had taken the citie; and so he began to assault it on euery side. But the besieged defended themselves so wel, that they daily sallied out and skirmished with their enemies, in such manner that it behoued the Emperour to withdraw his campe a little further from the citie; and the warre continuing, he compassed the citie round about with a wall: and as he purposed wholly to haue ruined *Parma*, so he caused a new citie to be builded in the same place where his armie lay; which he presently enuironed with walles, and made market places, Churches, and houses in it; and appointed lands for those of *Parma*, which would come thither to inhabit: so as within short space the citie was builded, and peopled, and hee named it *Victoria*. And as the Emperour had lien about two yeeres before *Parma*, and the newes of this new citie, and the distribution made by him was bruted abroad, many came thither from all parts to dwell; in so much that *PLATINA* affirmeth, that therein were as many faire gardens, and orchards, with birds and beasts in them, and so great concourse of men and women, as in any the most peopled ancient cities of *Italy*.

While the Emperour lay before *Parma*, his sonne *CONRADE* and the Lantzgrau *HENRY*, made as cruell warres as euer were seene; which Lantzgrau through *FREDERICKS* depriuing, was chosen and called Emperour: and he raising the greatest power that hee could (therewith to make himselfe Lord of the empire) met with the Emperours sonne *CONRADE*, neere to *Frankford*, who had as great armie as was his; and there they two fought (as some authors write) one of the most cruell battailes that of long time had been seene in the world; wherein *CONRADE* being ouerthrowne, fled into *Sueuia*; and *HENRY* remaining master of the field was held for Emperour. And forasmuch as he vnderstood, that the Emperours sonne *CONRADE* leuied new forces, and gathered head in *Sueuia*, he went thither with his armie, and besieged and tooke some cities therein; and continuing his course of victorie, laid siege to the citie of *Vlme*; and holding it very hardly besieged, at a time when he thought that nothing could haue offended him, or defended it selfe against him; an arrow shot at random out of the citie, (which was thought to be poysoned) hit, and so wounded the new Emperour *HENRY*, that within few daies after hee died thereof, within one yeere after his election: and the princes and men of warre which were with him disperfed themselves, so that it presently appeared, that the partie of the Emperour *FREDERICK* and his sonne *CONRADE* would againe preuaile. But yet the electors of the empire, within few moneths after (by the procurement of the Cardinall of Saint *GEORGE*, called *PETER* Image of gold, whom the Pope (being aduertised of the death of *HENRY*) sent from *Lions* in *France* thither, without that the Emperours sonne *CONRADE* was any way able to stay or hinder the same) met at *Waringen*, and chose *WILLIAM* Earle of *Holland* for Emperour: who, accompanied with the electors, and other princes and prelates, went to *Frankford*, and therein was crowned. And forasmuch as he vnderstood that *CONRADE* leuied a power against him, he called a Councell in the citie of *Vtrecht*; whither came the Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Treuer*, and *Colen*, and other prelates: and *LEVIAS* Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, with many other Earles and Proctors, from more then twentie severall Imperiall cities in *Germany*, and from some princes also; where they handled some matters concerning his confirmation in the empire. But *CONRADE* raising

raising a great power in *Sueuia*, and in other parts, began to warre against *WILLIAM*, and *WILLIAM* leuied an army to doe the like by him; in which warre we will leaue them for this time: to speake of the Emperour, and of what successe he had in *Italy*; and then afterwards when time shall serue, wee will againe returne to this matter.

Two yeeres were now expired since that the Emperour *FREDERICK* came to lie in his new citie *Victoria*, before *Parma*; daily expecting when it would haue yielded, (for the besieged endured extreame famine) by reason whereof there was not so good watch and ward held in the campe as there was wont to be. And *GREGORY DE MONTE LONGO* the popes Legate, who had the commaund of the citie, as he had valiantly defended it, so he neuer let slip any oportunitie to doe any notable seruice; and perceiuing, and being also aduertised what manner guard was held in the new city (without attending any other forces to ioine with him) he resolved to sally, and to attempt it: and laid such a plot, that he performed one of the most strange exploits that hath bin seene or heard of; which was in this manner. Certaine companies of Moores and Germanes comming from the campe, drew neere to the citie, expecting that some would come forth to skirmish with them, as at other times they vsed to do: the Legate perceiuing this, and thinking it now a fit time to put in execution what he before had proiected, with all possible speede made all his troupes to be armed, and setting them in order, when the skirmish in the field was most hot, he commaunded the ports to be opened, and falling suddenly, charged with such resolution, that without any great difficulty he ouerthrew those troupes, so that they turned their backs and fled; and he pursuing them came to the new citie (wherein was the Emperour *FREDERICK* in his pallace disarmed, suspecting no such matter, and so was the greatest part of his army) and charging with such fury, that the Guard could not withstand them, entred the citie, putting to the sword so many as they found to beare armes against them: and so the bickering began on euery side. But as the attempt was suddaine and v unexpected, so great a feare surprised them, that without making any great resistance they all fled: and the Emperour, knowing no better course to be taken, tooke horse and so escaped, with such as could keepe with him: and all those which remained, were either slaine or taken: and the Legate and his people had one of the richest praies and booties that had been seene, as well of such things as were the Emperours and of the army, as of the inhabitants of the citie; which they presently destroyed, and made leuell with the earth: executing as much therein, as the Emperour thought to haue done in *Parma*: and here was slaine *JOHN TURRIO* one of the heads of the factions in *Milan*, who kept with the Emperour: and with the Legate, was *MATHEV VISCONTI*, who was the other; for these two Viscounts, and Turrians, were the two factions then in the citie of *Milan*. So soone as the fame of the taking of *Victoria* was spred ouer *Italy*, those which held for the pope were greatly encouraged. The Emperour in his flight staid not in any place, vntill he came to *Cremona*, but he trusted them not so well as to come into their citie, notwithstanding that they earnestly entreated him: but raising men from all parts (besides that many of the Gibelins came voluntarily to serue him) within a small time, as a valiant man, and as though he had had a great army, he came to *Placencia*, but besieged it not, onely spoiling the countrey about it: And leauing his sonne *ENCIV*: King of *Sardinia*, for his Lieutenant in those townes which held for him; he went into *Tuscane*, in hope to haue taken *Florence*, which in that quarter was against

The citie of  
*Victoria* taken  
and destroyed  
by the *Parma-  
jans*.

gainst him. But as his faction was now but little regarded, or feared; so the Florentines would not receiue him, but agreed with him to put all the Guelphes, which were his enemies, out of the towne, wherewith he was content; and staying in the countrey neere *Florence*, in hope to haue leuiued some new troupes, and so to haue recouered the honour, which he lost; newes came how that his sonne ENCIUS, with the greatest power that he could leuy, thinking to haue done some notable peece of seruice, went towards *Bologna*; and the Bolognois, being aduertised thereof, with the aide of their friends, sallied forth to meete, and to fight with him; and ouerthrowing him, had taken him prisoner. Which when the Emperour vnderstood, he was extreemely grieved and offended; and seeing that in *Lombardy* his enemies were too hard for him, and that out of *Germany* he was out of hope that any succour could come; for that therein his sonne CONRAD made warre against WILLIAM Earle of *Holland*, who was called Emperour, he therefore resolued to go into his kingdome of *Naples*, in hope there to reinforce his Army, and to take some other counsell. And comming into *Pulia* with greater wrath then honour, by reason of such aduentures as were befallne him; he made a bastard sonne of his, called MANFREDE, Prince of *Tarent*, and gaue him many places in subiection. And within few dayes after, he fell grievously sicke, and his disease held him long, whereof in the end he dyed: which the Historiographers recount after sundrie manners, so as it seemeth that the truth can hardly be known. Some say, that his disease killed him: others say, that beginning to recouer health, he was poisoned: others say, that his sonne MANFREDE practised his death, with desire to raigne; as it after appeared. But howsoeuer, he dyed at this time, which was in the year of our Lord 1250. in the fixe and thirtieth yeare after his election. In the time also there is euer some difference; for some authors reckon, but from the time of his coronation, and not before. He was when he dyed seuen and fifty yeares olde, and left behind him, three sonnes, two bastards, and one legitimate: his eldest sonne CONRAD he had by IOLES, daughter to the King of *Ierusalem*, who in his fathers time was King of the Romanes, and inherited the kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, and the Duchy of *Suenia*. And his bastard sonne ENCIUS, whom he made King of *Sardinia*, liued, and died prisoner in the power of the Bolognois: whom they would neuer set at liberty for any ranfome. Some authors write, that he was prisoner there twenty and odde yeares, very well vsed, and dyed in *Bologna*, and there was buried: and MANFREDE, the afore named Prince of *Tarent*, he also had two daughters, ANNE, and CONSTANCE, which married with seueral Princes. This Prince was adorned with sundry vertues, and excellent graces: and so likewise infected with dangerous vices: but he was very valiant, and of a strong constitution, able to endure trauell, very wise, and expert in the warre, desirous of glory and fame, very liberall, and enclined to learning, and skilfull in the tongues, and could very well speake Greeke, Latine, Arabick, French, and Dutch: and delighted much in the reading of Arts and Histories. But these vertues were greatly obscured, through his vnmeasurable desire of honour and renowne, and the ambition and desire to commaund and to be Lord ouer all men, and through his cruelty vsed in many exploites in the warres, destroying and racing townes, and in shedding blood, for he was very vindicative and suddain: and aboue all was an enemy to the popes, and scorned their command. He was likewise noted of incontinencie, for besides that he had sundrie wiues, he kept many concubines, and accompanied other women; all which in Princes deserue greater reprehension; for in the

The death of  
the Emperour  
Frederick the  
second.  
Anno. Dom.  
1250.

the higher degree, the lesse liberty. What followed after his death you shall know in the next.

In *Constantinople* BALDVIN was Emperour, who had great warres with MICHAEL PALOLOVS, who was called Emperour and succeeded ROBERT LASCARVS, before mentioned, who left him tutor ouer his sonne JOHN; but he tooke the Empire to himselfe, murdering the pupill, and warred to make himselfe absolute Lord ouer all. In *France* at this time raigned King LEUVES, called a Saint, who vnderstanding that the Citie of *Ierusalem*, after that the Emperour FREDERICK had recouered it, was againe lost; and that the Christians in the rest of the Cities were greatly distressed, providing a great army and nauie, departed therewith in person, and sayled into *Egypt*, to warre vpon the Soldan; and taking land, besieged the Citie of *Damiata* afore named; and after some skirmishes and conflicts tooke the same, and performed other worthy aduentures, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, two hundereth fortie and nine. But prosecuting the warre, it pleased God that in a battaile he was afterwards ouerthrowne, and by the Soldan taken prisoner, with two of his brothers; and to recouer their liberty, he gaue vp the Citie of *Damiata*, and the rest of what he had gotten, and so returned to his Countrey, hauing effected as little as those which went before him. The Kings of *Spaine* with equall courage to any of the other Princes (but with better fortune) reconquered the Countries which the Infidels held in *Spaine*: at that time raigned King FERDINAND, who wan *Seuil* and *Cordona*, and many other Townes and Cities.

In maxima  
fortuna mini-  
ma licentia  
est.

Q99

THE



## THE LIFE OF CONRADE THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND CIL ROMANE EMPEROVR.

And of those which were called Emperours vntill  
that RODVLPHVS was Emperour.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**I**n Frederick being dead, the Empire being diuided betwene two Emperours, was infested many yeeres, each of them vsing all meanes to suppress the other. First Conrade determined to goe into Italy, to take possession of the kingdomes of Naples and Sicilia, and going with a mightie armie, he tooke those kingdomes by force of armes: after which conquest he died, and William remained sole Emperour, who desiring to goe into Italy to be crowned by the Pope, was letted through a tumult raised by the Frisons; and going against them with an armie, he was by them infortunatly slaine. The death of William was the occasion that the Empire was voided, and that the electors were diuided and could not agree, for almost each of them would haue an Emperour to his liking; whereof ensued great trouble and damage in Germany. In Italy also were great warres betwene Manfred and the Pope, king Charles and Conradin, whereof in the end king Charles had the victorie. And in Germany the electors being a long time at variance, in the end agreed to chuse Rodulph Earle of Habsburgh, when as for a long time they could neuer agree upon any other man.

**T**HE greatest part of the authors which wrote the liues of the Emperours, account all the time from the death of FREDERICK (whose life we haue now written) vntill that RODVLPH Earle of Habsburgh was chosen Emperour (which were three and twentie yeeres, beginning in the yeere

yeere 1250, (in which FREDERICK died) and ending in the yeere, one thousand, two hundred, seuentie and three, in which RODVLPH was chosen) for an interregnum, and vacation of the empire; accounting none of those for Emperours which in that time were chosen and so called, for that they were chosen in competencie one against another, and were not crowned by the Popes: which were WILLIAM, who was Emperour in the time of FREDERICK; and FREDERICKS sonne CONRADE, who was king of the Romanes; and RICHARD, brother to the king of England; and ALONSO king of Castile, whom the Spaniards call the Wise: all which were chosen in contention, and were competitors: wherein (in my opinion) they haue no reason, especially in that which concerneth WILLIAM; sith he before the death of FREDERICK, was in name and possession Emperour; and although that hee was not crowned by the Pope, yet his election was approued and confirmed by him: wherefore I (not to deprive any man of his title and dignitie howsoever it were, as also not to alter the course of our historie) haue determined to treat briefly of all, in such matters as concerne the empire, which is the subiect of all my trauaile. I will likewise in summe recount what passed in Italy, to the end that the historie following may be the better vnderstood. I say then, that the death of the Emperour FREDERICK was soone published euery where (as of Emperours and Kings is vsuall) and caused new accidents. In Germany his sonne CONRADE, which in his fathers life time was Duke of Suenia, and king of the Romanes, and his heire in the kingdome of Sicilia and Naples; and by his mother pretended title to the kingdome of Ierusalem, tooke vpon him as Emperour against WILLIAM Earle of Holland, who by the Popes commaundement was chosen against his father; and was in possession of the empire. And WILLIAM seeing that his competitor was dead, made account to haue defeated and supplanted CONRADE: whereunto hee was presently countenanced and encouraged by letters from Pope INNOCENT, who all this while was in France, and was supported by many princes of Germany; which for as much as CONRADE was excommunicate (as well as was his father FREDERICK) WILLIAM alleaged, that CONRADE had lost his right to the empire; and was deprived thereof by the Pope, as in deede by the Popes sentence he was. Neuerthelesse, CONRADE was stil called Emperour, and so the matter was diuided into two factions: yet WILLIAM was the mightier, for he commanded (in a manner) all the cities in Germany. In Sicilia and Naples, FREDERICKS bastard sonne MANFREDE, who (some say) drowned his father, had a conceit in time to make himselfe king of Naples and Sicilia, but sith he was a bastard, he knew that the lawful inheritance appertained to his brother CONRADE, which was in Germany, in whose name (as gouernour for him, and to his vse) hee possessed himselfe of those kingdomes, excepting Naples, Capua, and some other townes, which would not receiue him: whereupon he proclaimed them traytors and rebels, and began to warre against them. In other parts of Italy the warres ceased not, notwithstanding that the Emperour was dead: for malice and hatred had taken so deepe roote betwene the Guelphes and the Gibelins, that they were neuer without warres and troubles, murthering one another: and ENCLINVS (who as I said before was of great power in Lombardy, and a faithfull seruant to FREDERICK) took part with CONRADE, as with the Emperour, and so did some others: yet the contrarie part which held for the Pope was more mightie. CONRADE seeing the affaires of the empire to stand in this estate, and considering that it was doubtfull holding of Germany against WILLIAM; and that Naples and Sicilia was a good portion, and

came to him by inheritance from his father, raising the greatest power that hee could in *Suenia*, leauing garrisons therein, and in such other parts as he held of the empire; with the aide of the Duke of *Bauiere*, with whose sister he was married, came to take possession of those kingdomes, as most certaine and assured; and with a very good armie came to *Verona*, holding still the name of Emperour, where he was receiued, and afterwards (being assisted and guided by *ENCELINVS* Gouvernour of *Lombardy*) hee came to certaine Harbours vpon the coast of the Venecian sea, where he was shipped by the Venecians, and thence sailed into *Pulia* (for from thence there was no safe passage for him by land) and taking land with his people, hee was obeyed by his brother, and receiued into the townes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*. And notwithstanding that those of the cities of *Naples*, and of *Capua*, alleaged that in that they refused to be commaunded by *MANFREDE*, it was not in respect that they had any meaning to haue rebelled against him, but for that they vnderstood that *MANFREDE* meant to become a tyrant. But this notwithstanding *MANFREDE* carried the matter so cunningly, that his brother was perswaded to the contrarie, and therefore highly offended: by reason whereof, the Neapolitanes and Capuans durst not put themselves into his hands, but stood vpon their guard; and *CONRADE* with great furie held *Naples* besieged the space of eight moneths, in the end whereof he took the same through famine, and executed cruell punishment therein, and thence went to *Capua*, where he did the like, and in some other places which were of their confederacie: so as from thenceforth, whereoeuer he went, hee found no resistance, by neither cities, Princes, nor Lords. And those which he any thing suspected, he banished, and then began to war against the lands and friends of the Church of *Rome*. After this (two yeeres after his comming into *Italy*) he fell sicke and died; being poisoned in his medicines (as it was then thought) by the practise of his brother *MANFREDE*, who did it of purpose to haue been king. *NAUCLERVS*, and *HENRICVS* *MVCIVS*, write that the Emperour *CONRADE* before that he died went into *Germany*, leauing garrisons in *Sicilie*; for that he vnderstood that the Emperour *WILLIAM* made himselfe strong, and was possessed of the whole empire, by meanes of the Legates which the Pope sent thither for that purpose: and that *CONRADE* coming into *Germany*, ioyned with the Duke of *Bauiere*; and with an armie entred the iurisdiction of *Ratisbone*, and afterwards tooke the citie it selfe, wherein he did much harme; and that *WILLIAM* vnderstanding thereof, leuied such forces, that *CONRADE* durst not giue him battaile, and that he then abandoning *Germany*, went to *Naples*, where he died. Hereof the other authors make no mention, wherefore I am of opinion, that it was before *CONRADE* first comming to *Naples*, and that after his comming thither hee returned no more into *Germany*. But whither he returned into *Germany* or no (for it might be) hee died in the kingdom of *Naples*, and left his sonne *CONRADINE* (who was in *Suenia*, being very young, and whom he had by the Duke of *Bauiers* sister) for heire of his estate and kingdomes: wherein also is difference betweene the authors; for some say that he was his sonne (which is the most likely) and others say that he was his nephew, and sonne of his elder brother *HENRY*, who (as wee said) died in prison in the time of his father *FREDERICK*. His sonne *CONRADINE* remaining his heire, and not of age fit to gouerne his kingdomes, hee left vnder the tute and protection of his mother, and of certaine Duch princes. And *MANFREDE* (as some write) for certaine daies space concealed his brothets will, and although (that as yet) he durst not take vpon him as king, yet in his nephew *CONRADINE*

name,

The death of  
the Emperour  
Conrade the  
fourth.

name, hee sought by all meanes to possesse himselfe of the whole land.

So soone as the death of *CONRADE* was published in *Germany*, all those which had taken his part, sought to be friends with *WILLIAM*; who being freed from his competitor, friendly receiued them; and sought (by force or policie) to drawe them to him, to the end to haue made a generall peace. At this time Pope *INNOCENT* (who had made his aboade in *France*, for the space of nine yeeres) vnderstanding that *CONRADE* was dead, came presently into *Italy*: And *MANFREDE* (as he knew him to haue bin anemie to the Emperours *FREDERICK*, and *CONRADE*; and that hee alleaged, that their wils and Testaments were of none effect, seeing they were by him excommunicate and depriued; and that the kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples* belonged vnto the Church) fainedly tooke part with him in *Otranto*: purposing to exclude those which came to gouerne for the child *CONRADINE*, who remained in *Suenia*, and by fishing in troubled water, to get the kingdom for himselfe. The Pope being ioyfully receiued into the most cities in *Italy*, with the greatest power that he could make, took his way towards *Naples*, where he was receiued, and thither to him came *MANFREDE*, and some other Princes, & gouernors of cities, to yeeld their obedience, as feudatories to the Church of *Rome*: and he excluding *CONRADINE* tutors, thought within short time to be Lord of the greatest part of the rest. And as this was his drift, so after that the Pope had confirmed him in his estate, and had bestowed other fauours vpon him; he began to publish the discord openly, which he before had sown in secret, and to shew himselfe enemie to the Pope: but before that it tooke any effect, the Pope died in *Naples*, hauing bin so eleuen yeeres and halfe, in the yeere of our Lord 1254. This Pope gaue order that the Cardinals should ride on their foot-cloathes, and weare the red Hats and Robes, which they vse at this day; to the end that as they did excell other men in dignitie and preheminance, so they should goe different in apparel, and thereby be knowne from other men. Presently vpon the death of Pope *INNOCENT*, *MANFREDE* publishing that his nephew *CONRADINE* was dead, cladding himselfe in mourning attire, proclaimed himselfe King of *Naples* and *Sicilia*; and raising forces, drew the Africane Moores, which dwelt in *Nuceria*, to his seruice; and suddenly set vpon those places which held for the Pope: so as *ALEXANDER* succeeding *INNOCENT* the fourth, sent a Cardinall whose name was *OCTAVIUS* to *Naples*, against *MANFREDE*, who proceeded so farre as to excommunicate him, but *MANFREDE*, which now was called King of both the *Sicilies*, tooke such order with the Legate that he constrained him to shut vp himselfe in *Naples*; and so was he Master of the field, and not only in that prouince, but in all *Italy* sought to raise dissention and discord, shewing himselfe to be of the faction of the Gibelins, with whose aide he made himselfe mightie, and was principally assisted by the great tirant *ENCELINVS*. In *Florence*, in *Lombardy*, and in other parts, happened many great accidents, which I haue no time to relate, being to returne to my History of the liues of the Emperours: neuerthelesse it shall be expedient for me to declare what end *MANFREDE* and his nephew *CONRADINE* made; who was also called King of both the *Sicilies*; and at that time, by reason of his nonage, was in his mothers keeping in her estate of *Suenia*; which gaue oportunitie to *MANFREDE* to rise, as he did, with the kingdom. The Emperour *WILLIAM*, seeing in what estate *Italy* stood, & being now Lord of all *Germany* in peace, desiring to come into *Italy* to visit the lands of the empire, which had recouered libertie through the long absence of the Emperours; and likewise to be crowned by the hands of Pope *A-*

Pope Innocent  
returned out of  
France into  
Italy.

Anno Dom.  
1254.  
The institution  
of the Cardinals  
Hats and  
robes, by Pope  
Clement, and  
riding upon  
foote-cloathes.

Qq9 3

LEXANDER,

ALEXANDER, summoned a Council to be held in the citie of *Colen*, & having therein determined of his iournie, was aduertised that the prouince of *Friseland* was vp in armes, and rebelled against him; and that not content therewith, they had inuaded the prouince of *Holland*, wherein they had done great harme, by taking and carrying away whatsoeuer they found. And WILLIAM, to the end that the matter should proceede no further, resolved to goe in person to bring the Frisons to obedience, which were such men, and so many, that he otherwise knew not how to bridle them; and it seemed no sound course for him to goe into *Italy*, and to leaue *Germany* in an vprore. And so marching with his armie against the Frisons, which lay encamped not farre from him, as it was in the winter, and in that countrie are many Lakes and Morasses, which then were frozen, the Emperour with one or two with him, on horsebacke, went to view his enemies campe, or to view some ground where his own armie might lodge: and passing ouer a lake, his horse slipt, and fell with him, and the Ice breaking, his horse and himselfe were so pestrred in the water, that they could not get out of it; which a company of Frisons (which lay vndiscovered in an ambush) perceiuing, sallied out, and vnkowne slew the Emperour, thinking that they had slaine but some meane horseman, without being perceiued by any man in his campe, neither by them which were with him, or else they durst not reueale it: and so hee lay vnseene in the water, vntill that afterwards he was found and knowne by his enemies. This happened in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, two hundred, fiftie and sixe: in the eight and twentieth yeere of his age, and the seuenth of his raigne. And as he was mist in his campe, and no man knew what became of him, nor what was befallne him (men being of sundrie opinions) some imagining that he was gone, and had abandoned them; and others were of other opinions, at last they were certified of the truth by their enemies. Whereupon the armie disbanded, and went euerie man whither hee listed: in this manner ended the high thoughts, life, and raigne of the Emperour WILLIAM, whom his sonne FLORENCE, which then was a child, succeeded in the estate of *Holland*, and the rest: who afterwards made cruell warre against the Frisons, in reuenge of his fathers death; who vntill then lay in a poore Sepulture. In *Sicilie* and *Naples* MANFREDE grew daily more mightie, and was called King.

The discord and diuision, which (as we said) was in the Empire betweene FREDERICK and WILLIAM, and afterwards betweene WILLIAM and CONRADE, FREDERICKS sonne, and that which we will declare which happened after his decease, was the beginning and originall cause why the Empire lost in those times great part of the authoritie, power, and reputation, which it before inioyed, and that some Cities in *Italy* recouered libertie, and were exempt from the Empire, and that others fell into the hands of tyrants, as it afterwards ensued. For notwithstanding that there afterwards were valorous and mightie Emperours, yet all matters were so corrupt and out of order in the Empire, that it could not be reduced to the Priestly rule and lawe, neither did the Electors and Princes of *Germany* (in whom consisteth the chiefest strength of the Empire) yeeld such obedience and fealtie to them, as their auncestors had done to theirs, making themselves through these occasions and dissensions, free, and of greater power; and the Emperours became poore, of lesse account, and were lesse respected by them. I say then, that as the Princes Electors of the Empire were certified of the death of the Emperour WILLIAM (which was as all men knowe) the Duke of *Saxony*, the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, the

Arch-

Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Colen* and *Treuier*, and (when they cannot agree) the King of *Bohemia*, they began to consult about chusing of a new Emperour, first, writing the one to the other, and afterwards meeting in *Franckford*, they could not agree, for there were many Competitors, and the matter was carried by bribes, gifts, and sinister meanes. Comming in the end with great difficultie to make the election, vpon twelfth day, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, two hundred fifty and seuen, the voyces were diuided into two parts: the Duke of *Saxony*, the Archbishop of *Treuier*, and the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, chose ALONSO King of *Castile*: and EBERARD Archbishop of *Mentz*, CONRADE Archbishop of *Colen*, and LEVVS Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, gaue their voyces to RICHARD Duke of *Cornwall*, and brother to the King of *England*. In this manner they parted in discord, either partie holding him for Emperour whom they had chosen: but most men affirmed that it was no election, for it seemeth not that the King of *Bohemia* gaue his voyce, or was present at the election, or would ioyne with either of the parties, but was singular in his voyce, seeking to haue been Emperour himselfe. Those which chose ALONSO and held with him, sent him their Ambassadors (which were the Bishops of *Spire* and *Constance*) to giue him intelligence of his election, desiring him to adresse himselfe to come into the Empire: at their comming into *Castile* they were ioyfully receiued by the King, who being very glad of their Ambassade, accepted the election: but he being busied in the warres against the Moores (from which he had a little before taken the towne of *Niebla* and other places) he could not then come into *Germany*: but writing his letters to the Princes Electors, he dispatched the Ambassadors (giuing them and sending to the rest many iewels and great rewards) and so they returned very well content. But King ALONSO his going into *Germany*, through many occasions which were offered in *Castile*, as well against the Moores (from which he twice wan the Citie of *Xeres*, the Citie of *Marcia* and other places) as for that his Brother PHILIP withdrew himselfe from his seruice, his journey was a long time deferred. The other partie of the Princes Electors, which had chosen the King of *Englands* Brother, sent him also a solemne Ambassade; and he came into *Germany*, and with the ayde of his Brother the King, came to *Aken*, and there was crowned by those which had chosen him, and he afterwards was possessed of some Townes and Cities vpon the *Rhines* side: and so began very great warres and troubles in *Germany*, some holding for RICHARD, and others for ALONSO; others (which were the greatest number) admitted neither the one nor the other, holding the Empire for voyde: and so miserable *Germany* flamed with cruell warre, which continued the space of fiftene or sixtene yeeres, in which time, RICHARD dyed out of possession of the Empire, and King ALONSO could neuer come thither, by reason of sundry accidents which happened in *Castile*, as in the Spanish Chronicles doth appeare.

At the same time BALDVIN the Emperour of *Constantinople* being vnable to make his partie good, against MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS, (who by making away the two sonnes of the THEODORE LASCARVS, gat the Empire to himself) fled from *Constantinople*, and MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS had the Empire, and so it returned to the Greekenation, hauing bin about seuentie yeares gouerned by the Latines: the first that had the same was called BALDVIN, and so was he which lost it, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1260. At this time also came Ambassadors to pope ALEXANDER, from CONRADINE Duke of *Suenia* (who was called, and ought to haue been, King of *Sicilia* and *Naples*) entreating his fa-

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The Emperour  
WILLIAM,  
Earle of Hol-  
land slaine and  
drownded.  
Anno Dom.  
1256.

The cause of the  
declining of  
the Germane  
Empire.

Princes Elec-  
tors.

Disagreement  
in chusing of  
the Emperour.

Alonso King of  
Castile chosen  
Emperour.

Richard Bro-  
ther to the king  
of England  
crowned Em-  
perour in Aken  
in Germany.

The death of  
Richard, Bro-  
ther to the king  
of England.

Baldvin de-  
posed from the  
Greeke Em-  
pire, by Mi-  
chael Paleolo-  
gus.  
Anno Dom.  
1260.

your in his behalfe against MANFREDE, who vsurped the said kingdomes; but could take no effect at that time; for MANFREDE was now growen so mightie, that the pope was not able to make head against him: and besides the kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, was Lord of *Florence* and other townes in *Italy*. Within few daies after this dyed pope ALEXANDER, hauing held the chayre about seuen yeares, with troubles and warres in litle prosperitie. This pope canonized Saint CLARE, of the order of Saint FRANCIS, for a Saint, and he being dead, the Patriarch of *Ierusalem* (a French man borne) was chosen pope, and called VRBANE the fourth; who considering what great power the Tirant MANFREDE had gotten in *Italy*, (for what his father held therein, was at his deuotion.) And seeing that there came no sufficient ayd from *Germany*, and moreouer hauing no meaning to approue the succession of CONRADES son CONRADINE, for that his ancestors had bin ancient enemies to the Church of *Rome*, but chiefly for that he had small confidence in his power, and for other occasions which I forbear to write: by the aduice of his Cardinals he sent his Ambassadors to LAVRES the French King, desiring him to send his brother CHARLES Earle of *Prouence* and *Aniow* with an army in reliefe of the church, and to expell the Tirant MANFREDE out of the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, and that then he would giue the same to him in fee, as the Churches inheritance. The French King willingly gaue care to the popes Ambassade, and yeelding to his demaund, offered aide, and to send him into *Italy*: and began to provide necessaries for his journey, which pope VRBANE could neuer see take effect, for he was intercepted by death in the cite of *Perugia*, in the third yeare of his papacy: in all which time (by reason of factions and parcialities) he neuer came to *Rome*. This pope instituted the feast of *Corpus Christi*, which is celebrated by the church of *Rome* with great solemnity, vntill this day, being first inuented by the famous Doctor THOMAS of AQUINA, a Frier of the order of Saint DOMINICK, who florished in those times. At that time also florished S. BONAVENTURE, a Doctor and Frier of the order of Saint FRANCIS. VRBANE being dead, GUIDO Cardinall of *Salconia*, borne in *Narbone* in *France*, was chosen pope, and called CLEMENT the fourth, in whose time at his instant entreatie, the French Kings brother, or cosine germane, Earle of *Aniow* came into *Italy* with a great armie, to the end to make a conquest of the kingdomes of *Naples* & *Sicilia* from MANFREDE, who was already called king of *Naples* and *Sicilia*; and there passed betweene them many conflicts and feates of armes, which I ouerpasse: CHARLES being assisted by the faction of the Guelphes. At length neere to the cite of *Beneuent*, MANFREDE and he, with power against power, fought a battaile, wherein MANFREDE was ouerthrowne and slaine, after that he had seen CHARLES cast to the earth, and his army in a manner wholly ouerthrowne, but yet in the end CHARLES had the victory. This ouerthrow and death of MANFREDE caused a great alteration in *Italy*, for the faction of the Guelphes euery where preuailed (in a manner) in all the cities of *Italy*, being fauoured by the new king of *Sicilia*, against the Gebilins. And in short space King CHARLES was possessed of the kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, being first crowned in *Rome* king of both the kingdomes; and in acknowledgment of the fee, he was bound to pay yearly to the Church of *Rome*, threescore thousand ducats, or crownes of gold. In this manner, the state of *Prouence*, whose head is the cite of *Marselles*, was vnited to the kingdome *Naples*, which was in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, two hundredeth, threescore and sixe.

In time of these alterations in *Italy*, *Germany* was still troubled about the election

Pope Alexander canonized Saint Clare for a Saint.

Pope Urbane the fourth, called the Duke of Aniow into Italy, to make warre in Naples and Sicilia.

The feast of Corpus Christi instituted by Pope Urbane the fourth. Anno Dom. 1254.

Manfrede King of both Sicilies, ouerthrowne and slaine by Charles Duke of Aniow.

tion of an Emperour: and whereas the king of *Englands* brother RICHARD, who contended with ALONSO for the empire, at this time died, if ALONSO had then come into *Germany* he might easily haue obtained the empire, seeing his competitor was deceased: but by reason of ciuill warres against the Moores, he could neuer haue oportunitie to come thither: and his brother PHILIP, and other great men of *Castile*, left his seruice, and ouerranne his countrey. *Germany* being thus without an head, endured great miserie, aswell for this cause, as through the great warres which the king of *Hungary* made against the king of *Bohemia*, and other princes, vpon sundrie occasions. CHARLES the new king of *Sicilia* liuing in this prosperitie, all those which in *Italy* were of the faction of the Gibelins, sent to sollicite CONRADE Duke of *Suenia*, and which was called king of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, (as sonne of the Emperour CONRADE and nephew of the Emperour FREDERICK) to come, and reconquer his kingdomes, and that they all would helpe and serue him in that action: whereto CONRADINE (as a couragious young man) soone agreed, and began to gather forces and to trie his friends, whereto he was also periwaded & encouraged by HENRY the king of *Castiles* brother, who was banished from his brother for some leagues and confederacies which he had made against him. And he at that time was gouernour, and a Senatour of *Rome*, made by Pope CLEMENT; which dignitie he obtained (after that he had wandred through *England*, *France* & *Germany*) at the request of King CHARLES of *Naples*, by reason of his affinitie, and the popes fauour, to whose Court he came, lying then in *Viterbo*, and the Pope made him a Senatour of *Rome*, which then was the highest dignitie and command therein. This HENRY was a man of so great valour, and therewith so politike, that he wholly commaunded the cite; and being so, he induced CONRADE to come into *Italy*, (for he was also his kinsman, and he had found him his friend at his being in *Germany*) promising, and putting him in hope, that he should not onely haue the kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia* (which were his by inheritance) but should also be Emperour of *Rome*; for hee would receiue him into the cite. Finally, CONRADINE moued by these letters and messages, but reposing his chiefe confidence in the Gibelins, came into *Italy* with tenne thousand the most expert men of warre that he could get; to whom many of the Gibelins resorted, and was receiued and lodged in *Verona*, whither the Sienois and Pisans sent to him their Ambassadors (and many other cities wherein the Gibelins were masters) exhorting him to proceede forwards. When King CHARLES was aduertised hereof, he went from *Tuscane*, where hee then was, into his kingdomes; leauing good garrisons in those townes which held for him; and a gouernour with the title of Marshall. And HENRY the Kings brother of *Castile*, which was then in *Rome*, whither CONRADINE was traouailing, openly shewed himselfe for him, being of power able to doe so, whether the Pope would or not; who fauoured CHARLES his partie, as a King whom hee had made. But the factions in *Italy* made all poore, fraile, and inconstant. To be short, after other matters which befell CONRADINE by the way, hee being come neere to the cite of *Arezzo*, fought a battaile with the Marshall whom King CHARLES had left in those parts. And notwithstanding that the Marshall and his people fought valiantly, yet CONRADINE was victor and the Marshall was slaine in the battaile, and his partie ouerthrowne; whereby CONRADINE wonne so great credit and reputation; that if he would haue staid in those quarters, many townes would haue yeelded vnto him: but being solicited by letters, and messages from HENRY in *Rome*, he tooke his way thitherwards, passing neere by *Viterbo*, where Pope CLEMENT lay, who

Conradine his comming into Italy against the Duke of Aniow.

as an enemie to wars, and bearing of armes, was very forie for what passed: and comming to *Rome*, hee was solemnly received with all the ceremonies accustomed, and HENRY calling him Emperour, lodged him as such in the Capitoll. And he remaining some few daies in *Rome*, departed towards *Naples*; accompanied with the said HENRY, in quest of king CHARLES; and HENRY left in his place and office in *Rome*, one GUIDO FERRETANVS, a man whom he much trusted. King CHARLES hauing alreadye intelligence of CONRADINEs comming, and seeing that by delaies hee daily lost more and more, notwithstanding that hee had no equall forces, yet he resolved to end the controuersie by a battaile, which by CONRADINE (who presumed much vpon the multitude and valour of his souldiers) was chiefly desired, so as the one armie drawing neere to the other, neere vnto *Alma*: and king CHARLES knowing how to take benefit of the ground wherein he was encamped, marshalled his troupes in such manner, that he might shadow the greatest part of his armie behinde a hill, and so the fight began and continued about three houres, in the end wherof, CHARLES his troupes being neere ouerthrowne, he brake out of his ambuscado, and charged with such furie, that he forced his enemies to turne their backs, and obtained the victorie: and CONRADINE, HENRY and FREDERICK, who (I know not by what title) was called Duke of *Austrich*, escaped by flight. But through sundrie casualties they all three within few daies after fell into his hands, and hee cruelly executing the law of Armes, made the heads of king CONRADINE, and of FREDERICK Duke of *Austrich* to be stricken off, contenting himselfe to hold HENRY prisoner for their neerenes in bloud betweene them. By this meanes king CHARLES wonne great reputation, for he had ouerthrowne and slaine two kings, MANFREDS and CONRADINE. And within short space all those townes which held for CONRADINE, hearing of his death, reduced themselves to CHARLES his subiection; and so in *Sicilia*, *Pulia*, *Calabria* and in all *Italy*, the faction of the Gibelins recovered the vpper hand. So as poore CONRADINE in hope to haue gotten the kingdom of *Naples*, lost his life, and therewith his estate of *Suenia*, whereof he was assured: and in him ended the line of the house of *Suenia*, for he left no heire; and that state was lost, the most of the cities therein making themselves Imperiall: yet RODVLPH and his sonne IOHN, were afterwards called Dukes of *Suenia*. The victorious triumphant king CHARLES, with Pope CLEMENT: leaue and authoritie, went to *Rome*, to execute the office of Senatour, which HENRY had lost, and to pacifie the factions which were in the citie; and the Pope from *Viterbo* where he made his residence, neuer ceased to procure peace and concord betweene the cities of *Italy*, and to pacifie king CHARLES: but his desire tooke no effect, for he was interrupted by death, which ouertooke him in the end of the yeere 1278, hauing been Pope little more then three yeeres, and was reckoned amongst the Saints. Pope CLEMENT the fourth being dead, the Cardinals agreed so ill about chusing him a successor, that for the space of two yeeres there was no Pope. What happened in the meane time, is too long to be written, wherefore I leaue it apart, amongst which S. LEVVS king of *France* went against the kingdom and citie of *Tunis*, where he died of the plague. His going thither was to the end from thence to haue gone to the conquest of *Ierusalem*, whereto he was induced and incited by Pope CLEMENT before his death. And before the Popes death, EDWARD king of *England* went to the same seruice with about two hundred thousand men, which from all parts of Christendome vowed to goe that voyage, but all was afterwards. Two yeeres being past that the Cardinals could not agree, by their

A battaile betweene Charles of Anjou king of Sicilia, and Conradine Duke of Suenia.

Conradine Duke of Suenia and king of both the Sicilies put to death by Charles Duke of Anjou.

King Edward Longshankes at the voarres in the Holy land.

their common consent in the yeere 1270, THEOBALD a Cardinall was chosen, and called GREGORY the tenth, who was a Legate with King EDWARD in that enterprise, which EDWARD performed as little in that action, as well by reason of King LEVVS his long aboad before *Tunis*, where he died, for whom King EDWARD staid; as also for that the Popes seate was voide the space of two yeeres, which put all out of order, and caused him and such as were with him, to endure great want and penurie: and for that at this time also died the Patriarch of *Ierusalem*, by whose counsell he began and continued that warre, and in the end THEOBALD which was the Apostolike Legate in this journey, came to be Pope, wherefore King EDWARD also returned to his countrie, without effecting what he desired.

The death of S. Lewes king of France before Tunis.

King Edward the first of England returned from the wars in the Holy land.

When THEOBALD, or Pope GREGORY the tenth, being in *Aken* was aduertised of his election; with the aide of King EDWARD which furnished him with men and shipping, hee came into *Italy*, and was ioyfully received and entertained by King CHARLES of *Naples*, through whose countrie he passed, who accompanied him some daies journeys, and comming to *Viterbo*, where the Cardinals attended his comming, hee was crowned after the accustomed manner: and he then presently summoned a generall Councell, first to procure the reformation and peace of the Church: secondly, that an Emperour should be chosen; for *Germany* was brought to ruine through ciuill dissention and want of iustice: and thirdly to take order for the conquest of the Holy land, appointing *Lions* in *France* to be the place where this Council should be held; whitherwards he presently departed, first settling the best peace that hee could in *Italy*, principally betweene the Genois and the Venecians, two mightie Common-wealths in those daies, which waged a most cruell warre. This being done he came to *Lions*, from whence he sent to the Princes Electors, commanding them to meet, and to make choise of an Emperour. To this Councell at *Lions*, came PALBOGVVS the Emperour of *Constantinople*, whom the Pope confirmed in his empire, notwithstanding that he obtained the same by indirect meanes; and he and the prelates which came with him, in the name of the Greeke Church, submitted themselves to the Councell in certaine points, wherein the Greekes dissented from the Latines, but they obserued the same as little as at other times they had done. The princes Electors met at *Franckford*, to treat of the election of an Emperour, seeing how many yeeres the Empire was void, for now twentie yeeres were fully expired since the death of FREDERICK, in all which time, *Germany* was neuer free from factions and parcialities about the Empire, and thirteene or foureteene yeeres since the Emperor WILLIAM died, so that *Germany* lay abandoned, without an head or soueraigne Lord: for RICHARD brother to the King of *England*, and ALONSO King of *Castile*, were chosen in discord and dissent of voyces; and RICHARD within short space died, and King ALONSO could neuer come to enioy the Empire. All the Princes Electors meeting, spent three yeeres before they could agree about the election; for either of them would haue him to be Emperour in whom they thought to haue greatest interest: some alleaged that no election could be made, for that King ALONSO of *Castile* was chosen; and the same King sent his Proctors to protest that he prepared himselfe to come into the Empire: others hindred the election, for that they vsurped the lands and possessions appertaining to the Empire, and were in feare to lose the same: finally, the matter was very confused and out of order, but in the end they agreed, and notwithstanding that OTTO CARVS King of *Bohemia*, had wonne the most part of the Electors,

The Earle of  
Habsburgh and  
Hessia chosen  
Emperour.

Electors, and assured himselfe that hee should haue been chosen, yet they altring their determination, chose R O D V L P H Earle of *Habsburgh* and *Hessia*, who in line masculine descended lineally from the father to the sonne, from PHAROMOND King of the Francons: others haue written (amongst which is VOLATERRANVS) that this R O D V L P H was descended from the house and family of the PERLONNES, or LEONES in *Rome*, an auncient house of Earles, and that one of them vpon certaine occasion left his countrie, and went into *Ergonia*, and there built the castle of *Habsburgh*, from whence descend the Earles of *Habsburgh*: which they say was in the yeere 1150. But it cannot be so, for the towne and castle of *Habsburgh*, from whence these Earles are descended, is not in *Ergonia*, but another much more ancient, and farre distant from that, whereof long before the time that they speake of, the Earles of *Habsburgh* were Lords: and IOHN STAZIUS setteth downe a pedegree of nine Kings and foureteene Earles before this R O D V L P H, of whom wee now treat: who besides that he was chosen and crowned Emperour, and gouerned the empire the space of eightene yeeres, came (through want of heires) to be Duke of *Austrich*: and that house hath continued in that lineage from that time vntill this day, and hath produced nine Emperours, and a great number of Dukes: from which R O D V L P H the first, is descended R O D V L P H the second now raigning in the yeere 1604. In *Constantinople* still raigned MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS.

## THE LIFE OF RODVLPH THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND CII. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

And of MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS Emperour of  
*Constantinople*.



### THE ARGVMENT.

When Rodulphs election was published, all Germany reioyced, as seeing the end of so many troubles, he was according to the custome crowned in *Aken*, but would neuer goe to be crowned in *Italy*, alleging that all the Emperours which went thither, either died there,

or returned with great losse. He held sore warres with the King of *Bohemia*, who by his wines persuasion, violating his faith, rebelled against the Emperour, to whom he had sworne fealtie and obedience. After this warre, the Emperour addicted himselfe to maintaine iustice, and taking no care to come into *Italy*, contenting himselfe with their tribute; he held all Germany in peace, a thing which no Emperour euer had done. He subdued all those which rebelled, and being elde departed out of this life. He made alliance with many great Lords by meanes of his daughters, for in his sonnes he was not very fortunate.



O soone as it was published that R O D V L P H was chosen, great ioy was conceiued through all the townes and cities in *Germany*: and by all men which desired peace and iustice, as well through the desire they had to haue an Emperour, as for that R O D V L P H was a man highly esteemed, through the hope they conceiued that he would proue a future good Prince; for he was held to be a man of great iudgement, and very valiant, whereof he had made great prooffe both in peace and warre, in the seruice of FRADERICK the second, who was his godfather, and afterwards in the warre against the King of *Bohemia*: but the Ambassadors of King ALONSO and of the King of *Bohemia*, departed very much discontented from *Frankford* homeward, making first their protestations.

Earle R O D V L P H little thought of any such matter when the newes was brought him of his election; and he at that time lay before the Citie of *Basil*, besieging the same, wherein were two factions of the Pstaci and the Stelleferi, whereof the one had driuen the other out of the Citie: and he tooke vpon him the charge to restore the banished to their houses, with whose ayde, and the ayde of his friends and subiects, he besieged that Citie: and being aduertised of his election, came to the Citie of *Aken*, and there according to the accustomed manner was crowned; whither came Ambassadors from the Princes of *Germany* to congratulate his election: but neither the King of *Bohemia*, or the Duke of *Baviere* would obey, or hold him for Emperour: what thereof ensued, you shall vnderstand hereafter.

After the coronation, the Electors sent their Ambassadors to Pope GREGORY the tenth, who then was at the Councell of *Lions* in *France*, and being very glad of his election, confirmed and approued the same: and promised to giue him the Imperiall crowne, if he would come into *Italy* for it; but he would neuer goe to be crowned in *Rome*, neither come into *Italy*: it is written, that he being demanded wherefore he would not goe thither, for answere recited one of ESOPs fables; saying, that the Lion as king of all other beasts being sicke, would haue them all come to visit him, and they all went and recomforted him: but the Foxe of purpose staying to be last, and being come to the mouth of the caue wherein the Lion lay, would not enter, and the cause being demanded, answered, that the most part of the footesteps which he saw, were of such as went in, but he could hardly perceiue that any of them came forth againe; whereby he well knew that the most part of them remained foode for the sicke Lion: wherefore he would not put his life in such hazard. After this manner R O D V L P H said, that it befell the Emperours, his predecessors, in their iournies into *Italy*: for they altogether remained there, or returned with great losse: wherefore vpon this consideration, he would neuer come into *Italy* to be crowned, which was the cause that many Cities exempted themselves and became free.

R r r

The cause why  
the Emperour  
Rodulph would  
not come into  
*Italy*.  
The

The new Emperour through a desire to reforme the estate of the Empire, summoned a Councell or Parliament to be held in the Citie of *Nuremberg*, whither came all the Princes in person; or else those which could not come, sent their Agents or Proctors, excepting the King of *Bohemia*, and the Duke of *Baviera*, which neither came nor sent; neither would they acknowledge him for their Emperour: whereupon RODVLPH by the consent of all those which were present, prescribed them a certaine time, within which they should restore and deliuer vp the lands and possessions which they had vsurped in the time of the Empires vacation: as well such as appertained to the Empire, as to other particular persons; and charged them to make their appearance within the time limited, in the Citie of *Augsburgh*. The time being expired, and the Emperour being come thither, all came or sent their lawfull excuses: and notwithstanding that the Duke of *Baviera* came not, yet he sent by his Agents, to yeeld his obedience to the Emperour; but in the behalfe of the King of *Bohemia* it was not so, for he sent his Ambassadors; amongst which was a Bishop, to whom publike audience being giuen, the Bishop began a long set oration, wherein he sought to haue proued that the election of RODVLPH was of no effect; and that the King of *Bohemia* was not bound to yeelde him obedience, neither to acknowledge him for his Lord: wherewith he and the Princes present were so much displeased, that without permitting him to end his discourse, they commaunded him presently to depart the court and the citie; and so he and his associates departed. In that Councell the King of *Bohemia* was proclaimed a rebell and disobedient, and as such, were they to proceede against both him and his estate: and the Emperour presently sent the Burgrau of *Nuremberg* (which is a dignitie in *Germany*) to require him to surrender the Duchy and states of *Austrich*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, and *Stiria*, which he vsurped. But the king neither would, neither had any meaning to do so, and therefore tooke armes to make resistance: & the Councell being ended, the Emperour likewise leuied an army against him: what ensued, we will tell you after that we shall haue recounted what end the king of *Castile* had in the Empire, which passed in this manner.

ALONSO king of *Castile* vnderstanding that RODVLPH of *Habsburgh*, was chosen Emperour, was very fory; and after many consultations held, and a peace established with the king of *Granada*; he departed from *Spaine*, purposing to haue been Emperour, and sent souldiers and other prouision before him, by sea and by land to the citie of *Marselles*; for he held the kings of *France* and of *Naples* for his friends and kinsmen: and so departing from *Castile*, accompanied with his brother EMANVEL, and other great men in the moneth of March in the year 1275, leauing his eldest sonne HERNANDES gouernor in his absence, he came into *France*, with an intent to haue proceeded on his iourney. What ensued and how he passed, the histories record not; the effect is, that at the same time pope GREGORY hauing dissolued the generall Councell, and returning into *Italy*, met with king ALONSO, at a place called *Bellocadoro*; where the king shewed himselfe discontent, for that the pope (to his prejudice) had consented to the election of an Emperour, he pretending to be already lawfully chosen: but the pope so well excused himselfe, and gaue the other so good counsell, that he perswaded him to giue ouer his challenge, and to returne to *Castile*; which was greatly furthered through the newes of the death of his eldest son, and of the incursions made into his countrey by the Moores: and of the practizes of his second sonne called SANCHES, (who afterwards was king) who tooke vpon him the gouernment

uerment of the kingdome, and sought to haue succeeded by depriuing the sonnes of DON HERNANDES: for these and other great difficulties (whereof the king was ascertained) he returned into *Castile*; where he afterwards liued in great trouble, for his sonne SANCHES rose with the kingdome; onely the cities and kingdomes of *Seuil* and *Murcia*, remayned faithfull vnto him, vntill that about nine or ten yeares after he dyed in *Seuil*, in the year of our Lord 1284. and the said SANCHES succeeded him in the kingdome. And pope GREGORY after his departure from king ALONSO, traauiling through *Italy* towards *Rome*, dyed in *Arezzo*, and in his place was chosen PETER TARENTASIVS Cardinall of *Hosia*, a Dominican Frier, and was called INNOCENT the fifth: in whose time the truce betwene the Venecians and the Genoais being expired, cruell war began betwene them: and the pope indeuored to haue made peace betwene them and the other cities in *Tuscane*, *Pisa*, *Florence*, *Luca*, *Siena*, and the rest which were in armes; king CHARLES of *Naples* also interposing his authoritie. But before he could bring the same to effect he dyed, hauing been pope fife moneths and two daies only; and him succeeded OTHO BON, a Cardinal, and was called ADRIAN the fifth, who was pope but fortie daies: and after him was chosen one PETER, borne in *Lisbon*, and was called IOHN the two and twentieth, who was a great phisition, and wrote of phisicke: and notwithstanding that he was a great clerke, yet was he nothing expert in gouerning his charge; so as if he had liued long, he would haue shewed his imperfections, but in the eight moneth of his papacy (he being in *Viterbo*) the rooffe of a chamber fell downe vpon him: and notwithstanding that he was taken out aliue, yet was he so sore bruized, that he dyed within seuen daies after. He being dead, Cardinall IOHN CAIETANVS was chosen, who was called NICHOLAS the third, with whom and with all the rest, the Emperour RODVLPH held friendship; whom we left making preparation for his warres against the king of *Bohemia*; which he was constrained to deferre for a space, for that LEUVIS the County Palatine of *Rhine*, and the Marquis of *Baden*, would not (within the time limited) surrender such lands and townes as they had taken, at what time the Empire was voyd: wherefore he went in person to recouer them perforce with much trouble and daunger. This being done, he marched first with his forces to make warre against the Duke of *Baviera*, for that he performed not what he had sworne by his Ambassadors and Proctors: but ayded and fauored the king of *Bohemia*. And the Emperour with a mightie army entring his countrey, slew many of his people, and by force of armes tooke and destroyed some townes, so as he compelled the Duke humbly to submit himselfe. And the Emperour marching further, entred *Austrich*, which OTHO CARVS had taken, and therein had placed Bohemian garrisons: neuerthelesse some castles yeilded, and others were taken by force of armes; and he afterwards besieged the citie of *Vienna*, to the reliefe whereof, after the siege had lasted the space of seuen weekes, the king of *Bohemia* came with a great power, which he had leuied in his kingdome, and in *Moravia* and other countries: and to the Emperours campe came against him the King of *Hungary*, who was an enemy to the King of *Bohemia*, and had taken some townes from him: and the two armies being come, the one neere to the other, and in a readines to haue fought; certaine Monkes and Friers became mediators betwene the King and the Emperour, which vsed such meanes, that a peace was concluded: and the Emperour pardoned the King, vpon condition that he should presently surrender the estates of *Austrich*, *Carinthia*, *Stiria*, and *Carniola* to the Emperour, and to the king of *Hungary*, what

what he had taken from him; and that the Emperour should anew confirme vnto him the kingdomes of *Bohemia*, and *Moravia*, for which he should come in person to yeelde obedience, and be sworne after the accustomed manner. All which the king (seeing no other remedy) yeelded to performe, being at the point to haue lost all the rest; but he instantly requested, that he might doe his homage in some secret place; for as he was a very haughtie minded man, so did it extremelie grieue him to kneele to a man to whom he had giuen pay; and thinking that the Emperour would haue performed what he requested, forasmuch as hee staied for him in a close tent, hee came, and kneeling downe before the Emperour to do him homage; the tent was so artificially made, that it fell open, in such manner, that he was leene by the whole army, wherewith he was much grieved. This agreement being made, and the king returned into his countrey, he was by his wife the Queene very ill entertained; for as she was a vaine proud woman, shee told him that he was not worthy the name of a king, neither to weare a crown, sith he had lost so great estates without the hazard of one battaile; and had humbled himselfe disarmed, before him which had bin his seruant; hauing an army of so good men to take his part as he had: and sith that he had made such a peace, he should now let her haue his army, and she would by warre recouer what he had lost by elchuing the same. These his wiues speeches, and such like which she vsed at other times, added to the sorrow for what he had lost, did so much moue him that he repented him of what he had done. And rebelling, meant to decide the matter, and to put away this reproch by armes: wherupon he drew his forces to an head, and such places as were not resigned, he repayed, and fortified; and went into *Austrich* to recouer what hee had already surrendered, which he did with such expedition, that he tooke many places therein. When the Emperour vnderstoode of the king of *Bohemia* his proceedings, hee with no lesse expedition raised his forces, and with some Princes of the Empire came against him with a great power; who resolutely stayed in the field to giue him battaile, which befell vpon the fixe and twentieth day of August, in the yere of our Lord 1277: which battaile was sharpe and cruell, and the king in the midst of the troups being with a sword deadly wounded by one *BERTO*LD a fauourite of the Emperours, fell from his horse: which suddaine accident, together with the enemies force, was the cause of his peoples ouerthrow, and that the Emperour being victorious was Master of the field: and the king was afterwards found therein, as naked as he was borne of his Mother. The Emperour hauing obeyned this so notable a victorie, followed not the same with such rigour and crueltie as he might haue done; for the king leauing a sonne called *WENCESLAVS*, the Emperour married him to his daughter *IVDITH*, and inuested and confirmed him in the kingdomes of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*: and forasmuch as he was but a child, he gaue the gouernment of both his person and estate, to the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*: and so had *RODVLPH* the Duchy of *Austrich*, and other estates thereto appertaining; which he afterwards gaue to his eldest sonne *ALBERT*, who in processe of time came to be Emperour.

After the warre of *Bohemia*, the Emperour fought to establish iustice, and to free the countrie from theues and rebels which were therein, by reason of the late troubles; amongst which, one was so audacious that he shamed not to say that he was the Emperour *FREDERICK* the second, who died in *Italy*; stoutly maintaining himselfe to be the same: the cause whereof was, for that the common people neuer certainly knoweth what passeth; and some reported that the Empe-

Anno Dom.  
1277.  
A battaile be-  
tweene the  
Emperour and  
the King of Bo-  
hemia, where-  
in the Bohemi-  
ans were o-  
uerthrowne,  
and their King  
slaine.

four *FREDERICK* was not dead, but lay hidden. This rumour was so farre spread that it came to the issue, that this man gathered so many vnto him, that he tooke some cities, and so much troubled the Emperour, that he was constrained to leuie an armie against him, by which this counterfeite *FREDERICK* was ouerthrowne and taken prisoner; and afterwards burnt by the Emperours commaundement, and the rest of his confederacie were sharply punished: and so he was obeyed euery where. But as for matters of *Italy*, hee tooke no care to goe thither in person, but sought to gouerne there by his Vicars and Lieutenants, euer maintaining peace with the Popes; contenting himselfe that some cities in *Lombardy*, and others which acknowledged the empire, repaired vnto him with their customes and imposts, whereof he was very greedy: for in truth, notwithstanding that this prince was adorned with many great vertues, yet he was much noted and reproched for being couetous and greedie of money, as he afterwards shewed. And in regard of peace betweene him and pope *NICHOLAS*, he freely graunted to him *Rauenna*, and the other townes of that gouernment, which the Pope challenged to be the Church inheritance; vniing thereto the citie of *Bolonia*, which of later time held for the empire. Pope *NICHOLAS* hauing the Emperours friendship, & for that he was a Romane borne, was of greater power then any of his predecessors had bin; and tooke from *CHARLES* king of *Naples* the office of Senatour, and made a law, that from thencefoorth no king or kings sonne should be Senatour: he also took from him the Lieutenantship for the Church in *Tuscane*, alleaging that it was not the Emperours pleasure that hee should hold that dignitie; and so ielousie and suspicion grew betweene them: for it was odious to the Pope to see that *CHARLES* was of such power; wherefore hee procured *PETER* king of *Aragon*, to make challenge to the kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*; affirming that they appertained vnto him, by reason of his mariage with *CONSTANCE* daughter of *MANFREDE* king of *Sicilia*. All this the pope durst to doe, hauing the fauour and friendship of the Emperour *RODVLPH*, whom they knew to be of great power in *Italy*, and obeyed in *Germany*.

About this time the Emperor sent one to be his Lieutenant in *Italy*, whom many cities receiued and obeyed, and others would not. At this time also died Pope *NICHOLAS*, hauing bin so foure yeers, lesse foure moneths; and vpon some occasion, that Sea was voide five moneths; and then was chosen *SIMON* Cardinall of *S. Sicilia*, a French man borne, and was called *MARTIN* the fourth. In those times the Popes made their aboad in *Viterbo*, but he would not be sacred there, but wēt for that purpose to *Ciuit a Vecchia*, whither came to see him *CHARLES* king of *Naples*, who (for that they both were Frenchmen) was very ioyfully receiued, and afterwards much fauoured: which was in the yeere of our Lord 1281. In the same yeere, the Emperour established *VVENCESLAVS* king of *Bohemia* (whom he had married with his daughter *IVDITH*) in the gouernment of his kingdom; free from the tutorship of the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, to whom hee had giuen the same. And the same yeere he had warre with the Gouernour of a people called *Ethni*, inhabiting a prouince in *France* about *Lionois*, who rebelled, and would haue made himselfe Lord of *Burgondy*, and of part of *Sucua*; whither he went in person, obtained victorie, and left the land in subiection. And returning from his iourney, he came into the prouince of *Alsacia*, wherein were many factions, and many great men rebelling, disobeyed his commandements: but with his presence all was still and in quiet: so that in all *Germany* he was both obeyed and feared, and reigned in prosperitie. But as in this life no estate high or low is free from disasters

A counterfeite  
Emperour.

The Pope was  
author of all  
the warre be-  
tweene the  
French and  
Spanish for the  
kingdome of  
Naples.

and mishaps, so a sonne of his whom he much loued, whose name was HARMAN, in a boat passing the riuier *Rhine* was drowned, together with certaine other principall personages: and his wife the Emperesse also died; and about three yeeres after he married againe, with the daughter of the Duke of *Burgundy*: and so hee passed fife or fixe yeeres without any accident worth the writing. In *Italy*, CHARLES king of *Sicilie*, and of *Prenence*, being rich & of great power, through the fauour of Pope MARTIN, had a conceit to haue deposed MICHAEL PALAEOLOGVS, and to haue restored BALDVIN to the empire of *Constantinople*; who marrying his daughter, was deprived: and although he pretended this title, yet it was thought that he would haue had the empire for himselfe. This being done, he thought to haue recovered the kingdome of *Ierusalem*, whereof he intituled himselfe king: whereupon he practised with the pope, perswading him to excommunicate PALAEOLOGVS, for that he had not obserued what was decreed in the Councell late held at *Lions*, whither he came to Pope GREGORY the tenth, concerning the vniting of the Greeke Church with the Latine. He had also intelligence with certaine cities in *Gracia* which rebelled against PALAEOLOGVS, and began to prouide men and galleys for that enterprise. But all these purposes were frustate: for whilest he sought to depose another from his empire, hee within few daies lost great part of his owne: for all the cities in *Sicilia*, vnable to endure the violence and oppression vsed by the French, rose and rebelled, and slew all the Frenchmen which were in the Iland: hauing first had intelligence with PETER king of *Arragon*, who lay in waight for *Sicilia*, (vnder this title, that he married the daughter of king MANFREDE) and came in great haste with a flecte of fiftie galleys and ships, staine that he had rigged the same, to the end to haue passed ouer into *Africa*; and so became Lord of the whole Iland. Afterwards there were great warres betweene them both by sea and land, during which, king CHARLES falling sicke, of an infirmite and of sorrow, died, leauing his eldest sonne CHARLES prisoner, in the power of PETER king of *Arragon*. And pope MARTIN sent his Legate to *Naples*, to hold that kingdome in subiection to CHARLES who was in prison, whom he proclaimed to be his fathers heire and successor: the French king sent also to the same effect. Finally, at this time the kingdome of *Sicilia* was diuided from the kingdome of *Naples*, and the king of *Arragon* held the same; and afterwards ensued other alterations. Returning to my historie, I say that the Emperour RODVLPH, through the counsell of HONORIVS the fourth, which succeeded Pope MARTIN, in the yeere of our Lord 1286, sent for his Lieutenant generall, an Italian Earle called PINCINAGLIA DI FISCO (a man very priuate with the Pope) who comming into *Tuscane*, *Florence*, and many other cities which were of the parcialtie of the Guelphes, would not obey him; and there passed many treaties and requests, but in the end, he hauing made his protestations, and condemned some cities, returned into *Germany*. And the Emperour sent thither another Lieutenant, who (hauing commission thereto) gaue care to certaine cities, which offered to compound for money; and so by the Emperours consent, *Florence*, *Luca*, *Pisa*, and some others, bought their libertie, whereby the Emperour gat little honour; notwithstanding that in all the rest he was a good, a valiant, and a prudent prince: but the greedines of money, and his resolution not to come into *Italy*, made him to vse this basenes.

In those daies, EBERARD Earle of *Wittenbergh*, being assisted by some other Princes, rebelled: but the Emperour entring his countrie, besieged him in a strong Castle, and compelling him to sue for mercie, at the entreaty of the Arch-  
bishop

The French-  
men slaine in  
the Ile of *Sici-  
lia*.

*Florence*, *Luca*  
& *Pisa* bought  
their freedome  
of the Emperour  
Rodulph the  
first.

bishop of *Meitz*, he pardoned him: and although that he afterwards made some stirre, yet he persecuted in his seruice. At this time died in *Rome* HONORIVS the fourth, hauing been Pope two yeeres and one moneth, and after his death the chaire was voyd tenne moneths; and then was choisen the Cardinall of *S. Sabina*, a Frier, and Master of *S. FRANCIS* order, and was called NICHOLAS. All this while the Emperour RODVLPH gouerned *Germany* in peace, yet in the prouince of *Turinge*, many insolencies and robberies were committed, by reason of the factions and controuerfies, betweene the Lords of the Castles therein: wherefore the Emperour called a Councell to bee held in the citie of *Erfordia*; and by the consent of the Princes, made threescore Castles in that prouince to be throwne downe, and laid leuell with the earth, whereby he brought all *Germany* into quiet subiection; which continued so, vntill his death, which was within a little while after. So as it cannot be denied, but that this Emperour was a good Prince, and a prudent gouernor, both in peace and in warre (wherein he would intermeddle, which was but in *Germany* onely) desiring as a wise Prince to rule and gouerne the same well, rather then to seeke to subdue *Italy*, and other countries, and so to lose both the one and the other; and to auoid contention with the Popes, which in *Italy* he could not eschue. One thing made his raigne infortunate, which was the losse of the Holy land: the Christians losing all the cities which they held in *Soria*, and *Palestina*; for the Souldan of *Egypt* being Lord of *Ierusalem*, seeing the warres betweene the cities of *Italy*, and the Christian Kings of *Arragon*, and of *Naples*; and also betweene the Kings of *England* and of *France*, came with a great armie of foote and horse, and besieging the citie of *Tripoli* in *Soria*, took the same perforce: and presently did the like by the cities of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Bris*, with their  
confines; which he destroying, slew and captiuated an infinit number of people. And the Christians which escaped, reducing themselves by sea and land to the city of *Ptolomaida*, whither came the king of *Cyprus*, the Masters and Knights Templars, of *S. Iohns*, and of the Duch order, together with the Partriarch of *Ierusalem*; fell there at variance amongst themselves, about who should be Gouernour, and haue the command: which the Soldan vnderstanding, and a certaine truce which he had graunted them being expired, he came with 150000 men before the citie, and taking and destroying all the countrie round about it, sent his sonne with his whole power to besiege the citie: who continued the siege, notwithstanding that his father died in the meane season: and after sundrie accidents which happened, the greatest part of those which were in the citie, abandoning the same, fled by sea; and neere to the coast of *Cyprus* were ouertane with such a tempest, that the most part of them were cast away and drowned: and the next day, the Soldan entring the citie (some few which had no meanes to depart, being left to defend the same) commanded first all those which hee found therein, to be slaine; and then the citie to be destroyed, leauing no house or wall standing: and so the Christians were wholly expelled out of all, that GODFREY of *Buillon* and other Christian Princes had gotten 196 yeeres before: which was in the yeere of our Lord 1290: which so soone as it was published in Europe, the Emperour, the Pope, and generally all the Princes Christian were very forie: knowing that by reason of the warres betweene them those countries could not be re-  
lieued.

The next yeere after this, the Emperour falling fore sicke, was carried to the citie of *Spire*, accompanied with the Emperesse and his sonne in law, the King of

Rrr 4 Bohemia

The losse of the  
Holy land.

Anno Dom.  
1290.

The Emperour  
Rodulph died  
in the yeere  
1291.

*Bohemia* and his Queene, the Duke of *Baniere*, and many other Princes : and dyed the same day that he came to the citie. This Prince may well be accounted for one of the most excellent of the world ; seeing that being but a meane Lord, and finding the empire diuided, rent, and tyrannized, without an Emperour, and at libertie, for many yeeres space, he pacified and brought the same into subiection, and maintaining iustice and equitie, left the same in peace. His house and estate he so much encreased, that hee left to his sonne *ALBERT*, the Duchies of *Austrich*, and *Carniola*. He was twice married : first with a Countesse of *Suenia* called *ANNE* : the second time with the Duke of *Burgundies* daughter, called *YNES* : by the first onely he had children. About the number of his children the authors varie : but when he died, it seemeth that hee had but two sonnes ; the one was *ALBERT* afore named, and the other *RODVLPH*, whom hee made Lord of part of *Suenia*, who was father to *JOHN* the parricide, who slew his vnclie, as hereafter you shall vnderstand. He had also (as writeth *JOHN CUSPINIAN*) seuen daughters, which he married to mightie princes : the first was *EVFEMIA*, which was a Nunne ; the second was *IVDITH*, married to *WENCESLAVS* King of *Bohemia* ; the third was *MAVVD*, married to the Countie Palatine of *Rhine* ; the fourth was *YNES*, married to the Duke of *Saxony* ; the fifth was *KATHERINE*, married to *HARMAN* Marquis of *Brandenburgh* ; the sixth was *ANNE*, married with *OTHO* Duke of *Baniere* ; the seuenth and last was called *CLEMENCE*, and was married to *CHARLES* the second king of *Naples* : from which issued great Kings and Princes.

The same yeere that the Emperour *RODVLPH* died, *MICHAEL PALOLOVS* Emperour of *Constantinople* died also, and his sonne *ANDRONICVS*, had the empire : and the next yeere following died Pope *NICHOLAS*, hauing bin so foure yeeres, and through discord betweene the Cardinals, that Sea was void two yeeres and three moneths.

THE



# THE LIFE OF ADVLPH ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND CIIII. ROMANE EMPEROVR.



## THE ARGVMENT.

**A**LL men thought, after the death of the Emperour Rodulph, that the Electors would haue chosen his sonne Albert, but through the cunning of the Bishop of Mentz, Adulph Earle of Nassaw was chosen, which Albert disdaining, with the ayde of the French King, bare armes against him, purposing to depose him. Hereto the Electors consented, and repenting that they had chosen him, deprived him of the Empire, and chose Albert, who going to be crowned in Aken, came to a bickering with Adulph, and slew him in the Battaille.

**T**HE Empire through the death of the Emperour RODVLPH being voide, all men were of opinion that his Sonne ALBERT Duke of *Austrich* should haue succeeded him : and (in a manner) all the Princes Electors desired the same. But GERARD, Archbishop of *Mentz* (which was one of them) vsed such policie, that at the Princes meeting in *Frankford*, he (cunninglie) got their voyces, and made ADVLPH Earle of *Nassaw*, who was his neere kinsman to be chosen. The meane which he vsed was this : he hauing already gotten to this effect the Archbishop of *Colens* voyce, vsed the same policie in obtaining the rest of their voyces : first, conferring with the Duke of *Saxony*, he told him that he had some of the Electors voyces to chuse the Duke of *Bruinswick* (who was his great enemy) but yet he would forbear to doe it, if he would giue him his voyce. The Duke fearing that this had been true (for he had heard that the Bi-

shop

A policie vsed  
by the Archbi-  
shop of Mentz.

shop of *Colen*, and the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, had graunted their voices to the Bishop of *Mentz*; perswaded him, not to consent thereto, for if he did, it would be his destruction, if he were chosen; so as whosoever were chosen (were it not the Duke of *Brinnswick*) he should haue his voyce presently. The Duke of *Saxony* being thus deceived, with the like wile he gat the voyces of the Archbishop of *Trenier*, and of the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*; proponing vnto them in secret, to the Countie Palatine, the king of *Bohemia*, and to the Bishop of *Trenier*, the Duke of *Gueldres*; whereto each of them answered him, that if he were not chosen whom he named vnto them, they would giue him their voyces: this they did, supposing that he would haue chosen *ALBERT* the Duke of *Austrich*, for so he made shew in outward appearance: so that by this deuice he gat all their voyces, without that the one knew ought of what the other had done: and the Marquis of *Brandenburgh* promised him his voice also, for that he had fauored him in the controuersie betweene the vnckle, and the nephew, Marquises, about whether of them should be elector: so as the day of the election being come, they all referring their opinions to the Archbishop of *Mentz*; by common consent the Earle of *Nassau* was chosen; whereto they all marueiled, as well for that they expected that *ALBERT* should haue bin chosen, as also for that *ADVLPH* was a man of meane estate, and of too poore a reuenue to maintaine the imperiall dignitie; notwithstanding that for his owne person he was valorous, greatly esteemed, and held for an excellent man of warre: but as his reuenues were small, he presently began to be held in contempt, especially by the Duke of *Austrich* and his adherents. *ADVLPH* being thus chosen, by meanes of the Bishop of *Mentz*, and of his other friends and kindred went to *Aken*, and there was crowned with great solemnitie; and then called a Councell to be held in a citie in *Sueuia*: and from thence, (for that there were then great warres betweene the kings of *England* and of *France*) he sent to offer his ayd to the king of *England* against the French king; and the king of *England* sent him a great summe of money, to the end that with an army he should in person haue come to his ayd; wherewith the Princes of the Empire seemed to be much grieued, alleaging that it was a great dishonor to the Empire, that the Emperour should take pay of any forraigne prince: and the Duke of *Austrich* said, that seeing the Emperour receiued pay of the king of *England*, he might as well take pay of the French king. The Emperour hauing receiued this money, and knowing that the Lantzgraue of *Turinge* his sonnes made war vpon their Father, he went in person to ayd the Lantzgraue, who to obtaine his fauour, and for the hatred which he bare against his sonnes, sold to him the Earledome of *Misne*, for part of the money which the king of *England* had giuen him. The Emperour spent two yeares in those warres, desiring to aduance his house, and to enlarge his possessions, as he did; and this time being expired, he desiring to satisfie the king of *England*, and being vnable to performe the same, (for the Princes were much discontented for that he gaue them no part of the gold which the king of *England* sent him) open enmitie brake out betweene him and the Duke of *Austrich*: and the Duke practized with the other Princes to depose him from the Empire; by the consent of the same Archbishop of *Mentz*, who had chosen him: so as the Emperour *ADVLPH* was of no such power or authority as was his predecessor; and men began to stand in feare of what afterwards ensued. While these matters passed in *Germany*, for that it is a very notable matter, I will tell you what passed in *Italy*, touching the Papacy: which was in this manner.

*Adulph Earle  
of Nassau  
chosen Empe-  
rour.*

*The Emperour  
Adulph offred  
to serue the  
King of Eng-  
land in his  
warres against  
the French.*

At

At the end of two yeares and three moneths after the death of pope *NICHOLAS* the fourth, in all which time he had no successor; in *Perugia* (whither the Cardinals repayred to make their election) was chosen a very zealous man, who was both a Monke & an Hermite, called *PETER MYRON*; who thinking himselfe to haue bin called of God accepted the Popedom, and was named *CELESTINE* the fifth: and in his beginning (as it was written) who so highly honored, that vpo the day of his sacring, there came to *Perugia* (as to see a wonder) 200000. persons to see him: but as this man had wholly secluded him from the world, and giuen himselfe to contemplation and prayer; so the world could not well like of him, nor of his fashions; neither knew he how to deale in the world, for his small vnderstanding, and lesse experience in worldly matters; which was the occasion that he gaue credit to what was told him; by meanes whereof he did sometimes one thing contrary to another: whereupon some of the Cardinals cunninglie counsellled and perswaded him to renounce the papacie, whereto this good man willinglie agreed, accounting himselfe incapable of that charge, and so oftentimes protested, and in conclusion (notwithstanding that *CHARLES* King of *Naples* would haue letted him, and to that end induced him to come to *Naples*) did so, and in an open solemne act renounced the popedom; siue moneths after that he had accepted the same: and vpon his renouciation, by the Cardinals, was chosen Cardinal *BENEDICT*, and was called *BONIFACE* the eight, who was the man which chiefly perswaded *CELESTINE* to renounce the Papacy: and this deuout man being about to returne to his hermitage, *BONIFACE* fearing that the people would againe haue restord him, made him to be apprehended and detained in prison vntill he dyed, which was within short space after: whose succesor *BONIFACE* was farre vnlike vnto him, for he was ambitious, proud, factious, and a great persecutor of the Gibelins, yet very learned, politique, subtill, and of great experience; whose end was such as hereafter we will tell you.

*Pope Celestine  
the fifth renoun-  
ced the Papacy.*

Returning to the Emperour *ADVLPH*, I say that he vnderstanding that the Duke of *Austrich* practized against him, and sought to depriue him of the Empire, warred against him, to whom the French king vnder hand gaue secret ayd, to the end that the Emperour should not be able to ioine with the king of *England* against him, as he purposed to haue done. Vpon this occasion all *Germany* was in an vprore, some holding with one partie, and some with the other: and *ADVLPH*'s friends daily forsooke him, through his vnequall cariage towards them; for in his fauours he was parciall, a thing which maketh Princes to be hated of many: by meanes whereof *ALBERT*'s party became so strong, that the Princes electors (excepting the Archbishop of *Trenier*, and the Countie Palatine of *Rhine* which would not be there) met in the citie of *Mentz*, where alleaging such reasons as they thought good (which in my iudgment were very insufficient) they depriued *ADVLPH* of the Empire, and chose his enimie *ALBERT*; who with the greatest and most flourishing power that he could procure, of his owne, and of his friends, went to be crowned in *Aken*: whom *ADVLPH* (who was not a coward, or any way pusillanimous, notwithstanding that his power was vnequal) went to meet: and the two armyes ioyning neere the citie of *Wormes*, vpon a day in the moneth of Iuly in the yeare of our Lord 1298, there began betweene them a most cruell and bloody battaile: the despaire wherewith *ADVLPH* and those of his party fought, making their inequality equall. The battaile continued aboue fixe houres, either party fighting most cruelly, before that it could be perceived whether army should haue the victorie; and each Generall hauing lost great

*Anno Dom.  
1298.  
A battaile be-  
twene the  
Emperour A-  
dulph and Al-  
bert Duke of  
great Austrich.*

great part of his people: ADVLPH fighting with his face against the sunne (which did greatly annoy him) in the middest of the through where the fight was most cruell, was in a great charge felled from his horse to the earth, whither (by chance) came his enemy ALBERT, who (before that he could be ready to breake his thrust) with the point of his sword gaue him so great a wound in the face, that it brecaued him of his senses, so that he was slaine in the place. Some write, that whilest that he was in this fight, ALBERT cried vnto him aloud; Here ADVLPH shalt thou lose the Empire; whereto he answered, This (O ALBERT) is in the hand of God.

The Emperour  
Adulph slaine.

So soone as the Emperour was slaine and perceiued by his souldiers, they (without making any more resistance) were ouerthrowne, and ALBERT remained victor, although it cost him deere, for a great number of his men were slaine and wounded. In this manner was this Emperour murdered by the hands of a Prince subiect to the Empire; in the seuenth yeare of his raigne: whether the cause mouing him thereto were right or wrong, I leaue to God, who is the righteous iudge: but the reasons which they alleaged, were that he tooke pay of the king of England, wherewith he was grown proud: that he made a Masse priest to be beheaded; that he had caused false money to be coyned, and had degraded certaine Ecclesiasticall persons: that he had forced certaine damfels: and so others which they alleaged: which whether they were true or false, it pleased God that he dyed in this manner. Some authors write that all those which conspired against him, and were accessarie to his death, had euill endes: how ALBERT sped, I will tell you hereafter. Of ADVLPH's sonnes small mention is made, excepting one which with many Earles was taken prisoner in the Battaille; and the Duke of Baniere escaped by flight; other men of great account in this cruell battaille were slaine. In Constantinople, ANDRONICVS sonne of MICHAEL PALOLOGVS was Emperour.

THE



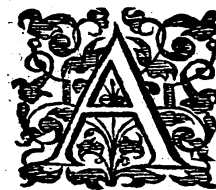
# THE LIFE OF ALBERT THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND CV. ROMANE EMPEROVR.



## THE ARGVMENT.



Albert would not accept of his first election, but Adulph being dead, caused it to be made anew, and was confirmed by the Pope, who was easily drawne to confirme him, to the end that he should warre upon the French king, which he would not doe, neither euer come into Italy. Germany then enioyed peace, and in twelue warres which he waged he euer had the victorie, by reason whereof he was called Albertus Triumphans. Many notable matters happened in his time, as the translating of the pontificall seate from Rome to Aninion, the subuersion of the Knights called Templars, the beginning of the house of the Ottomans in Turkey, and many other things worth the reading. He died unfortunately through the conspiracie of a nephew of his who slew him neere to the Rhine, in the tenth yeere of his raigne.



Since the chiefe right to kingdomes and empires many times consisteth in armes, so ALBERT (who was (as it hath been often recited) sonne of the Emperour ROVLPH, Duke of Austrich, and Lord of other estates) remaining victor: and the Emperour ADVLPH (who was his riual) being dead, he finding no man in field to make head against him, remained sole Emperour. But forasmuch as his election was made in the time of the Emperour ADVLPH, in discord, (many contradicting the same) he sought to legitimate and assure his estate. For

Sff

which

Albert Duke of  
Austria the  
second time  
chosen Empe-  
rour.

which cause (accompanied with many princes) he went to the city of *Frankford*, where, in presence of the princes electors, hee renouncing his first election, and holding the empire for void, was the second time by common consent chosen Emperour: and from thence went to *Aken* to be crowned, together with his wife *ISABEL*, daughter of the Earle of *Tirol*, and of *Carinthia*, by whom he had many children, whose brother married *ALBERT*'s sister. Which coronation was performed with so great solemnitie, and so many repaired thither to see the same, that vpon the coronation day, there was so great a throng and prease of people, that the Duke of *Saxony* (who married another of the Emperours sisters) and many others were smothered to death, without that any man could rescue them: which was a great disgrace to the feast. After this coronation, a Diet or Council was held in *Nuremberg*, wherein he tooke order for such matters as appertained to the empire; and thence sending his Ambassadors to Pope *BONIFACE*, gaue him to vnderstand of his election, and entreated him to confirme the same: which the pope at that time would not graunt, but like a proud priest (as it is written) answered, That he was ill worthie the empire, which had murdered the Emperour. But hee shortly after confirmed him: for as this pope was a man of an high minde and presumptuous, so vpon some occasion which happened (which I haue no time to recount) he fell at such oddes with *PHILIP* the French king, that the king apprehended a Bishop which was his Ambassador: and such other matters passed betweene them, that the Pope summoned a Councell, to the end to proceed against the king of *France*; who would not permit any his subiects to sue to the court of *Rome*, neither to carrie or send any rents or tributes to the same. Whereupon the pope to the end to vse the Emperours aide against the French king, very willingly confirmed his election: and inciting him to proclaime himselfe king of *France*, promised to deprive the king, and to giue him the kingdome: about which matters were many treaties, and in the end the Pope denounced sentence against the French king: whereby he deprived him of his kingdome, and gaue the same to the Emperour. Herein is great difference betweene the Historiographers, for they report this after sundrie manners. But the truth is, that the Emperour was the kings friend, and had married his eldest sonne *RODOLPH*, whom he had made Duke of *Austria*, to the kings daughter *BLANCH*: for which cause, or for some other, for many are alleaged, he accepted not the title to the crowne of *France*: but was contented with his confirmation in the empire; wherein (following his fathers counsell) he reigned in prosperitie, without any desire to goe into *Italy*; and so neuer went thither. The enmitie betweene the pope and the king so much encreased, that the king deadly hating the pope, practised with a Nobleman of *Rome*, whose name was *SARRA*, of the house and familie of the *COLVMOIS* (who was Lord of many townes and castles, and was of the faction of the Gibelins) whom the pope had banished: for which cause he made his aboad in *France*, and was highly fauoured in the French court. The conclusion was, that this Lord should apprehend the pope, which he vnderooke, vsing such meanes as you shall heare. This Lord *SARRA COLVMA* hauing many friends of the faction of the Gibelins in *Alania*, where the pope was then resident (for it was his natie countrie) departed *France* disguised, hauing first agreed with a captaine called *NOGARECIO*, to put himself with two hundred souldiers into a place which hee had appointed; and he himselfe went into *Alania*, where hauing secret conference with his friends, he shewed them the French Kings letters and fauours: and so well carried the matter, that vpon a day he assaulted the popes

The Pope de-  
prived the king  
of France by  
his censures,  
and gaue his  
kingdome to  
the Emperour.

Pope Boniface  
apprehended by  
Sarra Columna.

popes palace, and tooke him prisoner, and presently tooke his way with him towards *Rome*; which he entred with the aide of the Gibelins, and of his owne familie of the *COLVMOIS* which liued therein. But the pope within fve and thirtie daies after died, hauing been pope the space of eight yeeres and nine moneths; which was in the yeer of our Lord 1302. In this manner ended the high thoughts of pope *BONIFACE*, who wrote the sixth booke of the Decretals. What the Lord *SARRA* meant to haue done with him, is vknowne; yet it is written that he purposed to haue carried him into *France*, which he then could not, or durst not put in execution. After that *BONIFACE* was dead, *NICHOLAS* Cardinall of *Holstia* was chosen, and was called *BENEDICT* the eleuenth, who was borne in *Treugi*, and was a Dominicane Frier.

Whilest these matters passed in *Italy* and in *France*, *ALBERT* reigned prosperously in *Germany*: but in *Hungary* were great warres about the title to that kingdome, for *ANDREVV* their King dying without issue, *VENCESLAVS* sonne to the King of *Bohemia*, aspired to the kingdome: and afterwards, *OTH* Duke of *Baviera*, against *CHARLES* sonne of the King of *Naples*, but in the end *CHARLES* was King: and *VENCESLAVS* inherited *Bohemia*, which was his fathers inheritance, who was of the same name: but he proued to be so wicked (notwithstanding that he was but a young man) that his subiects conspiring against him, slew him in a citie of *Moravia*: and forasmuch as he also had no issue, the like controuerse arose in *Bohemia*, as was in *Hungary*: notwithstanding that he left a sister whose name was *ISABEL*: which the Emperour *ALBERT* vnderstanding, resolved to procure her for his sonne *RODOLPH*, by reason of a certaine couenant and agreement made betweene the houses of *Austria* and of *Bohemia*, which was, that the one wanting heires, the heires of the other should succeed in the estate. But the greatest part of the Bohemians determined to chuse a Lord of their owne nation for their King, whose name was *HENRY*, and was Earle of *Carinthia* and of *Tirol*, and was the Emperours brother in law: neuertheless there was euer ill will and discord betweene them; and *HENRY* desiring to raigne, without any intermission hastened into *Bohemia*, and there was receiued and obeyed for King: but the Emperour presently leuying an army entred the countrie with so great power, that *HENRY* durst not abide his comming: and put his sonne *RODOLPH* in possession (who was a widower, hauing buried the French kings daughter) and the better to assure him, and to make him the more acceptable to the Bohemians, married him to the widow *ISABEL*, late wife of King *VENCESLAVS* deceased: which tooke such effect, that he was presently obeyed by all men, and began to raigne in peace. But it pleased not God that he should long hold that kingdome, for within few moneths after, when hee was freed from all his enemies, hee died suddenly, in the yeere of our Lord 1306. By reason whereof, the old discord and contention was renewed, some desiring to haue the despoiled *HENRY* Earle of *Carinthia*; and others would haue *FREDERICK*, the Emperours second sonne to be their King. But the Earle *HENRIES* partie being the stronger, he was receiued and established in the kingdome: which the Bohemians did so willingly, that the Emperour (within few daies after) comming thither in person with a mightie armie, to haue preferred his son *FREDERICK*, they all so resolutely serued their new King, that after much harne done in the countrie, the Emperour was faine to returne without effecting what he came for, seeing how constantly the Bohemians stood to their defence. In which warres and others which he first had with the Emperour *ADOLPH*, and other Princes, it is written, that hee fought in person

The death of  
the king of Bo-  
hemia 1306.

The Pope removed his seat from Rome to Avinion in France.

The beginning of the Turkish Empire, anno 1307.

The Knights of the Rhodes.

The beginning of the Cantons of the Swissers.

The order of the Knights Templars dissolved and condemned.

The Ile of Sardinia taken by the Moores.

twelve severall times, and in them all had the victory, and therefore was called ALBERTVS TRIVMPHANS. In the time of this Emperour ALBERT, Pope CLEMENT the fifth leauing three Cardinals to gouerne Rome, remoued his seat from thence to Avinion in France, wherein he and his successors made their aboad for the space of seuentie and odde yeeres, whereof ensued many inconueniences. In the beginning of the Emperour ALBERTS raigne, in Asia the lesse, began the Empire and dominion of the great Turke, which is now so mightie and so redoubted; the head and founder of which Empire was one OTTOMAN, of the same nation, a man of base parentage, but of a high minde, and very politike, who of a small beginning, grew to be so mightie, and brought so many nations to his seruice and subiection, that hee conquered many countries, and made himselfe a King, and laid the foundation of that Empire, which his successors haue from time to time enlarged, and brought to that estate wherein we see it at this day: and from him is descended in line masculine, from the father to the sonne the great Turke now raigning, in the yeere of our Lord 1604.

In the tenth yeere of the Emperour ALBERTS raigne, which was in the yeere 1307, the Knights of the order of S. Iohns tooke the Ile of Rhodes from the Infidels, where they made their seat and principall residence, and therefore were afterwards called Knights of the Rhodes; and performed many marueils in armes, both by sea and land, vntill (in our time) that Iland was taken by SOLIMAN the great Turke, who conquered the same. In the time of the Emperour ALBERT also in Lumbardy neere vnto Neuarra, began a sect of Heretikes, which vnder colour of religion, and of charitie, made all things common: and women in like manner moued men to carnall coniunction, alleaging it to be a deed of charitie; and did many other things: this error disperfed it selfe into sundrie parts, and many thousands of people followed the same. But the pope and other princes vsed such diligence in punishing these Heretikes, that in the end it was suppressed, yet not without great difficultie.

In the time of the Emperour ALBERTS raigne, the Heluecians (now called Swissers) began to be famous; all which ioyning together made a league to enfranchise themselves, and to defend their libertie, and gouerned and ruled their state by their Heads or Cantons; which they haue maintained vntill this day, and haue done many singular feates of armes against the Dukes of Austria, and other princes; and from that time hitherto haue been accounted for a very valiant nation. Towards the end of this Emperours raigne, Pope CLEMENT, by the counsell and consent of the king of France, dissolved the whole order of the Knights Templars, and condemning their bodies, confisked their goods, which were such and of so great value through all Christendome, that what was taken from them, was sufficient to haue enriched many princes, and the other orders of Knights, whereto they were applied. In his time also Sardinia was taken by the Moores, which Iland pope CLEMENT bestowed vpon the king of Sicilia, to the end that he should recouer the same. About the end of the tenth yeere of this Emperours raigne, he hauing leuied great forces, therewith to haue gone into Bohemia, with an intent to haue made his son FREDERICK king thereof, wherein then raigned HENRY Earle of Carinthia; a nephew of his, being his brother RODVLPHS sonne, whose name was Iohn, through secret hatred which he conceiued against him, for not giuing him any liuelihood or estate (he withholding from him in Suenia, what to him by inheritance from his father appertained) resolved to kill him: and vpon this occasion, conspiring with other Barons, which were RODVLPH, VLRICH,

RICH,

RICH, and WALTER, vpon a day in the moneth of Aprill, in the yeere 1308, the Emperour being in a place in Austria, purposing the next day to haue passed the riuer Rhine; hee after dinner, for his pleasure taking horse, and riding ouer the ploughed fields betweene two little riuers, called Risa, and Arula, neere to the Rhine, accompanied onely by these conspirators, which were his inward familiars; his nephew Iohn with his confederates, and others which followed him for the same purpose, getting before him; RODVLPH laid hand vpon his horses bridle; his nephew Iohn stabd him in the throte; and VLRICH with a blow claue his head, and the rest wounded him, some with stroakes, some with thrusts, so that hee was soone slaine: and the murtherers setting spurs to their horses, left the miserable Emperour dead in the place, in which, his sonne the Duke of Austria afterwards builded a stately Monasterie: his bodie was carried to Spire. The conspirators were sought out by his sonnes, and the most of them found and put to death. This death was reputed to happen in this manner vnto him through the iust iudgement of God, for killing his predecessor the Emperour ADELPH: the truth is knowne to God onely, who ordreth all things according to his good pleasure: all that I can say, is, that the highest estates are in least safetie, and most subiect to daunger, both bodily and ghostly: what appertaineth to the soule is hard to be proued, for that it is secret, whereof God onely can iudge: but as it appeareth, in great estates the occasion and libertie to sinne, maketh the matter the more doubtfull, and mens weakenes is alike as well in the great as in the small; which is an argument of the greater daunger; as our Sauour Christ plainly expresth in the Gospell, wherein hee sheweth how hardly rich men inherit the kingdome of heauen: wherefore great princes ought to be circumspect concerning bodily daungers. I will not wearie the reader with other examples, those shall suffice which I haue written of the Emperours, on which (as I haue before declared) there is no kind of death in the world, that hath not befallen them: And to the contrarie, in many meane estates, we find not any that in many yeres space, haue died of a violent death, but that the greatest part of men of meane fortune haue died naturally: but pride and ambition doe so blind mens eyes, that what is most hatefull is most desired; and wee euer seeke to attaine vnto that, wherein is greatest danger: yet some haue been of so perfect vnderstanding, that they would not accept; but haue refused empires and dominions, when they haue been offered them, although their number was but small. But returning to the Emperour ALBERT, I say that he had by ELIZABETH his wife one and twentie children, sonnes and daughters, whereof tenne died in their infancie: and his eldest sonne RODVLPH died in his time king of Bohemia; so as when the Emperour ALBERT died, he left siue sonnes, and as many daughters: his daughters names were ELIZABETH, ANNE, GYTTA, KATHARINE and INES, all which were married to sundrie princes: his sonnes names were FREDERICK, LEOPOLD, HENRY, ALBERT and OTHO, which OTHO married the Duchesse of Banier; all which (after the Germane manner) were called Dukes of Austria, which causeth a great confusion in the histories: but the house of Austria rested in ALBERT, who (for that he had the gowt) was called the lame, and was the stocke and originall of the house of Austria, from whom are descended his successors.

At what time as the Emperour ALBERT was slaine, ANDRONICVS was Emperour of Constantinople, of whom I finde little written, and therefore make no particular relation of him.

Pope CLEMENT the fifth making his aboad in Avinion, gouerned Rome and his

Stf 3

Anno Dom. 1308.

The death of the Emperour Albert the first murdered by his nephew.

his estates of *Italy*, by his Legates; by reason whereof, and of the Emperours long absence, many cities in *Italy* tooke for their Lords, the heads and leaders of their factions (which prevailed in them) which they possessed a long time, and to this day some remaine, which of tyrants, haue in procelle of time made themselves absolute Lords; as in *Verona*, those of the house of *SCALA*; in *Ferrara*, the house of *ESTE*, extending it selfe afterwards to *MODENA*, whose descendents at this day enioy that estate; in *Padoa* those of *CARRARA*; in *Mantua* the *PASSERINI* were expelled by the *GONZAUGHT*, which afterwards were, and to this day are, great Lords: and others in other parts.

## THE LIFE OF HENRIE THE SEVENTH OF THAT NAME, AND CVI. ROMANE EMPEROVR.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**H**ENRY being chosen by the Electors was confirmed by the Pope, with an iniunction that he should come into *Italy*, by reason of much discord which was therein, the French King was greatly displeased with his election, for that he pretended to haue been Emperour. The first enterprise that he tooke in hand was against the king of *Bohemia*, and against the Earle of *Wittemberg*, against both which he had good successe, he came afterwards into *Italy* as well to satisfie the Pope as to visite the countries vnder his iurisdiction, hauing past the *Alpes* he found no great resistance by reason of the factions in *Rome*, where he was crowned, with more sadnes then reioycing, the citie being diuided betwene the *Colonnei* and the *Vrsini*, which daily fought together, the *Florentines* would not yeeld vnto him, nor lose their libertie, and hauing endured a long siege, in conclusion they defended themselves bravely, so as the Emperour chaunging his minde went to the conquest of *Naples*, and while he made preparation for the same he was poisoned, and died in *Ruon Conuento*, leauing *Italy* in greater trouble then before. He reigned seuen yeeres.

**I**n Ruly I coniecture that in writing the life of the Emperour *ALBERT*, I haue made too long a digression, by reason of the recitall of other matters which happened in his time: but yet neuertheless I did it, for that I was briefe

briefe in writing his life, holding it necessarie, to the end that the rest may be the better vnderstood, and to explaine what is already said: and also for that the accidents were notable, it was not fit to passe them ouer in silence. The Emperour *ALBERT* being slaine through the treason of his nephew *JOHN*, and his death being euery where published, his sonnes sought reuenge, and to get his goods and estates, and some of them to haue the empire. The princes Electors to make choise of a new Emperour, reduced themselves (according to their custome) to the citie of *Frankford*: and *PHILIP* the French king, so soone as he vnderstood of the Emperours decease, hauing a conceit to haue been Emperour, fought (by money and large promises) to get the Electors voyces: and for as much as Pope *CLEMENT* held his court within his dominion (which was in *Auinion*) he sought by meanes of his authoritie to obtaine the same, and to that effect sent to him his brother *CHARLES* of *Valois* (although vnder another pretence) accompanied with many men of warre, to the end that no man should dare counsell the Pope to the contrarie. The pope being secretly aduertised of his purpose (and being together with the greatest part of his Cardinals of opinion, that if the French king were Emperour, he would by that meane make himselfe Lord of all *Italy*, and so his patrimonie should be oppressed, and brought to subiection, and that many other inconueniences would haue ensued) by his letters and Bils enioyned the Electors, presently without any delay to chuse an Emperour, such a one as should be most fit for the state and common good, and they knowing his mind (notwithstanding that they were solicited and vrged to the contrarie by the French king) by common consent chose *HENRY* Earle of *Lutzenburgh*; vpon the first day of *November*, in the yeere of our Lord 1308: whereto his brother *BALDVIN*, Bishop of *Treuer*, and one of the Electors did greatly assist him. So soone as his election was published, and vnderstood by the French king, he was extremely wroth (for he assured himselfe to haue been Emperour) and much more after that he vnderstood that the Pope had hastened the Electors, and had authorised them to make the election; for which, afterwards ensued some discord betwene them. The new chosen Emperour, well accompanied, went to the citie of *Aken*, where with great solemnitie he was crowned; and thence sent his Ambassadors to the Pope, entreating him to confirme his election, which the Pope gladly performed, inioyning him within the terme of two yeeres to come to *Rome*, there to be crowned by his Legates. This the Pope did to the end that the Emperour should haue fought to make peace in *Italy*, for therein were then many factions and tyrannies. *HENRY* accepting these conditions, resolved to come into *Italy*, and began to provide for his journey, which neither *RODVLPH*, *ADVLPH*, nor *ALBERT*, his predecessors would doe; and to this effect called a Councell to be held in *Spire*, whither came (in a manner) all the princes. At the same time new cares and troubles arose, besides his journey for *Italy*: the first was, that vnderstanding that *HENRY* Earle of *Carinthia*, was king of *Bohemia*, and that the same Earle was in possession of the kingdome, the new Emperour (wanting none to incite him thereto) resolved to depose the said Earle, and to make one of his owne sonnes king: whereupon hee caused the daughter of *WENCESLAUS* king of *Bohemia*, and of the Emperour *RODVLPH*'s sister, to be brought to *Spire*, and notwithstanding that she was foure yeeres elder then his sonne *JOHN*, yet he married him vnto her, and with this title leuied an armie and sent him to the conquest of *Bohemia*, whither he was solicited to come by many of that kingdome. At the same time also a second occasion of care was offered, which was, to leue an armie and to send the

Henry Earle of  
Lutzenburgh  
chosen Emperour

same against **EBERARD** Earle of *Wittenbergh*, who being discontent with **HENRIS** election refused to come to his obedience, and being countenanced by the French king, tooke many townes in the empire. The enterprife of *Bohemia* had good successe, for the said Earle hauing (as writeth **HENRICVS MCVIVS**) raised a power to fight with the Emperour; and the two armies being encamped the one neere to the other, betweene them many notable skirmishes were maintained; but in the end the Earle of *Carinthia*, who was called king, was constrained to retire, and the Emperours sonne assaulted the citie of *Prage*, which is the head of that kingdome, and taking the same, was therein crowned by **PETER** the Archbishop of *Mentz*; and his power presently so much encreased, that the Earle of *Carinthia* abandoning the kingdome, went home into his owne countrey; and the Emperours sonne **JOHN** remained king of *Bohemia*. If he sped well in *Bohemia*, the armie had no lesse good fortune, which he sent against **EBERARD** Earle of *Wittenbergh*, for the greatest part of his castles were taken, which (as saith **NAVCLERVS**) were fourescore; and in the end he himselfe in the best manner that he could, was constrained to compound, not without great losse of his estate; which he after the Emperours death againe recovered.

During the time of these troubles, the Emperour forgot not within the time limited by the Pope, to prepare for his iourney into *Italy*: wherein, when his coming was certainly knowne, it caused so great feare, as though it had been a matter the like whereof had neuer been seene; for threescore yeeres were now expired since that any Emperour had bin there, euen from the time that **FREDERICK** the second died therein, who also was King of *Naples*: that time being spent in contention and discord in the Empire, by reason of the death of the said **FREDERICK**: and afterwards in the time of the Emperours **ADVLPH**, and **ALBERT**, neither of them would euer come into *Italy*. The Emperour **HENRY** being in a readines to march with his armie, first sent his Ambassadors to the cities in *Italy*, and to their Gouvernours, giuing them to vnderstand of his coming, and of his armie; exhorting them to peace, and to lay downe their weapons, for to that purpose hee principally addressed his iourney into that countrey; and he further required them to receiue him and his army into their townes and cities. His Ambassadors were very honorably receiued, and answered generally by them all: for as there were many factions and parcialities, each partie desired to winne the Emperours fauour: onely the Florentines holding themselves for free (hauing bought their libertie of the Emperour **RODVLPH**, and being then very mightie, and hauing at that time made a league with **ROBERT** King of *Naples*, and lying then encamped before *Arezzo*) answered the Emperour that they marueiled, that so wise a Prince as he was would come into *Italy* with so great a number of barbarous people, as it was said he brought with him, seeing that the Emperours office and dutie was to take care to cleere and purge that countrie of barbarous nations, and not to bring them thither. And whereas he said that they should leaue to war against the Aretines; they answered, that that also was against his Imperiall office, for it was his part to right wrongs, and to redresse iniuries: and whereas those of *Arezzo* had banished the Guelphes from their houses, hee ought to command them to be restored: and as for receiuing him into their citie, they would be aduised and consider what ought to be done, and in time would answer him accordingly. The Emperour took this answer in very ill part: **BLONDVS**, **PLATINA**, and others write, that **DANTE** an excellent learned Poet in that time, vnderstanding of his country mens answer in his absence, said, that the Florentines

The Emperour Henry made his sonne Iohn king of Bohemia.

The Florentines answered to the Emperour Henry the seventh.

rentines were blind and saw not the present estate, seeing they had giuen such an answer.

The Emperour hauing past the Alpes, the Earle of *Sauoy*, and the Marquis of *Monferrato* came to receiue him, and came with him to the citie of *Turin*; wherein he and his wife the Empreffe were quietly receiued: with him also came **RODVLPH** Duke of *Bauiere*, and **LEOPOLD** sonne of the Emperour **ALBERT**, who (as were his brothers **FREDERICK**, **ALBERT**, and **HENRY**) was called Duke of *Austrich*: and the Archbishop of *Trenier* with other Princes, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1312. At that time Pope **CLEMENT** called a generall Councell to be held in the citie of *Vienne* in *France*, whither came three hundred Bishops, besides many other prelates, wherein the Begardes were condemned for heretikes. From *Turin* the Emperour came to *Aste*, whither came to him some principall heads and Lords of cities, offering him their seruice and to receiue him into their gouernments. And so came to him **PHILIP** which was called Earle of *Pauia*; **SIMON COLLVIAN** of *Bercelli*; **ANTHONY VISERAGO** from *Lodi*; to all which cities, and to *Turin* and *Aste*, the Emperour sent his Lieutenants to rule in his steed: which were receiued.

From *Aste* he went to *Milan* (the head and strength of all *Lombardy*) wherein were two houses and factions of great power: viz. the Vicecomites or Vicounts, from which descended the Dukes of *Milan*; and the Turriones which were of the faction of the Guelphes; and as these two were then of chiefe authority, so they sought to let the Emperours comming into their citie: so as there was a great stirre about the matter: but either party fearing that their aduersaries would ioyne with the Emperour, they both receiued him into *Milan*, and he made many of the Viscounts which were expelled by the Turriones, to come in with him: and the Emperour to content both parties, and to make them friends; to **GVIDO TVRRIO**, gaue the citie of *Bercelli*; and made **GALEAZZO** Viscount, his Constable of the citie; and left **LEOPOLD** of *Austrich* with certaine companies of Germanes to keepe the citie in peace. The other cities of *Lombardy* vnderstanding that the Emperour was possessed of *Milan*, sent their solicitors vnto him to offer him their obedience, and receiued such Lieutenants as he sent them, and so did those of the contrarie faction, excepting *Alexandria* and those which were further off, as *Padoa*, *Ferrara*, and *Bolonia*, which being of the faction of the Guelphes, and in league with the Florentines, sent not to him. The Emperour within few daies after was crowned with the iron Crowne in *Milan*, which was wont to be done in *Monza*, for which and for other occasions, a certaine contribution of money was leuiued in the citie (as they thought which paid it) too excessive: by reason whereof and of the Germanes ill behauiour, the people murmuring, tooke armes against the Imperialists and fought with them; and the Emperour sending for his souldiers into the citie, **GALEAZZO** Viscount, head of that faction, vsed a notable (though doubtful and daungerous) stratagem; which was, that he leauing his father in his house, together with the greatest part of his adherents, went to **LEOPOLD** of *Austrich* (who was with the Imperialists) and told him that **GVIDO TVRRIO** and his abbettors had caused that tumult, to the end to make themselves Lords of the citie, as they already were: but as for him and his friends, they were still readie to doe the Emperour seruice in ought they should be commaunded. It was an easie matter to perswade him, which had all men in suspition, to giue credit hereto, and so **LEOPOLD** and the Imperialists ioyning with **GALEAZZO**, set vpon **GVIDO** and the Turriones, which suspected no such matter,

Anno Dom. 1312.

The Emperour Henrys comming into Italy

matter, (yet armed and in order, expecting the issue of that tumult) and wounding and killing many of them, draue them from the place which they had taken: and GUIDO TURRIO surmising what the matter might be (seeing the Imperialists ioynd with his aduersaries against him) abandoned the citie, and in the best manner that he could, with the greatest part of his faction, retired to the citie of *Bercelli*: in this manner were the Turrones (which were of the faction of the Guelphes) driuen out of *Milan*: wherefore so soone as this was knowne, some other cities which were of that faction, forlooke the Emperours seruice, amongst which were *Crema*, and *Cremona*, which presently by force of armes thrust out the Emperours Lieutenants, together with the faction of the Gibelins: the like was also done in *Brescia* and in *Parma*. The Emperour leauing *Milan* vnder the gouernment and guard of the Viscounts, which (as he thought) had done him loyall seruice, marched with his armie against *Crema* and *Cremona*: but so soone as those of *Cremona* vnderstood that he was entred their confines, without making any resistance they submitted, and yeelded themselves and their citie, and the Emperour receiued them to mercie. But those of *Crema* suffering themselves to be besieged, were taken by force, and had the walles of their citie rased and dismantled, and the Emperour otherwise punished them for an example: whereupon *Parma* fearing the like, sued to him for pardon. But the Brescians trusting in the strength of their citie, chose rather to hazard themselves like those of *Crema*, then to follow the example of *Cremona*, and so had the like lot: and the Emperor besieged them a long time, and many men were slaine of both the besiegers and the besieged, but in the end the citie was rendred to the Emperour; who commaunded their gates and the most of their Bulwarkes to be throwne downe. By these two iourneys the Emperour wanne so great reputation, that the cities of *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Padoa* and *Treuigi*, sent their Ambassadors; and entreating for peace, offered him their seruice, and to receiue any garrison that he should send them. His Ambassadors also which he had sent to *Venice*, now returned, certifying him that the Venecians were willing to do what he required of them, which was, to furnish him with shipping to conuey his armie (if he pleased) to *Rome*.

The Emperour hauing taken order for the affaires of *Lombardy*, desired to see the citie of *Genoa*, and being there his wife the Emperesse fell sicke and died; and thither came to him Ambassadors from ROBERT king of *Naples*, and from FREDERICK king of *Sicilia*; both to desire peace and his friendship: but the request of the king of *Naples* was held for fained, for that hee maintained two thousand horse in *Tuscane*, in the behalfe of Florentines and Lucanois which pleading libertie rebelled against him; and to the end also to relieue *Bolonia* and *Ferrara* if need required. The Emperor dispatched them, some with fained, and others with vnfained kind speeches of loue and good will, according to their ambassades; and within few daies after departed from *Genoa* by sea, and sent his armie by land, which making great spoyle in the territorie of *Luca*, came to *Pisa*, a citie at that time very friendly and much deuoted to the Emperours seruice, wherein hee was receiued with great ioy, and continued therein about two moneths. There hee was ascertained of the estate of *Rome*, and how that therein were great factions and hurly burlies, some desiring his comming, and others seeking to hinder the same. Those which sought to let his comming were the Lord JOHN, brother to the king of *Naples*, which came thither with men of warre, and with him came all the faction of the Vrsins, and were seised of the Castle *S. Angelo*, the Capitoll, the Vaticane, and other Holds, and all *Rome* ouer *Tiber*: against whom the Colon-

nois

nois and their faction held the rest of the citie; betweene which was daily skirmishing and manslaughter of either side: for which Pope CLEMENT, by whose counsell and instigation the Emperour came into *Italy*, was much blamed: for it appeared that where he thought to haue established peace, he kindled warre.

The Emperour departing from *Pisa* towards *Rome*, and (for that he would not be pestered with the Florentines) taking his way neere to the sea side, sent the Earle of *Sauoy* before with part of his horse troupes: finally, after some daies stay in *Viterbo* he came to *Rome*, where by the Cardinals Legates, and the Colonnois, he was receiued with great solemnitie: the Kings brother of *Naples* together with the whole faction of the Vrsins hauing fortified themselves in such places as they had taken. The Emperour being entred *Rome*, how long he remained there, and what befell him therein, is not distinctly written: some say that he staid there three moneths, in all which time were daily skirmishings, the King of *Naples* sending galleys and souldiers vp the riuier *Tiber* to relieue his brother, which with the Vrsins, held the Vaticane, & the Castle *S. Angelo*: and that the coronation was deferred vntill they might send to the Pope to appoint the place wherein it should be solemnized, for it could not be done in S. PETERS Church (for that was held by the enemy) and that the Pope was in doubt to giue order for the Emperors coronation, for that many of his friends and seruants were of a contrary opinion. Others set lesse time, and write not that the Pope stood in any such doubt: but they all agree that the Emperour (for that he could not get into S. PETERS Church) was crowned by the three Cardinals which were the Popes Lieutenants in *Rome*, in S. JOHN DE LATRAN; and that so long as he was there, his people daily fought with the Neapolitans and Vrsins, not only in the streetes but euen in the houses also wherein they dwelt: in time of which skirmishings he departed *Rome*. The Emperour being highly displeased with ROBERT King of *Naples*, leauing *Rome* wet to *Arezzo*, which being at his deuotion was enemy to the Florentines and Lucanois; whither all the Gibelins which were expelled *Florence*, *Luca*, *Siena*, and others cities in *Tuscane*, repaired vnto him, and frō thence he went to besiege *Florence*, in which siege many notable matters passed: but the citie was with their owne people (together with the Sienois and Lucanois which came to their aide) so well fortified and garrisoned, that it sufficiently defended it selfe: whereupon the Emperour hauing lien a moneth and halfe before it, raised his siege, hauing first builded a fortresse in a mountaine neere to the citie, wherein, and in other Castles and places of greatest importance, he left munition and garrisons daily to ouerrunne the fields of the Florentines, and to make warre vpon them; and so marching vp and downe their countrey for the space of two moneths, in the end he went to *Pisa*, where vsing more then ordinarie authoritie of an Emperor, he summoned ROBERT King of *Naples* to make his appearance before him, as before his Emperour and soueraigne Lord, and to answere to such matters as should be objected against him, for that he meant to proceed against him, and to make him, for such matters as he had attempted and done against him, as well in *Rome*, as in other parts of *Italy*, to be indited of treason. But King ROBERT making no account of these summons; the Emperour (lying at the siege of *Florence*) procured FREDERICK King of *Sicilia* (with whose sonne hee purposed to marry his daughter) to make warre against him in *Pulia*: which FREDERICK putting in execution rigged vp a fleet, wherein he sent great forces, which began the warre. And in the meane time the Emperour left not to prosecute the warre against the Florentines & the other cities of their parcialitie; and the Florentines seeing

The Emperour  
crowned in  
*Rome*.

*Florence* be-  
sieged.

The Emperour  
summed the  
king of *Naples*  
to appeare be-  
fore him in  
*Pisa*.

The Turrones  
driuen out of  
*Milan*.

seeing in what distresse they were, and fearing that the Emperour would the next Spring in person againe returne to the warre against them, sent to yeeld themselves subiect to the King of *Naples* (reseruing certain preheminences and exemptions) vpon condition that he in person, or some other either his sonne or his brother should come to relieue them. The Emperour hauing many daies made his aboad in *Pisa*, in the middest of sommer (as writeth S. ANTHONY) departed thence very ill at ease; and passing through the territory of *Siena* (wherein he did much harme) he went to the citie of *Arezzo*; whither being come, and the time limited to the King of *Naples* expired, he pronounced sentence against him, whereby he deprived him of his kingdome of *Naples*, and released his subiects from the homage and allegiance which they ought him; and gaue authoritie to his enemy *FREDERICK* king of *Sicilia*, to make a conquest thereof for his sonne, and sonne in law, which should be, to the Emperour: which sentence, so soone as Pope *CLEMENT* vnderstood, he presently protested the same to be of no effect, alleaging that the Emperour neither could, or had any authoritie to condemne King *ROBERT*; for that kingdome was neither subiect nor feudatorie to any but to the Church of *Rome*; and made other protestations contained in the *Clementines*, in the chapter, *Pastoralis de Sententia & re Indicata*, and made other protestations contained in that chapter. The Emperour departing from *Arezzo*, with a determination to haue besieged *Siena*, imagining that the Florentines seeing themselves on euery side oppressed, would haue come to some composition: and being by the way aduertised, that in *Naples* and in other parts of that kingdome after the publication of his sentence pronounced against the king, were some Commotions and Insurrections against him: he thereupon with a desire to haue been reuenged of king *ROBERT*, and to haue made a conquest of that kingdome, resolved to goe thither with all his whole power; and comming within three miles of *Siena*, he lodged his armie in a place called *Monte aperto*, where feeling himselfe ill at ease, he (by the aduice of his Physitions) went thence to the Bathes of *Macerata*, and thence (feeling no amendement) went to *Buonconuento*, directing his journey towards *Naples*, vpon which hee had setled his thoughts: all which, together with his other desseignes were abridged by his death, which through his infirmitie ouertooke him in the same place; which happened vpon the day of the Assumption of our Lady, he hauing the same day received the holie Sacrament of our Lords Supper; wherein (as some say) he was poysoned by a Frier of the order of *S. DOMINICK*, and died thereof the same day: which was so wicked and so odible a fact, that a man would thinke that no Christian would haue committed, much lesse a religious man. The same Historians write, that the Pope vnderstanding that a religious man was accused thereof, wrote his letters and Bulls by which he published him for innocent and not guiltie. This Emperour died in the yeere of our Lord 1313. in the seuenth yeer of his raigne. Most authors which write of him, say, that he was a louer of iustice and equity, of a pleasing conuersation, amiable, valorous, expert in the wars, of an honest life, a deuout Christian and one that feared God: yet *B. LONDVS* noteth him of imprudence, and couetousnes. He had by his wife the Emperesse one son and three daughters; his sonnes name was *JOHN*, whom he had already made king of *Bohemia*, and was likewise by inheritance from his father Duke of *Lutzenburgh*. The eldest of his daughters called *BEATRICE* was married to *CHARLES* king of *Hungary*, brother to *ROBERT* king of *Naples*, which within one yeere died in childbed: the second was *MARY*, and was married to *CHARLES* king of *France*, which also died in childbed: the third

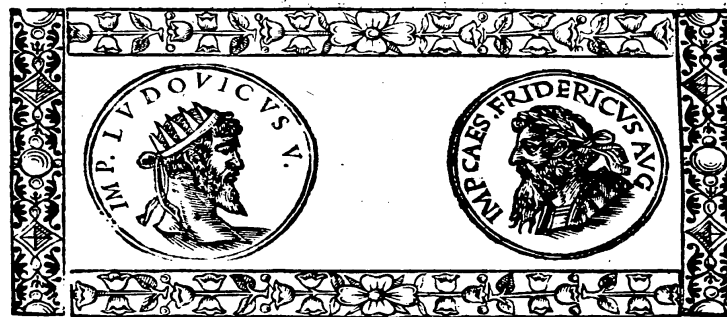
The death of  
the Emperour  
Henry the se-  
uenth, who was  
poysoned in the  
Host by a Frier.

was

was married to *RODVLPH* Countie Palatine of *Rhine*. His body was carried to to *Pisa*, and there with great duile solemnely entombed. The Emperour being dead, there ensued a great alteration in all *Italy*; his army was disperfed and came to nothing: and great and cruell warres ensued betweene the Florentines and Pisans.

There is so little written of the Emperours of *Constantinople* in these times, that it is hard to accord one history with another: what I can gather out of the authors is, that the Emperour *ANDRONICVS* of whom we haue before made mention, by reason of his great age made his sonne *MICHAEL* his companion in the Empire, who presently dyed, and left one sonne called *ANDRONICVS*, after his Grandfather, who rebelling against the old *ANDRONICVS*, after sixe yeares warre bereaued him of the Empire; leauing him his life, and the title of Emperor. This *ANDRONICVS* was called the younger, and was a great warrior, and very valiant. He that will know more of this Emperour, let him reade *GEORGE MERVLA* in his seuenth and eight bookes of the historie of *Milan*, and *LEONARD ARÉTIN* in his fourth booke of his historie of *Florence*.

## THE LIFE OF LEWES THE FIFTH OF THAT NAME, AND CVIL. ROMANE EMPEROVR: AND OF HIS COMPETITOR FREDERICK.



### THE ARGVMENT.

Henry being dead, and long time spent before the Princes electors did meet, in the end they were divided, and chose two Emperours, and each endeuoured to defend and maintain their partie by armes. They both were Crowned, and all Germany was deuided into two factions: Frederick was fauored by the Pope, yet he would not confirme any of them. This division encreased the troubles in *Italy*, wherein were long and cruell warres, and no lesse in Germany betweene the two Emperours, which fought a battaile which continued twelue houres, in the end whereof Lewes had the victory, and Frederick was taken prisoner. Lewes being sole Emperour waited

Tee

waited

warred against the Pope, by who he was excommunicate: whereupon he was constrained to set Frederick at libertie; who together with his brother Leopold dyed shortly after. So as he remayned without any rymall, and without suspicion, but not without griefe, for that he was constrained to come into Italy, called thither by those of his faction, wherein ensued many innovations, by reason of the factions of the Guelphes & Gibelins. After many accidents he came to Rome, where he was crowned by Stephen Colonna, having an intent to haue gone to Naples against his enemy Robert. Vpon certaine occasions he made a new Pope in Rome by whom he was absolved, which the other Pope in France understanding, againe excommunicated him with greater vehemencie; and the new Pope after the returne of the Emperour into Germany, fell into the old Popes hand, and this Emperour could neuer agree with the Popes, neither could be absolved from the Popes curse, so much were they incensed against him. And so the electors fearing the Popes fulminations chose another Emperour, which was the occasion that Germany was againe divided. So as this Emperours raigne was in the beginning and ending after one manner: and he in these troubles, overcome with griefe, dyed suddainly, when he had reigned in company and alone three and thirtie yeares.



After the deccase of the Emperour HENRY (who dyed in Buonconvento and was buried in Pisa) the Princes of Germany which were with him, returned home with some part of his army, for the most of his souldiers remayned in Italy to get pay and entertainment in the warres, which therein were already begun, and as it seemed would neuer haue beene ended; the rest were dispersed into sundry partes. But it was one whole yeare after his deccase before the electors chose him any successor, by reason that it was long before they met, and also for that they could not agree in their election; so as (the Empire being without an head) there was in all things a great confusion, and the worst of all was, that in all their treaties and negociations, they could neuer agree (as reason required) but were still more discrepant and diuided: and they at length meeting it seemeth that the most of them made choyce of FREDERICK Duke of Austria: for HENRY the Archbishop of Colen, ALBERT Duke of Saxony, and VALDEMAR Marquis of Brandenburg, although absent by his Agent, tooke his part; all which were his cousins germans and his Fathers sisters sonnes, and Nephewes of the Emperour RODVLPH; and RODVLPH Duke of Bawier and County Palatine of Rhine, had promised him his voyce: but JOHN king of Bohemia, PETER Archbishop of Mentz, and BALDVIN Archbishop of Treuier, were so contrary vnto him, that thinking to get the voyce of RODVLPH Duke of Bawier and County Palatine on their side, (procuring also the voyce of the Marquis of Brandenburg deputy to that effect) they resolved by all means possible to make the said LEVVES Emperour: and either party was so obstinate in their determination, that making their election with the accustomed solemnities, vpon Saint LUKES day, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1314, in steed of one Emperour, they chose two: for the king of Bohemia, the Archbishops of Treuier and of Mentz, and NICHOLAS DE BOOC (who was deputy for the Marquis of Brandenburg) chose LEVVES Duke of Bawiere: And the Archbishop of Colen, the Duke of Saxony, and RODVLPH County Palatine of Rhine and Duke of Bawiere, to hold his word, (notwithstanding that LEVVES was his owne Brother) chose FREDERICK of Austria; and so there was a diuision in the election; and either party affirmed that he whom they had chosen, was and ought to be Emperour. LEVVES his party alleged him to be chosen by most voyces, for of seuen he had fower. FREDERICK and his friends alleged that the Marquis of Brandenburgs proctor had falsified his authority, who bringing in writing by the hand of the Marquis the name of FREDERICK, rased it out, and wrote LEVVES in the place; wherefore he

Anno. Dom.  
1314.

Lewes Duke of  
Bawiere, and  
Frederick  
Duke of Au-  
strich both cho-  
sen Emperours by  
the Electors.

he was the man that was chosen: so as all Germany, the Princes and cities, was diuided into two factions, the one holding for the one party, and the other for the other: and from contrariety in opinious, they came to blowes; and the war continued betweene them the space of eight or nine yeares, vntill it ended in such manner as you shall heare.

LEVVES departing from Frankford with the ayd of those which tooke his part, went to the citie of Aken, where he was crowned by the Archbishop of Colen: but forasmuch as FREDERICK could not get in to it, (which was the right place) he was crowned in another citie. The solemnities of the Coronations being ended, they could not send to the pope for that the Sea had bin voyd about two yeares, through the death of CLEMENT the fift; but either of them sent to the Princes, cities, and potentates, signifying vnto them by their letters and messengers, the equitie of their causes, and to iustifie their election. And some being perswaded by the one partie and others by the other, the most part of the cities of the lower Germany as farre as Argentine, held for LEVVES; and so did (in a manner) all Suenia also, excepting the citie of Vtme, and some townes which were of the contrary faction: and in high Duchland, and in Swisserland, almost all the cities held FREDERICK for Emperour; and each of the princes electors tooke his part whom they had chosen, and so were diuided: and notwithstanding that the greatest part fauoured LEVVES more then FREDERICK, yet his brothers, ALBERT and LEOPOLD did so wel sticke to him, that he leuying an army and taking the field, besieged the citie of Smina in Suenia, and brought it to such extremitie that the inhabitants sent to LEVVES for reliefe; who raised his whole power, and with the ayd of the king of Bohemia, and the Archbishop of Treuier, came to vnset the citie: and FREDERICK being aduertised of his comming, went to meet him, and neere to a riuer called Nechar, fought a battaile, wherein both the Emperours fought in their owne persons: and the battaile was so furious that it lasted the greatest part of the day, so that the darke night parted them without any appearance of victorie; yet HENRICVS MVCIVS saith, that LEVVES lost more men then FREDERICK: and so FREDERICK returning to the siege which he had begun, LEVVES went to the citie of Argentine, which held for FREDERICK, and was receiued into it by meanes of the great priuileges and exemptions which he gaue and promised thereto; which FREDERICKS brother LEOPOLD vnderstanding, raised a great power of his subiects and friends, and came to make warre against such as held for LEVVES, and encamped himself before Spire; whereof so soone as LEVVES was certified, he departed from Argentine, and with his best power went to seeke LEOPOLD, with a desire to haue fought with him before he ioyned with his brother; but FREDERICK made such speed that he ioyned with LEOPOLD before they could meet: whereupon LEVVES not daring to fight with them both together retired, with some diminution both of his people and reputation, determining to warre after another manner without hazarding any battaile, and so tooke his way into Bawiere, to warre against his owne brother, for that he hauing chosen FREDERICK, tooke his part.

This aboue said happened in the yeare of our Lord 1316, and in the same yeare pope JOHN the three and twentith was chosen in Lions in France, after two yeares and odde monethes that the seat had bin voyd; who presently comming to Auinion, fauoured the partie of FREDERICK of Austria, but for that time, he confirmed neither partie. The warre betweene these two Emperours (notwithstanding that in the space of foure or five yeares, the one sought not to giue the

A battaile be-  
tweene Frede-  
rick and  
Lewes.

other battaile) was so cruell and generall through all the land, and betweene the cities and some Princes, as the like had not bin seene; whereof ensued many violences, and robberies by the high wayes; in so much that for redresse thereof the cities of *Argentine, Spire, Wormes, Mentz*, and others made a confederacie, and agreed together to raise certaine companies of foote and horse to guard and assure the wayes and passages for merchants and traueellers, whither soeuer they went: and so *Germany* being afflicted with trouble and misery, without any battaile or feate of armes worth the writing betweene the persons of the two Emperours, vntill in the yeare 1323, in which time what happened in *Italy*, from the time of the Emperour *HENRY* the seuenth vntill then, we will briefly bring to light, especially in *Lombardy*, being a matter concerning the Empire.

When the Emperour *HENRY* died, the Viscounts (from which descended the Dukes of *Milan*) were so absolute Lords thereof, that they being no longer content with that citie; *MATHEVV* Viscount, *GALEAZZO* and the rest tooke *Pavia* and other cities; which they might easily soone bring to passe, hauing the aide of the Germanes, which of the Emperours armie therein remained; and they also taking part (as they did) with the Emperour *LEVVES*: and as the empire was diuided and in strife, *LEVVES* to haue of his side so puissant a people and familie, sent him Ambassadors and very kind and friendly letters. But Pope *JOHN* being of the contrarie faction, so soone as hee was chosen, willed *FREDERICK* to send his brother *HENRY* into *Italy*: who in hope that the Pope would haue confirmed his election, did so. But his going was to small effect, for he came but neere to the citie of *Pavia*, and from thence returned: for as the Imperialists euer maintained the faction of the Gibelins, and the Pope the Guelphs; so he for that he could not hold with both parties, returned into *Austrich*; by reason whereof, the Gibelins preuailed in *Lombardy* against the Pope, and against King *ROBERT* of *Naples*, which were of the contrarie faction: in so much that *MATHEVV* Viscount of *Milan*, being of the Gibelins, with the aide of *CANNIS SCALIGER* Gouvernor of *Verona*, purposed to haue taken *Genoa*, vnder colour to haue restored the *SPINOLAS* and the *DORIAS*, which were banished thence, for that they were Gibelins (the Guelphs being of greatest power in that citie) and sent his sonne *MARKE* Viscount thither with an armie, who besieged the citie, and aide comming to either side the warre was very sharpe, and the siege was one of the most cruell that hath been in the world; in so much that the Genowaies, to obtaine rescue and succour, became subiect to the king of *Naples* for tenne yeeres. Before and after which siege was cruell warre betweene the Pisans and the Florentines; the king of *Naples* assisting the Florentines, and other princes and cities the Pisans; a matter too long to be related. And the power of the Viscounts daily encreasing in *Lombardy*, the Pope which was their enemy, sought a meane to cause the French king to send his nephew *PHILIP* with an armie into *Italy*; and he did so, and comming into *Lombardy*, many things happened which I haue no time to recount: but the conclusion is, that he returned againe into *France*, without doing any thing worthie memorie. And the siege of *Genoa* continuing, *MATHEVV* Viscount besieged *Bercelli*, and tooke it, expelling thence the Turriones which were his old enemies: so as at this time the Viscounts were Lords and in possession of the cities of *Milan, Pavia, Placencia, Lodi, Cremona, Bergamo, Nottarra, Bercelli, Terdona* and *Alexandria*, besides others which were his confederates, as *Luca*, and *CASSTRUCHO* the Gouvernour thereof, the cities of *Pisa*, and *Arezzo*, and the Marquis of *Ferrara*, a citie belonging to the Church; and *SCALIGER* of *Verona*: against which

which *ROBERT* king of *Naples*, the Florentines, the Pope, and all those which were of the faction of the Guelphes, waged warre. The siege of *Genoa* continued five yeeres, wherein many accidents befell both by sea and by land; whither the king of *Naples* and the Pope sent threescore galleys to the reliefe thereof; and in the end the citie was not taken, but the siege was raised, and many matters befell which I cannot write, for that I am to returne to my historie of *LEVVES* and *FREDERICK*; both which were called, and pretended to be Emperours.

The eighth yeere being now expired since these two warred, and *FREDERICK* pretending to make a conquest of the cuntry of *Bauiere*, whereof the Emperour *LEVVES* was called Duke, and was in possession (as protector to his nephew, throw the death of his brother *RODVLPH*) leuied 2200. armed pikes, and a great number of other footmen, which were his subiects, and of the king of *Hungary* and other his friends: and therewith (being accompanied with his brother *HENRY*, and other princes and great men, daily expecting the comming of his brother *LEOPOLD* out of *Sueuia* to ioine with him, with eight hundred men at armes and a great number of foote) departed from *Austrich*, and entred *Bauiere*, wherein he tooke townes and castles. And being there for a space master of the field, his enemy *LEVVES* in the meane time was not idle, but of his owne forces, the kings of *Bohemia*, the Archbishops of *Treuer*, and other his friends which being absent sent their aide, leuied an armie containing about thirtie thousand foote, and about two thousand men at armes: With these forces hee went to seeke his enemy, with a resolution to giue him battaile before that his brother *LEOPOLD* should ioine with him: which *FREDERICK* purposed to haue deferred vntill his brothers comming; but *LEVVES* came so neere him, and gaue him so many occasions, that contrarie to the opinion of the most of his friends, he resolved to hazard the battaile; and so vpon a morning in the moneth of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1323, each of these competitors marshalling his squadrons; and both the one and the other assuring himselfe, that in the victorie consisted the possession of the empire; with equall power and courage most valiantly beginning the fight, maintained the same with great furie vntill it was darke night (that author which setteth downe least time saith) that the battaile lasted twelue houres; and in the end *LEVVES* hauing the victorie, *FREDERICK* and his brother *HENRY* valiantly fighting were taken prisoners, and many others of great account were taken and slaine. It is written, that in this battaile were slaine foure thousand horsemen, and so great a multitude of foote, that they number them not: so as the victors receiued no lesse losse then the vanquished. After this notable victorie, the most of the cities and princes which held with *FREDERICK* (conforming themselves with the time) yeelded obedience vnto *LEVVES*, and so hee remained sole Emperour: whom all men imagined would haue put *FREDERICK* to death; but he receiuing him to mercie, sent him prisoner to the castle of *Trisnir*. *FREDERICK*s brother *LEOPOLD* (who as I said came to ioine with him) vnderstanding that his brother was ouerthrowne and taken, was incomparably sorie: and the more, when he knew that if he had forborne to fight vntill his comming, he might haue obtained the victorie. This passion continuing in him, he neuer left to molest the Emperour *LEVVES* so long as he liued; first procuring his brothers libertie; and afterwards in reuenge, to execute the wrath and displeasure which he had conceived.

In this manner *LEVVES* through the ouerthrow and imprisonment of his enemy *FREDERICK* remained sole Emperour: but was not therefore free from

A battaile betwene the Emperours *Lewis* and *Frederick*, wherein *Frederick* was ouerthrowne and taken.

troubles and warres; for as hee was chosen in discord and controuersie, so his raigne (though of long continuance) was euer vnquiet and full of crosses and troubles: wherefore the historie of his time will be longer then ordinarily of others. So soone as he had obtained the said victorie, he sent an Ambassadour to Pope Iohn the 23, (who then lay in *Auinion*) and desiring him to confirme his election, yeelded apparant reason for the same. Pope Iohn which had euer been his aduersarie, would not grant his request, wherof FREDERICKS brother LEOPOLD was the principall occasion, who leauing his estate of *Austrich* to his brothers OTHO and ALBERT, came into *France* to the pope, to the end to incense him against the Emperour LEVVES, and to entreate him to commaund him to resigne the empire, and to release his brother: and thence went to the French king to procure the like: in both which places hee found good entertainment and fauour; and they sent their letters and Ambassadours to the Emperour, requesting and requiring him to release FREDERICK, and presently to set him at libertie: but he making his excuses and answeres, would not perforce what they required; and knowing that the Pope was his enemy, he wrote his letters of fauour, and sent authoritie to MATHEVV Viscount, and to his sonne GALEAZZO, Gouvernours of *Milan*, and of other cities in *Italy*, to hold and gouerne the same for him; and sent souldiers to them, & to others of the Gibelines. The Pope being hereof aduertised (assembling many Bishops in *Auinion*, together with his Consistorie of Cardinals, by the consent of the French King, and through LEOPOLDS entreaty, which solicited the same) excommunicating the Emperour, alleaged for his reason, that he fauoured such as were enemies to his Church in *Lombardy* and in *Italy*: and therewith assigned him the terme of three moneths, within which, he renouncing the election which was made of him, should appeare before him, to aunswere to what should be objected; and should recall the forces which he had sent to the Viscounts in *Italy*, and other enemies to his Church. The Emperour made aunswere to these citations, and making his appeale, published his reasons and excuses through all *Italy*: wherein at that time were waged most cruell warres by the popes Legates and Captaines, and the King of *Naples*; against the Viscounts, the Pisans, the Lucanois, and other cities and princes Gibelines, which the Emperour LEVVES fauored and assisted; wherof GEORGE MERULA, LEONARD ARRTIN, ANTHONY, and MACHIAVEL haue written at large.

The enmitie betweene the Emperour and the pope so much encreased through the instigation of LEOPOLD of *Austrich*, for that he would not release his brother FREDERICK; that the pope meeting the French king, consulted with him how he might depose the Emperour, and giue the Empire to the king of *France*; but the Emperour LEVVES was of so great power in *Germany*, that this parley tooke small effect: neuerthelesse, he to pacifie LEOPOLD, and FREDERICKS other parents and friends, (taking FREDERICKS oth, and such other securitie as he could giue him, that he would no more take vpon him the name of Emperour, neither practise or procure the same) released him out of prison, and suffered him to go at libertie into the cuntry of *Austrich*, where he afterwards for a small space liued in peace and sorrow: and LEOPOLD notwithstanding that he saw his brother at libertie, neuer desisted from molesting LEVVES his raigne, but could doe little, for the small time that he liued, and both of them dying without issue to succcede them, with their death the controuersie ceased.

LEVVES being freed from the contention with FREDERICK and LEOPOLD; and

and letters comming daily to him from the Gibelines which took his part in *Italy* (soliciting him to come thither) and from the citie of *Rome* it selfe, he with a desire to rule and to command, and to be crowned therein, resolved to goe thither: wherefore, summoning a Councel to be held in *Spire*, he gaue the Princes of *Germany* to vnderstand of his determination, which moued with the reasons by him alleaged, consented to his going, and some offered to serue and accompanie him, and all to aide him with men and money: and so leuying an army he departed out of *Germany*, carrying with him his second wife called MARGARET, daughter of the Earle of *Holland*, and came to the city of *Trent* (in the yeere of our Lord 1327, and in the thirteenth of his raigne (reckoning from the beginning of him and of FREDERICK) where he staid: for thither he had appointed all the cities which were at his deuotion to send their Agents, to the end, there to treat and conclude vpon what was to be done: thither came Ambassadours from GALEAZZO Viscount of *Milan*, and from his brothers Iohn, MARKE, LVCAS, and STEVEN, (for their father MATHEVV was dead) and the Marquis of *Mantua*, and from him of *Verona*, and the cities of *Pisa*, and *Luca*, and the rest within *Lombardy* held with *Milan*, and from many others; which making great offers to aide and assist him with men and money, counselled him presently to march forwards; and he did so, and came directly to *Brescia*, and thence to *Milan*, and there was crowned with the crowne of Iron, and there staid about thirtie daies after his coronation, and from thence (as some say) sending to entreat the Pope to confirme his election and to absolve him of his excommunication, hee staid there longer then hee thought to haue done, to get money to pay his souldiers; by reason whereof a great contribution was to be leuied in *Milan*, and in other cities of the league, then they willingly would haue paid: and GALEAS Viscount sometimes by entreaty, and sometimes by counsell, sought to haue auoided the tribute to be leuied vpon his countrie: whereupon the Emperour made him, his sonnes and brothers to be apprehended, and deposed them from the gouernment of the citie: and to winne the good will of the people, and to shew that he gaue them libertie, he granted that they should chuse amongst themselues eight and twentie citizens and one President, which should haue the gouernment thereof. With this baite he obtained what he desired, and the tax which he had laid vpon them: which deed (although recounted after fundrie manners) was the cause of great alterations; and that the Emperour was noted of ingratitude, and excessiue crueltie, so to deale with those which had called him into the countrie; although it cannot be denied but that they were tyrants. Hauing dispatched his busines in *Lombardy*, he tooke his way through *Tuscany* towards *Rome*, by the procurement of CASTRUCHO, who was one of the most valiant captaines of his time, and commanding in *Luca*, maintained the warre against the Florentines, and against CHARLES sonne of ROBERT King of *Naples*, who with a great garrison defended that citie by his fathers direction, to whom it was become subiect: and caried with him GALEAZZO Viscount and his brothers prisoners. The Emperour being come to *Luca*, was by CASTRUCHO receiued with very great ioy and solemnitie: and from thence desiring to goe to *Pisa*, the Pisans were in a doubt whether they should receiue him, or no: but in the end he was entertained, and made his aboad there about two moneths; during which time, CHARLES of *Naples* being with great forces in *Florence*, the Emperour resolved to hold on his iourney without troubling himselfe with him: and being in *Pisa*, released GALEAS Viscount of *Milan*, and his sonnes AZZO, and MARKE, vpon their othes, and at CASTRUCHO his entreaty,

whose authoritie (gotten by his valour in armes) was then very great: which afterwards were released from all, in such manner as you shall heare. The Emperour going from *Pisa*, accompanied by *CASTRVCHO* with 1500 horse of his owne, went along the sea coast towards *Rome*, purposing (as some write) after his coronation to haue gone against the King of *Naples*, who was his great enemy: whereupon so soone as the Emperour was come neere to *Rome*, *CHARLES* departing from *Florence*, towards *Naples* to the aide of his father, left an excellent Captaine called *PHILIP CARNOSENSE*, in *Florence*, and within short space after, this *CHARLES* dying (his father the King hauing no more sonnes) left two daughters. The Emperours comming being knowne in *Rome*, caused great dissention and tumults therein, but as the greatest part was willing to receiue him, and the rest to the contrarie, in the end, he was solemnly receiued: but his coronation, and who crowned him, where, and vpon what day, is diuersly recounted, which often happeneth amongst those which are present, much more amongst Historiographers: the truth is that *LEVVES* was crowned in *Rome* by the hands of *STEPHEN COLONNA*, who at that time was Vicar of *Rome* (an office and gouernment then newly erected) yet *LEONARD ARETINE*, and *ANTHONY* say that his sonne *SARRA COLONNA* crowned him, and that he was crowned against the will of the pope or his Legates, yet with great applause of the people both secular and regular.

*LEVVES* being crowned, together with the Emperesse, was called Emperor and *Semper AVGVSTVS*; and the newes being dispersed ouer *Italy*, thither repaired to him many principall men of the *Gibelines*; and he being very puissant, and accompanied by the valiant *CASTRVCHO* (of whom next to the Emperor was made chiefe account) to iustifie his coronation and his other doings in the iudgement of the people, publishing and auerring that pope *JOHN* the three and twentieth, who then was in *Auinion*, neither was, neither ought to be held for pope, he of his owne authoritie created one *PETER DE CORVARIA*, a Franciscan Friar, pope; who (as saith *PLATINA*) had been a married man, and in his wiues time tooke that habit: and he accepting the papacie, was called *NICHOLAS*, and made Cardinals and Bishops, and held a pontificall court; and the Emperor gaue him the obedience and honor as to a pope; and being absolved of his excommunication, was confirmed in his Empire, and had else what he would desire: which was done against the will of many priests and other regular persons, which therefore left *Rome*; yet there wanted not others which approving the same, tooke part of the benefit. When these newes were brought to pope *JOHN*, he aggrauating his censures and excommunications, proclaimed him for no Emperor, but a tyrant and an vsurper of the Empire. The Emperor being in *Rome*, the Emperesse bare him a sonne, called *LVDOVICVS ROMANVS*; and making preparation to goe in person against the King of *Naples*, practised with *FREDERICK* King of *Sicilia* to doe the like; but staying longer in *Rome* then was expedient, it happened that the captaine whom *CHARLES* of *Naples* had left with the garrison in *Florence*, together with the Florentines, surprised the citie of *Pistoia*, which was at *CASTRVCHO* his deuotion, and in league with *Pisa* and *Luca*: whereof when *CASTRVCHO* (being then with the Emperor in *Rome*) was aduertised, hee for feare to lose the rest presently departed thitherwards, and comming thither, found great resistance; but in the end he valiantly recovered the citie. *CASTRVCHO* his departure from the Emperor made him so much to alter his determination, that he giuing ouer the enterprise of *Naples* departed

The Emperor  
Lewes the fifth  
crowned in  
Rome.

The Pope ex-  
communicated  
the Emperor.

departed with his pope from *Rome* (wherein he left the best order that he could for his purpose, first establishing therein two gouernors, one of the family of the *Vrsins*, and the other of the *Colunnois*, which were called the Emperours Vicars) and tooke his way towards *Florence*; whither when it was knowne that he was comming, all men were of opinion that he would by force of armes haue taken that citie, accounting it not possibly to be defended sith that *CASTRVCHO* was in his seruice, against whom alone the Florentines could hardly make their partie good: but it pleased God to dispose thereof after another manner; for *CASTRVCHO* (in whom he reposed his chiefe trust) dyed, and his death caused so great an alteration, that the Emperor therefore, and through the losse of many of his people, and also for that others mutined, resolved to returne into *Germanie*, first placing his Lieutenants in *Pistoia* and in *Luca*, out of which he put the sonnes and parents of *CASTRVCHO*; such are the rewards which ingratefull princes vse to bestow vpon the children of those which haue done them good and faithfull seruice. At the same time also died in *Pisa*, *GALEAS* Viscount (tyrant of *Milan*) deprivied of that dominion; and the Emperor for a great summe of money gaue leaue to his sonne *AZZO* to returne to *Milan*, which he promised the Emperor towards the payment of his souldiers before his departure, and left his brother *MARK* in pawne for the same: and comming to *Milan* was receiued with great affection into the citie, into the same place and authoritie which his father held; and (as *BLONDVS* writeth) recouered in *Milan* the money promised, and deliuered the same to the Germanes sent by the Emperor, which forgetting to come therewith to *Pisa*, returned home to their houses. The Emperor departing from *Pisa*, with a determination to continew his iourney into *Germany*, left his pope there behind him; who afterwards by the practice of one *BONIFACE* of *Pisa* was apprehended and brought to *Auinion*, and comming in a priuate habit into the popes presence, dyed in his power a prisoner: and the Emperor passing through *Lombardy* into *Germany*, *AZZO* Viscount (now Lord of *Milan*) would not receiue him into the citie, neither was the Emperor of power able to assault it: and so departing out of *Italy*, left neither the peace nor good gouernment which he found therein: but the citie of *Pisa* and others, which had held for him, so soone as he was gone, cast out his Lieutenants and Gouernors; and the tyrants which before were therein, tooke more townes and cities, the most of which were *Gibelines*; and those of the house of *GONZAGA*, then made themselves absolute Lords of *Mantouia*, which they hold vntill this day. It seemeth that the long continuance of their possession hath made their title iust and lawfull, adding thereto the confirmations made afterwards by the Emperors and the popes after fundrie manners and conditions: and some Captaines and Lieutenants, made themselves Lords and tyrants, as *GALEOTTO MALATESTA* in *Arimino*; *MANFREDO PIO* in *Carpi*; *RICHARD MANEREDY* in *Fauencia*; and others in many other places. But notwithstanding all this, the factions of the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines* had taken such roote in *Italy*, that all the *Gibelines* which tooke his part presently solicited the Emperor speedely to returne thither againe; for through his absence, the *Guelphes*, with the ayde of the Florentines, of the King of *Naples*, and the pope, warred vpon them: but the Emperor being otherwise busied in *Germany*, could not returne, notwithstanding that he desired the same. But *JOHN* King of *Bohemia*, by his direction leuied an armie and came into *Italy*, who passed many aduentures, which for breuitie I omit: the conclusion was, that he thinking to please both parties, was called

called the peace-maker of *Italy*; and he procuring many treaties and parlies with the popes Legates, came through that occasion to displease both the one and other parties; as it ordinarily happeneth to those which seek to pacifie two contrarie factions, and fell into suspition with the Emperor, but much more with the Lords of *Italy*: whereupon, AZZO Viscount Lord of *Milan*; MASTINO DELA SCALA Lord of *Verona*; PHILIP GONZAGA Marquesse of *Mantua*; VBERTINO DI CARRARA Lord of *Padoa*, the Marquesse of *Ferrara*, and some others, as ROBERT King of *Naples*, and the Florentines which vntill then had been their enemies, ioyned together in a league and confederacie, promising to protect and defend the one the other against all the world: for which not onely the Emperour, but the pope also was very much discontented; and there ensued great chaunges and alterations in all matters in *Italy*, which I haue no time to relate. The Emperour seeing himselfe excommunicate, and that the pope defisted not from proceeding against him; perswaded all men that he was vniustly accused, and fearing some alteration, with faire words, large gifts, and good entertainment satisfied the Lords and princes of *Germanie*, seeking otherwise to be absolued, and some meanes of reconciliation, which was a matter (in a manner) impossible to be effected, for the King of *France* in whose countrey and (as we may say) power the pope and his Cardinals then were, notwithstanding that the pope would, yet he would not consent thereto; and so the matter continued vntill the death of pope JOHN, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, three hundred, thirtie and foure, hauing been pope nineteene yeeres and foure monethes: at which time the states of *Carinthia* and *Tirol* came to be vnited to the house of *Austrich*.

Matters standing in such confusion as we haue declared, and pope JOHN being dead, the Cardinall of Saint *Prisca* whose name was IACOB, borne in *Theulose* in *France*, was chosen pope, who was a Monke of the order of CISTEL, and was called BENEDICT the twelfth; and being installed, ratified and renewed the sentence pronounced by his predecessor against the Emperour, which he did so speedely, that it was thought to haue been done through the instigation of the French King: but within few daies after, the King desiring the pope to make him his Vicar or Lieutenant Generall in *Italy*, and to giue him the tenth part of the Church reuenues and first fruites throughout all Christendome (to the end therewith to make a conquest of *Ierusalem*) so much troubled the pope with that request, that he made shew to be much discontent therewith; and began in secret to giue eare, and good hope to the Emperours party; whereof he being aduertised, sent him a solemne Ambassade, praying and entreating him to absolue him, and to approue his election; whereto the pope made a pleasing answer, and the matter was at the point to haue been concluded; but the Kings of *France* and of *Naples* (enemies to the Emperour) strake such a feare into the pope and his Cardinals, that he durst not performe it, so as the Emperours Ambassadors returned with good words of no effect; and the like happened to the Ambassadors sent by the princes and cities of the Empire, the yeere next following. Whereupon, forasmuch as at that time there were great warres betweene EDWARD King of *England*, and PHILIP the French King, about the succession and right to the Crowne of *France*, the Emperour entred into league with the King of *England*; and great troubles and diffention were betweene the one and other partie: but in the end the French King seeking the Emperours friendship, promised to make the pope to absolue him, to the end that he should stand his friend: so as the Emperour

peror through the great desire he had to be confirmed in the Empire by the pope, came to a composition with him. With this confidence in the French King, the Emperour sent his Ambassadors into *France*, the which, together with the Kings Ambassadors, went to *Auinion* to treat of the matter; but the pope with diuers reasons so prolonged the conclusion, that it plainly appeared, that it would take no good effect; which made the Emperour to suspect the King; for it was held for certaine, that the pope would therein haue done the Kings will, as in many other matters he had done, euen against his owne will, which was so euer, so long as the court of *Rome* remained in *France*, and is the reason why the Germane historians treating of the Emperours affaires, say, that the King of *France* made shew to desire that which he would not haue, and the pope to haue that which he desired not. The Emperour despairing to come to any agreement with the pope, seeing that his Ambassadors returned without any such end or conclusion as he expected, returned to his former rigor; and assembling a generall Councell, sought out learned men to pen his determination, and finding enough such as were for his purpose, after many matters treated of, he seeking to get the good will of the princes, caused an iniunction to be dispatched, wherein he affirmed the sentence pronounced against him by pope JOHN to be vniust and of none effect; and that his excommunication did no way binde him: wherefore he commaunded vpon great penalties, that none should obey his interdictions and censures in that behalfe, alleaging other matters which in the said iniunction are contained, & which the popes friends would not should be reuealed in any publike historie: which iniunction (being published, and commaunded to be obserued) caused great dissolution in *Germany*, especially amongst the clergie; some holding with the Emperour, and others with the pope. But DANTZ, which at that time was a man of a most excellent witte and profoundly learned, wrote a booke of the Monarchy; wherein he seemed to fauour the Emperour; for which he was afterwards condemned, and his booke held for heresie; and other great men wrote bookes and treatises defending the popes supreme authoritie, alleaging the same to be about all principalities and powers; which (besides other reasons) they sought to proue by histories, as how that pope ADRIAN translated the Empire of the East into the West, in the person of CHARLES the Great; and afterwards in proceffe of time the popes remoued the same out of *France* into *Germany*, in the person of OTHO the first; & how that many Emperours were excommunicated by them, yea, and depriued of their Empires; and how that the manner and authoritie to chuse them, was giuen by the popes; and from them was deriued the power and authoritie of the princes electors; and that the Emperours were confirmed and crowned by the popes. Neuerthelesse there wanted not some which defended the Emperours cause, and so the popes curses and commaundements were contemned and reiecte: but hee knowing that the Emperour had published an iniunction against him, againe renewed the same, and employing all his whole power alleaged the Empire for voyde, and that the government thereof during the vacation, appertained to him, vntill that a new Emperour were chosen, according to the declaration made by CLEMENT the fifth in the Councell of *Vienne*. And vnderstanding that the Emperour purposed to come into *Italy*, he did one thing which then was held for wisely done; but experience sheweth that it was very damageable to his estate; which was that he made those tyrants or princes which in *Italy* held the townes of the Empire, his Vicars or Lieutenants in the same townes which they held; to the end they should

The Emperours  
iniunction  
made against  
the Pope.

The Emperour  
againe excom-  
municate and  
deprived by the  
Popes censures.

should be resolute enemies to the Emperour; and commaunding that they should neither receiue or obey the Emperour, gaue them power and authoritie to defend and maintaine the same, as Lieutenants to the Church: which were *LVCHINO* Viscount, tyrant or gouernour of *Milan*, and other cities: *MASTHINO* *SCALA* in *Ferona* and *Vicenza*: *PHILIP* *GONZAGA* in *Mantua*, and then in *Reggio*: *ALBERTINO* *DI* *CARRA* in *Padoa*, and other places: *OBIZO* *DA* *ESTE* in *Ferrara*, and *Modena*: and for as much as these were the Church lands, he enioyned them to pay him yearly ten thousand Ducats of gold; with which title they were the more strongly possessed of those estates. This disagreement continuing betweene the Emperour and the Pope, there failed not some which vsurped the popes townes; to which, or to the most part of them, in requitall of what the pope had done to him; and to binde them to doe him the better seruice and the more to incense them against the pope, the Emperour gaue and sent titles and Charters, making them Lieutenants for the Empire in the cities and lands appertaining to the Church of *Rome*: which they accepted and held, and the offspring of many of them haue continued therein vntil this day; amongst which was *GALLEOTTO* *MALATESTA* in *Arimino*; *ANTHONY* *FERRERANO* in the citie of *Vrbino*; *GENTIL* *VARANO* in *Camerino*; *GVIDO* *POLENTA* in *Rauenna*; *IOHN* *MANFREDO* in *Faucencia*; *ISMADETIO* in *Sanseuerino*; *NICHOLAS* *BOSCARO* in *Esio*: and in like manner others in other townes and cities.

These matters passing in this maner in *Germany* and in *Italy*, Pope *BENEDICT* being dead (who had held that stoole the space of seuen yeeres and three moneths) in his place was chosen in *Auinion*, in the moneth of May in the yeere of our Lord 1342 Pope *CLEMENT* the sixth, in whose time were great alterations, aswell in the cities in *Lombardy*, as in *Tuscane*. The Emperour sought to come to some composition and agreement with the new Pope (as write the Germane authors) but there was no peace to be expected, for the Pope alleged that the Emperour sued not for peace in such humble and submissiue manner as he ought to haue done. But *CYSPINIAN*, *NAVCLERVS* and *MVCIVS* write, that by meanes of the French king who faired to be a good mediator betweene them, the Emperour sent his Agents to Pope *CLEMENT*, with full authoritie, to accept of any condition of peace that he would propone vnto them; to which the Pope gaue a certaine note in writing, wherein they in the name of the Emperour, were inioyned to confesse the Emperour to haue erred, and to haue been a schisimatike, and disobedient to the Church: and moreouer that the Emperour should presently renounce his right to the Empire, together with the possession thereof; and that he should not intermeddle therein without the Popes leaue and permission; and that the Emperours person together with his sonnes should be at the Popes disposing: all which Articles the Emperours Ambassadors accepted and graunted in his name; whereat the Pope wondred. But these rigorous and terrible Articles and conditions being brought to the Emperour, hee holding them for vniust and intolerable, sent the copie of them to the Princes and cities of the Empire; and therewith summoned a generall Diet or Parliament to bee held in *Franckford*, wherein with sharpe and graue speeches, he complained of the Pope; and there shewed what his Ambassadors without his knowledge or consent had yeilded vnto; alleging these demaunds to be made but onely to ruinate the state of the Empire, with other matters which he thought might cause greater indignation against the Pope, and moue the princes the more to fauour his proceedings: And his words wrought such effect in them, and the Popes demands seemed so disho-

The intolerable pride of Pope Clement the sixth.

nest and so intolerable, that they adiudging the same to be reiected and not to be allowed, made great offers to the Emperour for the defence of his person and estate: yet some were of a contrarie opinion, which affirmed that the Pope ought to be obeyed, and that the matter ought to be referred to him, as it was sworne and promised. He which held this opinion, was *IOHN* king of *Bohemia* and his sonne *CHARLES*, which were discontent with the Emperour for some other causes: but the Councell resolved to send Ambassadors to Pope *CLEMENT*, to shew him that the conditions graunted could not be perfourmed, without giuing them authoritie to graunt any other, or to treat of any other matter: which Ambassadors went, and what ensued thereof wee will tell you; which was, that the Pope holding himselfe for deluded, was so enraged that he againe proceeding against the Emperour, sent to all parts copies of the fulminations and censures giuen by Pope *IOHN*, with a relation of his offences, including the same within the compasse of heresie; and also that he had chosen and enstalled another Pope; and that he was not according to due order chosen Emperour, but by deceit and bribery; and that he neuer was Emperour, neither ought so to be called; and that he gaue Bishopricks and prelacies at his pleasure, placing such as pleased him, and displacing such as were preferred by the Pope; and that hee making mariages, dispensed (like a pope) with such as were married within prohibited degrees of Consanguinitie, as he had done by his sonne *LEVVES* and the Countesse of *Tirol*, being kin vnto her, within an vnlawfull degree, and she hauing an husband aliue, which was the sonne of the king of *Bohemia*: for which cause the pope sending his generall edicts against him, enioyned the electors, vpon paine of excommunication, to meete and to chuse a new Emperour; excommunicating all such as followed the Emperour *LEVVES* or obeyed him. So as the Popes edicts, & the Emperours contradictions caused many insolencies and riots in *Italy* and in *Germany*. And as the king of *Bohemia* and his sonne were his aduersaries, so they procuring the good will of the Duke of *Saxony*, and of the Archbishop of *Colen*, by bribes and large promises, sought to procure a meeting, & so to chuse an Emperour. And as at that time there were two which pretended to be Archbishops of *Mentz*, the one called *HENRY* *DE* *VIERNER* (whom the Pope condemned and deprized for that he defended the Emperours cause) the other was called *GERLASSE* of *Nassau* (whom the Pope had appointed to haue the others place.) This *GERLASSE* to shew his authoritie, and to accomplish the Popes commaundement, warned the princes electors to meete in the citie of *Rens*, in the yeere 1346: where met the Duke of *Saxony*, the king of *Bohemia*, the Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Treuer*, and *Colen*; and so by reason of the popes decree, alleging the Empire to be voided, they chose the king of *Bohemia* his sonne *CHARLES* for Emperour; *LEVVES* being then in *Banier*, busie in leuying forces to stay the same. And the new elect *CHARLES* would presently haue gone to haue been crowned in *Aken*, but could not; for that citie held for the Emperour *LEVVES*, and was sufficiently fortified. Pope *CLEMENT* being aduertised of the election of *CHARLES* (as a thing done by his commaundement and against *LEVVES*) presently confirmed and approued the same, and procured the French king to aide and assist him, which he promised to doe with all his power: but in the meane time befell a strange accident which marred all, which was, that shortly after *EDWARD* the third king of *England* came into *France* with a mightie armie, and besieged the citie of *Paris*; and *PHILIP* the French king raised his whole power to fight with him, whereof the king of *Bohemia* and his sonne *CHARLES* (who was newly chosen Emperour) hauing

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intelligence,

*Arres be-  
twene Philip  
king of France  
and Edward  
the third king  
of England,  
wherein in a  
bataile fought  
betweene the  
two kings, the  
king of Bohe-  
mia was slaine.*

intelligence, they with more haste then good speede, with all their forces came in person to his aide; the more to binde him to perforce what he had promised them against the Emperour; and it followed that they ioyning in battaile against the English (which as all writers affirme was very cruell and bloudie, and continued fixe houres) the king of *England* in the end had the victorie, and many great personages of the vanquished were slaine; amongst which was *JOHN* king of *Bohemia*; and the French king, and the new elect Emperour *CHARLES* escaped by flight. Through the losse of this battaile, the French king had so much to do to defend his owne countrie, that hee could yeeld *CHARLES* no reliefe or succour at all against the Emperour *LEVVES*, which made his case the more doubtfull: but as he had the popes fauour and the fauour of those which chose him, so was *Germany* diuided; some holding with him, others with the Emperour *LEVVES*: so that *LEVVES* his raigne ended as it began, with competencies and factions. But yet he forgot not to raise forces and to seeke aide and friends, which with his life lasted but a while: but before that we will declare his end, I will briefly relate a strange case happened in the citie of *Rome*, which shall neither be impertinent, neither vnworthie to be rehearsed, which was this.

*Rome* at that time being gouerned in the popes absence by two Senatours, as the popes Vicars or Lieutenants; one of which was of the familie of the Colonnois, the other of the *Vrsins*; a certaine man borne in *Rome* of meane parentage whose name was *NICHOLAS RENZO*, who being of a great heart and high minde, yet of no greater calling then a Notarie publique, in such manner wonne the good will of the people, which repaired vnto him, that he perswaded them to recover the auncient libertie of *Rome*, which (as a man well read in histories) he laid open vnto them, and was not abashed to tell them that it was requisite for the good of the common wealth, to alter the manner of the gouernment, and to reforme and reduce the same to the pristine rule and order: for sith that *Rome* was a free citie and Ladie of the whole world, they ought and were bound in dutie againe to recover her libertie. To these speeches together with many other to the like effect, the common people (as light of beliefe, and desirous of nouelties) willingly gaue care; and he found such fauour and good liking amongst them, that the matter encreasing, he seised on the Capitoll, and without that any man durst make head against him deposed the Popes Vicars or Lieutenants from the gouernment, and intitling himselfe *NICHOLAS SEVERVS* (the fauourable Tribune of peace, libertie, and iustice, the noble and excellent redeemer and restorer of the sacred *Romane* Common-wealth) he made and ordained Senatours, and setled the gouernment of *Rome* in such manner as it was in the time of the ancient *Romanes*, with so great obedience in all men, as if he had come from heauen for the same purpose. And he presently established such peace and iustice in the citie, and made the same to be obserued and executed in such manner, as the like had not been seene in *Rome* in fife hundred yeeres before. The same whereof was presently spread into many parts, and all the townes neere to *Rome* became obedient thereto, and so did many other that were farre off: and all the tyrants and princes hearing of so strange an accident, and of the title, and the enterprize which this man vndertooke, sent Ambassadors to him, and making great offers, sought his grace and friendship. And the matter was so carried in the beginning, that it seemed that in short space *Rome* would againe haue become Lady of great part of the world. And as the report of such accidents is euer greater then the effect, so these newes being carried out of *Italy*, caused euery where such feare that ma-

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ny altdred their determinations: And this *NICHOLAS* as a proud vaine man (nothing considering that vpon so weake and feeble a foundation he could not possibly build any great edifice) making *Rome* to be the head and Lady of all the world, wrote his letters with the aforesaid proud titles, to the Pope, requiring him to make his residence in *Rome*; and to the Emperour *LEVVES* and his competitor *CHARLES*, commaunding them within a certaine prefixed time to make their appearance before him and the *Romane* Senate, and to shew by what title they held the Empire: the like he wrote to the princes electors, and to other princes. These letters being seene and read (notwithstanding that they were held for vaine and friuolous) did put the Pope in a great perplexitie, seeing that *Rome* and the territorie thereof in his time was vsurped. But this vanitie continued not aboue seuen or eight moneths: for as it was grounded but vpon the fauour of the common people, so it soone waxing cold, and they repenting of what they had done, began to murmure and so to forsake him: whereupon he foreseeing his fall, departed from *Rome*, and went to *CHARLES*, the Emperours competitor; thinking to haue found fauour, and to haue made some league with him; but he made him to be apprehended, and sent him to *Auinion* to the pope, who commaunded him to be detained prisoner: what ill end he had we will tell you, which truly is a pleasant discourse, as you shall see in the end, and so haue all the glories and vanities of the world, although some last longer then some. What I haue spoken is written by *BLONDVS*, *PLATINA*, *NAVCLERVS*, and all the Historiographers. *PETRARCHA* in some of his Epistles saith and affirmeth, that all the time that this man commaunded, there was such peace and quietnes; and iustice was so duly executed in *Rome* and in part of *Italy*, that it seemed that the golden age was come againe: whereupon he made that excellent Sonnet which beginneth:

*Spirto gentil che quella membra reggi.*

But now to returne to our Historie, *Germany* being thus diuided, some holding for the Emperour *LEVVES*, and others for the new chosen *CHARLES*, who was already King of *Bohemia*, this controuersie betweene these two was ended, through the sudden death of *LEVVES*, which happened vpon the seuen and twentieth day of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1347, in this manner: He riding that day ouer the fields on hunting, was taken with so cruell an Apoplexie that he fell from his horse and died suddenly, when he had reigned 33 yeeres, the first nine in contention and competency with *FREDERICK*, who was called Emperour: it was also suspected that he was poysoned. This Emperour hauing bin twice married, had fixe sonnes, and one daughter, which from their father inherited sundry Lordships and estates. At this time the *Genoaias* and the *Venecians* made most cruell warre one against another; the like did the English and the French. The Kings of *Spain* wholly applied themselves to warre against the *Moors*.

In *Constantinople* reigned *JOHN PALEOLOGVS*, called *CALOIOANNES*, son of *ANDRONICVS* the younger, who had much to doe with *CATACYZENVS* (whom his father left for his tutor) about the Empire; sometime the one preuailing, and sometimes the other: by reason whereof they both are accounted Emperors; but in the end *CALOIOANNES*

*PALEOLOGVS* was sole Emperour, as hereafter shall be declared.

Anno Dom.  
1347.



# THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND CVIII. ROMANE EMPEROVR.



## THE ARGVMENT.



Charles hauing no competitor, went to subdue those countries which held with Lewis. Many were of opinion that the Empire was voide, wherefore some of the Electors met at Franckford and chose successively two Emperours, which would not accept thereof. In the time of this Charles, was that memorabie pestilence through all Europe in anno Dom. 1348; and the slaughter of an infinite number of Lewes. Afterwards the electors chose one Gunther for Emperour, who coming against Charles, died before any battaile. Charles hauing agreed with the electors, which were his enemies, was freed from all his competitors, and came afterwards into Italy to be crowned, where he behaved himselfe with such humanitie, that there was no Lord or common-wealth that did not acknowledge him for their Emperour: and so contented with money to pay his souldiers, giuing priuileges to sundry cities in Italy, he returned into Germany, wherein he maintaining peace and iustice, sued to make his eldest sonne Wenceslaus king of the Romanes, which he obtained for money. After all these things falling sicke, he died, when he had valorously reigned two and thirtie yeeres.



When the Emperour LEVVES died, his competitor CHARLES (who in his life time was called Emperour) was in his kingdome of Bohemia; and so soone as he was certified of his death, he with the greatest power that he could raise left his kingdome, to the end to make himself Lord of such townes as held for the deceased Emperour LEVVES, and comming to Ratisbone was therein without any contradiction receiued as Emperour; and thence

thence went to Nurembergh, and was there likewise receiued, and generally in all the other cities whither he came; for he released al the actions which he had against them, and promised to procure the Pope to absolue all those which had continued in the seruice of LEVVES: but he afterwards comming to Basil, they would not receiue him, except he first obtained for them the Popes pardon, and a release from all the curses pronounced against their citie, for that it held for the late Emperour: and while as they treated hereof, there came a Legate from the Pope, who hearing that LEVVES was dead, sent his Legate to CHARLES with authoritie to absolue them and all the rest: and although that in this citie and in others, there was great doubt and contention, about the oth and the forme of the confession which the Pope had commaunded to be made before they should be absolued; yet in the end absolution was giuen, and the Emperour with great solemnitie was receiued into the citie, and into some other places. And notwithstanding that in the beginning he had so good successe with some cities and princes, yet with the most of the rest he sped not so well: for those which had persecuted firme and loyall to the Emperour LEVVES, and had been enemies and made warre against CHARLES, would not accept him for Emperour; but holding for voide, pretended a new election to be made; especially those electors which consented not to his election; which were HENRY Archbishop of Mentz, (whom the Pope had depriued, and in his place had set GERLASSE of Nassau) LEVVES Marquis of Brandenburg, ROBERT Counte Palatine of Rhine and Duke of Bauiere; all which alleged that CHARLES his election was neither lawfull, nor of any worth, for that it was not made in Franckford; and also for that the estates were not assembled by the Counte Palatine, neither were they present, or sent their Agents or Proctors: all which things (they said) were requisite in a lawfull election: and HENRY the new Duke of Saxony and some cities ioyning with them, alleged also that those which chose him were for money bribed and suborned by CHARLES and his father IOHN king of Bohemia; and also that he was not crowned in Aken as hee ought to haue been: for which causes (although in my opinion the greatest was the passion and enmitie which they bare against him) in the beginning of the yeere 1348, the aforesaid princes met in the citie of Franckford (notwithstanding that CHARLES vsed all his power and policie to haue stopt the same) where declaring the empire for voide (the Bishops of Colen, Treuier and the other Bishop of Mentz being absent) by the common consent of those which were present, they chose the king of England (for that he was descended from the Germane blood) for Emperour, to whom they presently sent their Ambassadors to the same effect: but hee after that he had well considered of the matter, refusing their offer, sent to them, desiring to bee held excused: And they seeing themselves frustrate of their hope, chose FREDERICK Marquis of Misnia, who was a man of great iudgement and very valiant; who standing in doubt whether hee should accept it or no, and considering well thereof (for CHARLES being thereof aduertised, to the end that he should not accept the election, sent him a great summe of gold and siluer, and therewith gaue him to vnderstand of the inconueniences that thereof would ensue) made the like answere as did the king of England: so as for that time without agreeing vpon any other, these princes still persecuring disobedient to the Emperour CHARLES, departed from Franckford without chusing any Emperour at all. The chiefe cause of their departure was the plague of pestilence in that countrey, which in that time was so great and so vniuersal through all parts of Europe, that the like there-

Anno Dom.  
1348.

Edward the 3.  
king of Eng-  
land being  
chosen, refused  
to be Emperor.

General plague  
through all  
Europe.

of before that time had neuer beene scene nor heard of; for the Historiographers affirme it to haue continued about one whole yeere, beginning in the yeere 1348, and ending in anno 1350; which raged in such extreme manner that where it did least harme the tenth person escaped not. BLONDVS saith, that hee heard his grandfather GASPARD BLONDVS affirme with an oth, that many townes in Italy were therewith so thoroughly dispeopled, that not any one remained therein aliue. During the time of this calamitie, there was a generall peace, without that any could or durst make warre against other, except a little which was made against the Synagogues of the Iewes: for the common people tooke a conceit, and it was also beleeued, that the Iewes had poisoned the waters, and caused this plague; whereupon (the princes and gouernours being no way able to let the same) the Iewes were euery where torne in peeces, and an infinite number of them were by the Christians sacked and robbed, in *France, Italy, Germany, and Spaine*. At this time also the French king gat the countrey of *Daulphine*, and the citie of *Vienne* the head thereof; which now belong to the princes of *France*; which hee bought of HUNIPERT Lord thereof, and Daulphin of *Vienne*, who hauing no heires to succede him, sold his estate and became a Frier: first giuing to the poore all the money for which he sold it; which he laid vp in heauen. And for as much as that estate was subiect to the empire, the Emperour gaue his consent to the sale, vpon condition that it should belong to the French kings eldest sonne, and that hee therefore should acknowledge the Emperour for his soueraigne Lord, which (I know not the cause) at this day is not obserued.

In the yeere 1350 our Lord mittigating his ire, and the plague ceasing, Pope CLEMENT in this yeere by the consent of his Cardinals ordained that the Iubile which Pope BONIFACE the 8 had granted to be held in *Rome* euery hundredth yeere, should be held that yeere; and thencefoorth euery fiftith yeere, considering the shortnes of mans life; so as an infinite number of people repaired to *Rome* to the Iubile. After the daunger of the plague was past, men presently being free fro the feare thereof, returned to their wars & desolation, principally the aforesaid foure Princes electors, HENRY Archbishop of *Mentz*, LEUVVS Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, RODVLPH Duke of *Bauiere* & Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, and HENRY Duke of *Saxony*: all which rebelled against the Emperour CHARLES, and stood very well vpon their guard; and the one aiding and assisting the other, they againe met at *Franckford*, and after many consultations, chose GVNTHER Earle of *Swarzenburgh*, who was an excellent and very valiant man of warre. This man with the aide of those which chose him, and of his friends and parents, with a great number of very good men of warre, came to *Franckford*, where attending his enemies comming, he kept the field the space of sixe weekes (for so they write was then the manner of the new chosen Emperors). And that time being expired, he was receiued into the citie, and sworne and obeyed for Emperour. And notwithstanding that the Emperour CHARLES had leuied a very great power, yet being vnwilling to hazard his whole fortune in one battaile, would not fight with GVNTHER: but some mouing the Princes of his faction, they all meeting in the citie of *Spire*, it was concluded that he should employ his whole power to make head against GVNTHER, and by force of armes to defeat him. With this resolution the Emperour CHARLES with his army tooke his way towards *Mentz*, and the one drawing neere to the other, the warre began betwene them two, which men thought would haue proued very terrible and cruell: but through the death of GVNTHER peace ensued: before which time some

Gunther Earle  
of Swarzen-  
burgh chosen  
Emperour a-  
gainst Charles  
king of Bohe-  
mia.

write

write it was concluded; for so soone as GVNTHER fell sick, some impassionate Princes sought to reconcile them: the conditions of the peace were, that GVNTHER should renounce the Empire to CHARLES, and that CHARLES should giue him two walled cities in *Turinge*, together with their confines. But in time of this treaty (as most writers affirme) GVNTHER died, poisoned by his Phisition; who being to giue him a purging potion, and taking but the assay of it, died together with GVNTHER the next morrow; which made men to thinke, that without the knowledge of the poore Phisition poyson was put into the decoction; so as GVNTHER dying in the time of the parle of peace, CHARLES remained sole Emperour, and in good sort compounded with those which were his aduersaries, who being weary of chusing Emperours, the controuersie ended, to the contentment of all men. And forasmuch as the plague was in *Aken*, he was with great solemnitie crowned in another citie; and going afterwards in his progresse, he visited many cities, to which he gaue sundry priuileges. In time of this prosperitie he had a sonne whose name was WENCISLAVS, of whom we shall haue cause to speak hereafter: and he applying himselfe with great care to maintaine peace and iustice, there yet rested for him to goe to be crowned in *Italy*, whereof Pope CLEMENT the sixth was very desirous, but in his time it could not be, for he died within few daies after. At this time the Viscounts hauing made themselves Lords of *Milan*, whereof great power in many other cities, the chiefe of which was JOHN Viscount Archbishop of *Milan*, a man feared through all *Italy*; who by the Popes permission vnder the title of his Vicar, or Lieutenant, made himselfe Lord of *Bologna*, for which he was to pay yearly 12000 ducats of gold. Pope CLEMENT being dead, INNOCENT the sixth was chosen; in beginning of whose Papacie was fought the memorable battaile by sea betwene threescore galleys of the Genowaies, vnder the command of PAGAMODORA; and fourescore of the Venecians, the Kings of *Arragon*, and the Emperours of *Constantinople*, which were in a league together against them; which battaile was fought in the streight of *Constantinople*, and lasted from the break of day vntill the euening, in which the Genowaies had the victory, but with losse of many of their people: and the yeere following which was in the yeere 1354, the Venecians and Catalanians repairing their fleet, againe fought with the Genowaies, neere to the Ile of *Corfica*, wherein the Genowaies were so pitifully ouerthrowne and with so great losse, that one and fortie of their galleys, with all the people in them, were sunke in the sea; by meanes of which ouerthrow their power was so much weakened, that they became subiect to JOHN Viscount Archbishop of *Milan*, vpon condition that he should protect them; yet there ensuing other alterations, they afterwards committed themselves to the protectio of the French king. At this time also was a treaty between the Emperour and the Pope, concerning the Emperours comming into *Italy* to be crowned in *Rome*, he making preparation for the same. There befell in *Rome* also another great accident, although not so much spoken of, like to that of NICHOLAS RENZO who would haue raised *Rome* to her ancient rule and dignitie, and was called the Enfranchiser of *Rome*, which was, that another Notary publike, called FRANCIS VARONCELLO, imitating the said NICHOLAS, incensed the people, and with the same title of Romane Tribune, deposed the two Senatours, JOHN VRSINO, and PETER DE COLONNA, which gouerned as the Popes Vicars: whereof the Pope being aduertised, and fearing that the matter would haue proceeded, to auoid a further inconuenience, thought it best to release NICHOLAS RENZO, whom his predecessor CLEMENT had left in prison; and thinking (as we say) to

An auall battaile betwene the Genowaies and the Venecians.

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driue out one naile with another, sent him to *Rome* against FRANCIS; and he vsed such meanes, through the helpe of the Romane Nobilitie, that by force of armes he expelled FRANCIS VARONCELLO out of the Capitoll and slew him in the fight: but after this victory, the said NICHOLAS with a desire to vsurpe, persecuting the Colonnois fell at variance with the most principal men of *Rome*, and in the end was slaine, and so *Rome* was deliuered from both the one and the other: and then one GUIDO IORDAN (by the Popes consent) was made Gouvernor, and afterwarde there were two.

While these matters were in hand, it was agreed betweene the Pope and the Emperor (as write the Italian authors) that so soon as the Emperor by the Cardinals should be crowned in *Rome*, without making any longer stay, should returne into *Germany*. The Emperor and Empresse accompanied with many Princes and a great army, in the yeere 1355 came into *Italy*, with intent only to be crowned, and to fauour and further the popes proceedings, which hee did accordingly, which made his iourney easie: for being come into *Italy*, and seene to vse no violence, or to oppresse any man, neither to depriue or dispossesse any man of his goods or lands, hee was very honorably receiued by the Lords of *CARRARA* in *Padoa*, and afterwards by the *GONZAGAS* in *Montoa*, and by those of the house of *ESTE* in *Ferrara*, and by the Viscounts in *Milan*, and by the most of the Lords of *Italy*, which did him homage, and acknowledged him for their Emperour; and he left them in their lands and estates: and comming to the citie of *Milan* was crowned therein with the Iron Crowne, and from *Milan* went to *Pisa*; whither came solicitors to him from *Florence*, and from many other cities, which acknowledged him for their Emperour, and suing for peace and his fauour, furnished him with money for the paiement of his souldiers; and so departing from *Pisa*, he went peaceably to *Rome*, where they attended his comming, and was solemly receiued by the Cardinals Legats which came to crowne him, together with the Senators, the Popes Vicars, and with all the Clergy and Romane people: and so vpon Easter day, which was the morrow after his comming, he together with his wife the Empresse, was after the accustomed manner by the aforesaid Cardinals crowned with great pompe. His coronation being ended, euen so in peace and quietly as he came, without offending or grieuing any man he departed from *Rome*, contenting himselfe with their seruice and the money which they had giuen him, which (some write) amounted to a very great summe; and so hee returned into his countrey, more peaceably and with lesse tumult, then euer any Emperour that came into *Italy* before him had done.

At this time king JOHN of *France* being in a battaile taken prisoner by the king of *England*; after foure yeeres imprisonment, was vpon certaine conditions of peace set at libertie. This king had by inheritance the Duchie and Countie of *Burgundy*, which after his decease he gaue to his second sonne PHILIP, whose offspring enioyed the same; from whom lineally descended the Emperor CHARLES the fifth, by his grandmother, who was Ladie of that estate. What ensued after the Emperours returne into *Germany* is briefly and confusedly written, and the Annales of *Germany* treat of some matters of small importance, and that very preposterously; wherefore I will write onely what thereof shall seeme most agreeable, vntill we come to the end of his life. First this prince is commended for his wit and humanitie, and to haue been discrete and iust in ministring iustice, and to haue been learned in the tongues, and well seene in historie, and indifferently well in other Arts and Sciences, whereby he made no small benefit in his actions.

The Emperour  
Charles came  
into Italy.

actions. And as he was much affected to his countrey *Bohemia*, so (as write Pope PIUS QVINTVS and other authors) in *Prage* he erected sundrie stately edifices; and made the Church and Archbishoprick of that citie Metropolitane, exempting it from the Church of *Mentz*; and erected an Vniuersitie in that citie, where in Arts and Sciences are read; and all his whole life time had so great a care to adorne that citie and kingdome, that the rest of *Germany* murmured against him for it, and so doe the Historiographers which write thereof. In those daies some sedition and tumults arose in the citie of *Nurembergh*, which in the end he pacified, although with some difficultie. It happened also that EBERARD Earle of *Wittenbergh* made an Insurrection against this Emperour, and had a great armie and many followers; but all was pacified and CHARLES reigned peaceably. In the yeere following, which was in the yeere 1362, died Pope INNOCENT the sixth, and in his place was chosen Cardinall WILLIAM of *S. Victor*, a Monke of *S. Bennets* order, and was called VRBANE the fifth.

Anno Dom.  
1362.

This Pope hauing determined to come into *Italy*, sent to entreate the Emperor to doe the like, which he principally did, for feare of the Viscounts Lords of *Milan*, and of the greatest part of *Lombardy*; which the Emperour at his entreate performed, at which his comming I finde it not written that he came by *Milan*, for that BARNABY and GALEAS Vicounts were not his friends; but by *Padoa*, and from *Padoa* to *Bologna*, and thence to *Pisa*, and so to *Rome*, where he found the Pope: what they did there, I finde not written, either through negligence or for that it little imported; one thing BLONDVS, PLATINA, and others recount, that it was vnknowne what was become of the heads of S. PETER and S. PAUL, and that the Pope and the Emperour made great search for them, and at last found them and set them where they stand (as they say) this day. After this, the Emperor hauing been but three moneths in *Italy* returned into *Germany*; and after his departure the Pope went to *Marselles* in *Prouence* in *France*, and thence to *Auinion* where he died; after whose decease PETER DE BELFORT Cardinall of *S. MAARY* the new was chosen, and called GREGORY the eleuenth.

The Emperour in the same yeere summoned a Councell to be holden in the citie of *Franckford*, where after much discourse, he entreated the princes Electors to make his sonne VENCESLAVS, King of the Romanes, and his successor; which was not onely solicited by entreate, but by great gifts, and large promises; which were so excelliue, that (as PIUS QVINTVS writeth) he promised an hundred thousand Ducats to euery Elector: and as the summe was greater then hee was able to pay, he gaue in pawne for the same many townes and lands of the Empire, which they hold vntill this day. This they write to be the cause of the weakning of the Emperours power which were his successors; which ALBERT CRANTZ also confirmeth in his historie of *Saxony*, alleaging that this Emperour morgaged sixteen Imperiall townes in *Suenia*, to the neighbour princes, which, together with the umbecillitie and retchlesnes of his sonne VENCESLAVS who succeeded him in the Empire, so decayed and weakened the power of the Emperours in *Germany*, that they neuer recouered their former vigour: this was imputed to haue been a great ouersight in so wise a prince, notwithstanding that in all his other actions he gouerned with great policie and wisdom. Yet many Imperiall cities, through sundrie accidents which happened, without his commandement or leaue, warred vpon the Earle of *Wittenbergh*, which warre lasted many daies, and many men were slaine of either partie; wherewith the Emperor being much displeased, and fauouring and assisting the Earle therein, besieged the citie of

of *France*, where hee punished some for example sake. In this meane time, some cities in *Italy* belonging to the Church of *Rome*, discontent with the gouernment of the Popes Vicars or Lieutenants, rebelled against him: whereupon, the Pope knowing the great detriment which his Church receiued through his absence, resolu'd to returne with his court to *Rome*: for which purpose (vnder another pretext) in the yeere 1376, he caused certaine galleys to be rigged and armed in the riuer *Rodanus*, wherein embarking himselfe he sailed into *Italy*: and so the Papall court after it had seiourned in *France* the space of threescore and ten yerres and somewhat more, and the most part of that time in the citie of *Auinion*, returned to *Rome*. The Emperour hauing raigned now 32. yeeres, and being busie in pacifying the cities in *Germany* which warred against the Earle of *Wittenbergh*, was in the yeere of our Lord 1378, taken with an infirmitie, whereof he dying, left two sonnes legitimate; the eldest of which was called *Wenceslaus*, who was already king of the Romanes, and succeeded his father in the kingdome of *Bohemia* by inheritance, and in the Empire by election: the others name was *Sigmund*, who afterwards by the right of his wife was king of *Hungary*, and in proceesse of time came to be Emperour also. This Emperour *Charles* in a Parliament which he held in the yeere 1376, made a law called *Bulla aurea*, wherein he instituted an order to be obserued by the Electors in chusing the Emperour, and in the preheminences amongst themselves; and in all the other ceremonies of the Empire.

Touching the Emperours of *Constantinople* (of whom I am bound to make euer some mention) I finde so great confusion in the histories of those times, as there was in that empire; wherein were factions and warres: but in summe, in the time of *Charles* the fourth in *Germany*, the discord in *Constantinople* betweene *John Paleologus Caloioannes*, and his father in law *John Catacuzenus* (both which were called Emperours) was the cause that *Amurath* king of the Turks (hauing taken all that the Christians held in *Asia*) vnder colour to helpe and succour *Catacuzenus*, passing *Hellepont*, came into *Europe*, and tooke *Galipoli*, and other cities in that coast, and afterwards the citie of *Adrianople*: and he passing forwards, there came against him *Lazarus* Dispute of *Serua* (which in ancient time was called the vpper *Misia*) and *Marke* Dispute of *Bulgaria* (which is part of the ancient lower *Misia*) and many other princes; which in a battaile about the yeere of our Lord 1363. being ouerthrowne, *Amurath* became Lord of great part of the Christians lands in *Europe*; and his forme *Batazeth* succeeding him conquered more; and so the empire of *Constantinople* daily decreased. And afterwards in the time of the Emperour *Wenceslaus*,

*Caloioannes* being now old, and hauing dispossessed *Catacuzenus*, dying, a sonne of his called *Emmanuel Paleologus* succeeded him.

The first coming of the  
Turkes into  
Grecia.

THE



## THE LIFE OF WENCESLAUS ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND SIX. ROMANE EMPEROVR.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**I**T seldome happeneth that the sonnes imitate their fathers goodnes, chiefly among princes. But *Wenceslaus* would verifie this rule in himselfe, for being without any contradiction chosen Emperour, he came to be so vnlike his father in goodnes, that he left of himselfe as much infamie, as his father did glory: neither did hee pacifie the warres which in *Germany* were kindled in his fathers time, but suffered them to proceede; which was the cause of much euill in that countrie. In his time sprang the great schisme which continued fortie yeeres. The Turkes in his time made great conquests vpon the Christians: and *John Galeas* made himselfe in his time Lord of *Lombardy*. The electors seeing the small care that this Emperour tooke to bee crowned; for the defence of *Christendome*; to set his hand to the good gouernment of the Empire, especially in the affaires of *Germany*, and that he led a base and licentious life, deposed him, as vnprofitable and of no worth. When he had unworthily raigned Emperour two and twentie yeeres, he afterwards died a priuate Lord.



Although that the desire to come to an end of this historie (being neere thereunto) doth incite and animate me to make haste; yet there are so many matters to be written off, and the moderne Historiographers haue so copiously set downe the same, that I am constrained (euen against my will) to prosecute the remainder more at large; wherein I presume to be held excused, for the pleasure and profit which the reader shall receiue thereby: wherefore

fore to auoyde prolixity, I say, that WENCESLAVS King of *Bohemia*, and eldest sonne of the Emperor CHARLES the fourth succeeded his father in the Empire; who prooued very vnlike to his father; for he grew to be vicious, retchlesse, and of little worth. But yet in the beginning as he was young, and men were in good hope of him; being chosen in his fathers time King of the Romanes, he was presently without any great contradiction obeyed for Emperor, and was so two and twentie yeeres, and in the end lost it, as you shall heare. His brother SIGISMVND being of more spirit and fiftene yeeres younger then WENCESLAVS, LEVVS King of *Hungary* married him to his daughter (who was also by his mother King of *Poland*) and thereby SIGISMVND came afterwards to be King of *Hungary*, as we will declare, of whom in the history of WENCESLAVS we shall make especiall mention, for in proceffe of time he came to be Emperor; for by reason of the insufficiencie of WENCESLAVS, little is to be written of him, so that of these two and twentie yeeres that he held the name of Emperor, the least that is to be said, is of him; but yet neuerthelesse passing it vnder his name, we will briefly relate what passed in the countries subiect to the Empire in his time, wherein he should haue borne the greatest sway, if he had not been so remisse and negligent as he was; for although it seeme little to the purpose, yet it shall be expedient for the liquidation of such matters as follow. First for the warres betweene the cities of *Germany*, and the Earle of *Wittembergh*, which his father before his decease sought to haue extinguished, his sonne had no such care: for in his time it encreased; and *Germany* from the beginning of his raigne, vntill the end thereof, endured want of both peace & iustice. In his time also happened a schisme in the Church of *Rome*, for in the same yeere that the Emperor CHARLES the fourth died in *Germany*, in *Rome* died pope GREGORY the eleuenth, who as I said returned the Papall court to *Rome*, and after his decease the Cardinals assembling themselves in the Conclaueto chuse him a successor, of which thirteene were French-men, and foure Italians, whither all the Romane people running, desired them to chuse an Italian, and no French-man; and the French Cardinals vsed all meanes to haue had a French-man; and the rest an Italian: and notwithstanding that the greatest number were French, yet disagreeing amongst themselves, one BARTHOLOMEVV a Neapolitan, and Archbishop of *Barri* was chosen pope, who tooke for his name VRBANE the sixth. The French Cardinals presently repenting, alleged that what they had done was for feare of the Romane people; whereupon some of them departed from *Rome*: yet VRBANE notwithstanding was consecrated, and generally obeyed, and those which had absented themselves returned, and so they continued three monthes, which being expired, through some discontentments which they conceiued against him (and as PLATINA writeth, for that he shewed himselfe seuer and rigorous against the abuses and pride of the clergie) eight of the French Cardinals, faining that they left *Rome* by reason of the heate, went to *Fundi*; where being fauored by Queene IOANE of *Naples* which sold the citie of *Auinion* to the pope, they alleaging and publishing the election of VRBANE to haue been made by violence, that he was no pope, and that the Sea was voided; they amongst themselves in *Fundi* chose a new pope and called him CLEMENT the seuenth; whom Queene IOANE and all the kingdome of *Naples* obeyed and held for pope; and so began the schisme, which lasted fortie yeeres. Through the warres and dissention betweene princes, Christendome was diuided into two factions; for besides Queene IOANE of *Naples*, the French King fauored

pope

pope CLEMENT, and perswaded the King of *Casile* to doe the like. All *Italy* (excepting *Naples*) obeyed pope VRBANE; so did the Emperor WENCESLAVS, *Germany*, *England* and *Portugall*; and the one and the other alleaged such reasons, and so great and so worthy personages tooke part with the one and the other, as made the matter very doubtfull. This schisme (as I say) continued long, notwithstanding that those which were chosen died, for the Cardinals of either party chose a successor, and held the chaire for voided, as hereafter shall appeare. Pope CLEMENT went into *France*, where with the aide of the French King, and of the Queene of *Naples* and of *Pronence*, hee held his court in the citie of *Auinion*, and VRBANE remained in *Rome*; and they two warring, either of them by all meanes possible sought the others destruction. Pope VRBANE sent his Ambassadors to complaine to the Emperor WENCESLAVS, of what was happened, and to perswade him to come into *Italy* in his behalfe, against the Queene of *Naples*, which then was widow of LEVVS Duke of *Tarent*, after that she had killed her first husband: but he giuing them good words took little care for the matter, but yet he and his brother SIGISMVND sent to pope CLEMENT at *Auinion*, admonishing him to leaue the name of pope and to submit himselfe to Pope VRBANE. Pope VRBANE finding himselfe much grieued against Queene IOANE, for that through her assistance the schisme began (that kingdome being subiect and held of the Church of *Rome*) sent to treat with CHARLES Nephew of LEVVS King of *Hungary* (who as some say) was sonne of her husband ANDREVV King of *Naples*, whom she had made away) to come into *Italy* with an armie; promising him (as a schismaticke and disobedient to his Church) to depriue Queene IOANE, and to make him King of *Naples*, whereto CHARLES and his Vncle LEVVS King of *Hungary* willingly gaue care; which LEVVS was father in law to SIGISMVND the Emperors brother; who being very glad thereof gaue him aide and counsell therein. CHARLES at what time he was called to the kingdome of *Naples*, made warre against the Venecians; for he and his Vncle the King of *Hungary* and *Poland*, fauored the Genowaies; betweene which, and the Venecians in those daies were very great and cruell warres; many princes assisting both the one and the other partie; in which warre many great exploits were performed, chiefly by Sea, sometimes the one partie preuailing and sometime the other. But at this time the Genowaies had the Venecians at such aduantage, that they with a mightie flecte of Galleyes by Sea besieged the citie of *Venice*; and their partakers and friends made very sharpe warre against them by land; so as the citie was likely to haue been taken and destroyed by them. We may say that that was the most cruell warre that vntill then euer was in the world, for therein was artillery first vsed by the Venecians; which was about the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, three hundred, eightie two, or a little after. The inuention of this pestilent scourge of mankind, was attributed to the Germanes; some say that a Monke, who was a great Philosopher inuented the same, not to the end to haue killed men therewith, but with a desire to haue experimented the qualitie and naturall force of things. Others say, that it was one PETER a great Magitian; but it importeth little to know who it was, for besides the ordinarie Historiographers which I follow in this place, many others write thereof.

*Venice* escaping from being taken in this warre, and many other matters succeeding; the Duke of *Sauoy* treated, and set downe articles of peace betweene those two Common-wealthes, which peace was concluded. So as to returne to

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Artillery first  
used in the  
warres.  
Anno Dom.  
1382.

my discourse, CHARLES being called to the kingdome of *Naples*, went into *Hungary*, where being furnished with men and other fauours by his Vncle King LEVVES, and the Emperor WENCESLAVS, he came into *Italy*, and to be brieft (leauing what befell him vpon the way) he went to *Rome*, and was very honorably receiued by the pope, and thence tooke his way towards the kingdome of *Naples*; and comming to blowes with Queene IOANEs armie, he ouerthrew and scattered the same; and comming to the citie of *Naples*, tooke it, and the Queene retyring to *Castel nouo* was therein besieged, and so CHARLES in short space made himselfe Lord of the whole kingdome, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, three hundred, eightie and two. Queene IOANE being besieged, sent to the French King; to her countrey of *Prouence*; and to pope CLEMENT, for reliefe; and forasmuch as she had no issue, she adopted LEVVES Duke of *Aniow*, Vncle to the French King for her heyre; which LEVVES with a puissant armie of French men, and with all the fauour that pope CLEMENT and the countrey of *Prouence* could yeeld him, went to relieue her: which was so great that what is written thereof seemeth incredible, for they write that he came with aboute thirtie thousand horse. Being come into the territorie of *Bologna in Italy*, warring vpon such as were his aduersaries, and spreading a report that hee came to set Queene IOANE at libertie; to supplant pope VRBANE; and to place pope CLEMENT (of which both the one and the other in any mans iudgment was easie to haue been done) in the midst of his iourney (which was very leasurely for the the great number of people which came with him, and being hindred by King CHARLES of *Naples* and pope VRBANE) he was taken with so vehemēt sickness, that within very few daies it killed him, and his armie without a Leader being diuided and disperfed, returned to their countrey: and so was King CHARLES deliuered from this feare, who hauing by sundrie practises gotten Queene IOANE into his power, commaunded her secretly to be drowned, and so she dying (bearing penance for the death of her husband) CHARLES remained King and absolute Lord of *Naples*, with whom the pope fell at variance, and other matters followed. While these matters passed in *Italy*, there was neither peace nor quietnes in *Germany*, through the negligence and little care of the Emperor WENCESLAVS; who making his abode in his kingdome of *Bohemia*, gaue himselfe wholly ouer to his pleasure. About this time died the Earle of *Flaunders*, and PHILIP Duke of *Burgundy* sonne to King IOHN of *France* enheriting his estate, the houses of *Flaunders* and *Burgundy* were vnited. It happened at that time also, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, three hundred, eightie and three, that LEVVES King of *Hungary* and of *Poland* dying, left onely two daughters, of which one called MARY was married to the Emperors brother SIGISMUND; who by her enherited the kingdome of *Hungary*: and the other was married to the Duke of *Austrich*, with the title to the kingdome of *Poland*. King LEVVES being dead, and SIGISMUND being but fiftene yeeres old, after that he and his wife were crowned, his mother in law Queene ISABEL had the gouernment of the kingdom, who following the counse of the Earle of *Gara*, (a fauorite of hers) gouerned with such rigor and seueritie, that the greatest part of the subiects murmuring against her, rose and rebelled, and as SIGISMUND was but a childe, and she a woman, and the Emperor vnable to relieue them, the rebellion could not be pacified: whereupon the principall men of that kingdome, sent for CHARLES King of *Naples*, alleaging that the enheritance of the kingdome of *Hungary* appertained vnto him, and to no other; for that he was a man,

The death of  
Lewis Duke of  
Aniow.

Ioane Queene  
of Naples drown-  
ed.

The uniting of  
the Countie of  
Flanders to the  
Duchie of Bur-  
gundie.

and neereft of blood vnto King LEVVES deceased. King CHARLES thirsting after another kingdome, and hoping of the like good successe in *Hungary* as he had in *Naples*, accepted the offer; and making preparation for his iourney, leauing the gouernment of *Naples* to his wife with the greatest store of men and money that he could get (for that he would not compasse *Italy* about) sailed along the Adriatick Sea (now called the Gulph of *Venice*) and landing at a place in *Slauonia*, subiect to the kingdome of *Hungary*, was there so well receiued, and in like manner by all those of that kingdome, that the young King SIGISMUND, doubting of the power of his friends which held with him, leauing his wife and his mother in law the widow Queene in *Hungary*, fled to his brother the Emperor, who then was in *Bohemia*: and the Queene mother being a subtil woman, sent a messenger to welcome King CHARLES into the countrey, and to tell him that she reposing her trust in his goodnes, would yeeld her selfe and her daughter into his power, for that she assured her selfe his comming to be for the good of that kingdome. King CHARLES gaue such credit to her speeches, that he came to the place where she was, and holding himselfe for absolute Lord, and taking vpon him the gouernment of the King, was not so carefull for the safetie of his person, as reason required; for he one day comming to the Queenes lodging, was there by the Queenes direction and some her fauorites traiterously slaine, by the hands of one BLASE DE FORBAC: so as this King, not contented with the kingdome of *Naples*, came to lose his life for the kingdome of *Hungary*, and the two Queenes, mother and daughter hauing made away their enemy, wrote to the Emperor, to send his brother SIGISMUND into that kingdome; and they in the meane time had the gouernment; for as it seemeth, there was then no open contradiction. And the Queene being more confident then she ought to haue been considering what she had done, went from the place where she made her abode, to goe in progresse into the countrey, carrying her daughter with her; and passing one day carelesly with a small garde; a great Lord of *Hungary*, called IOHN BANDE HORVBACH (which had been of the aduerse partie) meeting her vpon the way apprehended the two Queenes, mother and daughter, and so many as were with them; and there in her presence slew BLASE FORBAC, who murdered King CHARLES; and made the old Queene and others of her company to be drowned in a lake of water which was there by: and hauing thus cruelly reuenged the death of King CHARLES, he carried the sorrowfull young Queene MARY, prisoner to a Castle. When King SIGISMUND was certified of this great and strange disaster, moued with iust sorrow for his mother in law and his wife, he with the aide of his brother the Emperor, entred *Hungary*, where, by the most part he was receiued and obeyed; moued thereto with compassion to see his wife imprisoned: which when IOHN HORVBACH, the cruell reuenger of King CHARLES his death vnderstood; repenting of what he had done, or fearing to be brought to ruine for the same, he so practized with the Queene, whom hee held prisoner, that shee promised and sware to obtaine his pardon of her husband; whereupon she being set at libertie, went presently to *Buda*, where her husband was, and there they both were againe crowned, and receiued for King and Queene, which happened in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, three hundred, eightie and sixe. But SIGISMUND notwithstanding his wifes oathes and promises, in such manner persecuted IOHN DE HORVBACH, that after many conflicts, hauing gotten him into his power, he commaunded him to be slaine: and so he remained King of *Hungary*, wherein

King Charles  
of Naples mur-  
dered in Hun-  
gary.

The Queene of  
Hungary drown-  
ed.

he reigned many yeeres after the chaunces and changes of fortune before recited, in that kingdome, and in *Naples*, such as if they haue been read with attention are as strange as most that the passed in the world; yet afterwards ensued other as great or greater, as shall appeare.

SIGISMUND hauing brought that kingdome to subiection, and throughly established himselfe therein; in reuenge of matters past, he at a Parliament held at *Buda* (as writeth *Pivs Qvintvs*, who before was called *ENEAS SILVIVS*) beheaded two and thirtie of the most principall Lords of that kingdome, which had been his enemies and warred against him: which truely was cruell and seuerer iustice, notwithstanding that they had deserued it: for which cause, the parents and friends of those which were executed did euer after so much hate him, that they brought him into many troubles and extremities, for it is a farre more safe course to pardon, and to vse moderate iustice, with clemencie: then to extend the rigor and extremitie of the lawes. In the kingdome of *Naples* reigned *LADISLAVS* sonne of King *CHARLES*, although not without trouble by those which held for *LEVVS* Duke of *Aniow* (sonne of that *LEVVS* which died in that action as is before declared) who challenged the kingdome of *Naples*, and Queene *IOANES* other dominions.

Summum ius,  
summa iniuria.

*IOHN GALEAS* Viscount, sonne of *GALEAS* in those dayes made himselfe Lord of all *Lombardy*, by putting his Vncle *BARNABY* to death by treason, with whom hee had in his fathers time diuided the cuntry, in this manner. *BARNABY* held *Placencia*, *Cremona*, *Parma*, *Lodi*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo* and other places thereto appertaining: and his Nephew *IOHN* held *Paia*, *Vercelli*, *Nouarra*, *Tortona*, and the rest betwene that and the *Alpes*; the citie of *Milan* was for them both, conditionally that they should peaceably gouerne the same. But as soueraigntie can endure no company or equality, so *IOHN GALEAS* to make himselfe Lord of the whole, found a meanes in a Castle to apprehend his Vncle, and father in law, who trusted him as his owne sonne, wherein either of poison or other infirmitie, he died prisoner: and he made himselfe Lord of *Milan*, and the other cities, notwithstanding that *BARNABY* had one sonne called *ASTROGIO*, and another called *CHARLES* Viscount, who afterwards troubled his kinsman all that hee might. But the ambition and power of *IOHN GALEAS* rested not here; for as at that time there were warres betwene *ANTHONY DE LA SCALA* Lord of *Verona* and *Vicenza*, and *FRANCIS CARRARA*, Lord of *Padoa* and other townes; he in such manner fauored the partie of *FRANCIS CARRARA*, that expelling *ANTHONY DE LA SCALA*, *GALEAS* tookethose townes to himselfe, and possessed the same: and after that he had subuerted the enemye, he bent his weapons against his friend, and besieged *FRANCIS CARRARA* in *Padoa*, and entring it by force, tooke the poore old man prisoner; and so for that time made himselfe Lord of those cities, and was the most mightie and redoubted man in all *Italy*: so as this was the right and title of the first Dukes of *Milan*: yet vntill that time they were not called Dukes, for this *GALEAS* was called Earle of *Vertues*, vntill that the Emperour *WENCESLAVS* gaue him the title of Duke, as hereafter we will declare. The Lords which were thus deposed, left sonnes behinde them, with which hee afterwards had warres and troubles, and many accidents happened, which I must of force recount, for the better vnderstanding of my principall intent: but this for the present shall suffice, to bring that to light whereof we purpose to discourse, which is of the raigne of the Emperour *WENCESLAVS*, for that it concerneth the state of the Imperiall townes

townes and lands of the Empire in *Germanie*, and *Italy*, whereof the Emperour tooke not such care as hee ought to haue done, and cared not to bee crowned in *Rome*, neither to come into *Italy*. And as for *Germany*, he gouerned it so retchlessly, that the warres betwene the cities of the Empire, and the Dukes of *Wittembergh* ceased not; sundrie princes fauoring both the one and other partie, and all the rest was out of order: whereupon they began to consult of deposing him from the Empire, which was afterwards effected; and the Bohemians which were his owne subiects discontented with his gouernment, held him seauenteene weekes prisoner; and he being afterwards vpon certaine conditions released, fell to his old manner of liuing; at the end whereof, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, three hundred, eightie and nine, Pope *VRBANE* the sixth died in *Rome*, hauing been so Queene yeeres, and Cardinall *PETER TONACELLO* a Napolitane, was by the Roman Cardinals chosen for his successor, and called *BONIFACE* the ninth: yet in *Auinion*, *CLEMENT* the seauenth was held and obeyed for pope in all *France*. This *BONIFACE* vsed such policie that getting the absolute gouernment of *Rome*, he suppressed the power and libertie of the people; and making and establishing officers at his pleasure, fortified and garrisoned the Castle Saint *Angelo*, which of long time had lien desert, an habitacl for Goates and other beasts: otherwise he was not greatly commended, for the contention betwene these two Popes opened the gate to symony and many other abuses. And Pope *BONIFACE* afterwards sent a Cardinall Legate to crowne *LADISLAVS* King of *Naples*, sonne of King *CHARLES* slaine in *Hungary*: and Pope *CLEMENT* in *Auinion* a little before gaue the same title to *LEVVS* Duke of *Aniow*, sonne of the other *LEVVS* his fathers riual; so as many things passed betwene these two princes, which I omit: but King *LADISLAVS* preuailling in the yeere following Pope *BONIFACE* his election, Pope *CLEMENT* died in *Auinion*, and the Cardinals which followed him, chose one *PETER DE LVNA* a Spanyard to be his successor, a very excellent learned man, if he could haue been restrained from the ambition to haue bin Pope, who was called *BENEDICT* the thirteenth.

*IOHN GALEAS* Viscount being of great power, sent the Archbishop of *Milan* for his Ambassadour, to entreate the Emperour to giue him the title of Duke of *Milan*, and to approoue his right thereto: which the Emperour without the consent of the princes of the Empire graunted, more for the desire of the money, which was presented him, then for any right or reason that might induce him thereto, and all things happened to *IOHN GALEAS* so much accordingly to his desire, that he came to be one of the most puissant and redoubted princes in Christendome.

The schisme betwene the two Popes, and the warres in *Italy* and *Germany* in those daies, together with the Emperors retchlesnes and insufficiencie, were the cause why the Emperour and Empire of *Constantinople* could not be relieved or succoured, which at that time were mightily oppressed by *BAIAZETH* the fourth, King of the *Turkes*; who with a puissant armie comming into *Europe*, ouercame and slew in bataille *MARKE DESPOTE* of *Bulgaria*, and ouerranne all his cuntry: and within three yeeres after, returning into the prouinces of *Gracia*, tooke and conquered cities and prouinces: and passing forwards marched through all *Walachia*, which in auncient time was called *Dacia*; and so came into *Hungary*, whence he returned with great spoyle, remayning Lord (besides what he held before) of the prouinces of *Macedonia*, of the greatest part of *Thracia*,

Baiazeth King  
of the Turkes  
came into  
Europe.

cia, of *Theffalia*, of the prouince of the auncient *Athenes* and other countries; and comming victorious besieged the Imperiall citie of *Constantinople*: whereupon SIGISMVND King of *Hungary*, with the aide of his brother the Emperor (but with much more and farre better from sundrie other Christian princes; chiefly from *England*, and *France*, whither he sent to sue for the same, and also from the Emperor of *Constantinople*) came to seeke the great *Turke*, with 100000. men, whereof twentie thousand were horsemen: whereof BATAZETH being aduertised, raised his siege from before *Constantinople*, and with three hundred thousand men came to meete him; and the two armies vpon Michaelmas day in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, three hundred, ninety and seauen, fought a bloody and cruel battaile, wherein the king of *Hungary*, and the other princes & nobles which were with him were ouerthrowne, and as it is written a very great slaughter was made of the Christians, through the fault of the French, which charged before their time; and the King of *Hungary*, and the Master of the order of the Knights of the *Rhodes*, escaping by flight, the greatest part of the French were either slaine or taken prisoners. After this victory, BATAZETH returned to the siege of *Constantinople*; at which time if the great TAMORLAN (which was one of the most mighty and most victorious Captaines that euer was in the world) had not risen in *Asia*, he had taken the citie, and at that time had wholly subdued that Empire: wherefore hee leauing in *Europe* the best garrisons that he could, went to the defence of *Asia*, wherein he was in a battaile ouerthrowne and taken, and in TAMORLAN'S power died prisoner; which (for that time) brought some rest to Christendome. King SIGISMVND escaping from this infortunate battaile, came to *Constantinople*, and thence sayling to the Ile of *Rhodes*, came into *Dalmacia* or *Slauonia*. In the time of this his peregrination many of his kingdome of *Hungary* publishing him to be either dead or taken prisoner, aduanced the Colours of LADISLAVS King of *Naples*, proclaiming him King by the right of his father CHARLES, of whom we made mention, and of his death being slaine after his comming into *Hungary*, for the same purpose that his sonne was now sent for: but SIGISMVND afterwards appearing with the aide of the Archbishop of *Strigonium*, and other his friends, recouered his kingdome; although that afterwards hee was againe imprisoned, and fell into great troubles; the occasion whereof was the malice and hatred which many of his kingdome bare him, for the cruell execution done in the beginning of his raigne, as then was expressed. These matters being past, and other which for that they concerne not the historie of the Emperors, I ouerpasse; the princes electors of the Empire, and the rest, seeing the insufficiencie and little care that the Emperor tooke to repress and pacifie the warres and controuersies betweene the cities amongst themselves, and among the princes; and that he gaue himselfe to his pleasure and vaine delights, by reason whereof he was little regarded; resolved to meete, and to depose him, as dangerous, and vnprofitable for the Empire; and to chuse another Emperor; alleaging him to be altogether vnfit for the government; that he desired not, neither sought to be crowned; that he had without reason, order, or equitie giuen the title of Duke to IOHN GALEAS the tyrant of *Milan*; that he had put many men of Sacerdotall order to death, and some prelates; that he was vicious, and no good Christian; that he tooke no care to resist the *Turkes*; and finally, that he was a man vnprofitable for the Christian Common-wealth; with many other matters which they laid to his charge; and putting their resolution in effect, they met for that purpose in the citie of *Franckford*, in the yeere of

A battaile betwene the King of Hungary and the Turke, wherein the Christians were ouerthrowne.

The great Turke ouerthrowne and taken by the mighty Tamorlan.

But the chiefest cause was for that he fauored the doctrine of Iohn Huss and Ierom of Prague, which then began to take roote in Bohemia.

our

our Lord, one thousand, foure hundred, pope BONIFACE being the chiefeft author therof, who published him for depriued and vnworthy of the Empire, in the 22. yeere of his raigne. Here is some difference betweene the authors, for some write that ROBERT whom some call RVPERT, Countie Palatine of *Rhine* and Duke of *Baniere*, was chosen in his place; without making mention of IODOCVS Marquis of *Moravia* cosin germane to the Emperor WENCESLAVS (being his fathers brothers sonne) who some say, was chosen before ROBERT, and liued but a little while after: others (which I rather beleeeue) say that there was controuersie betweene the electors; some chusing IODOCVS, and others ROBERT, and that IODOCVS dying, the contention ended. Howsoeuer it was, it is true that IODOCVS liued but fixe moneths after this election; and of him nothing is written worthie to bee recited. So as (according to all writers) ROBERT by common consent, after the decease of IODOCVS, remained sole Emperor; and his election was ratified by pope BONIFACE. Onely CVSPINIAN in this place maketh mention of one FREDERICK Duke of *Bruinswick*, who (as hee saith) was also chosen before ROBERT, and was slaine before that hee could be crowned, through the treason of a certaine Earle, by the counsell and procurement of the Archbishop of *Mentz*; and that ROBERT was chosen afterwards. I know not what authors he followed therein, for I finde it written by him onely. It sufficeth that ROBERT, whom the Germanes call RVPERT (WENCESLAVS being deposed) remained Emperor: whereof WENCESLAVS made great account, for in truth he that tooke small care to preserue it, it is no maruell though it grieved him little to lose it; for he contented himselfe with his kingdome of *Bohemia*, which he enioyed a long time after, and gouerned the same so retchlessly, that his brother SIGISMVND King of *Hungary*, by the consent of his subiects apprehended him once, besides another time, that they themselves apprehending him, deliuered him to the custody of ALBERT Duke of *Austrich*, who held him for a space prisoner in *Vienna*, whence being afterwards released, hee returned to his kingdome, in possession whereof, he afterwards liued nineteene yeeres, and died being of the age of seauen and fiftie (as writeth pope PIVS QVINTVS, otherwise called AENEAS SILVIUS) without leauing either son or daughter by two wiues to which he was married. And he raigning in *Bohemia*, the religion began to spring, whereof hereafter mention shal be made, which was the ground of that which at this day is professed in *Germany*, and in the greatest part of Christendome, which (as it seemeth) this King fauored. This was the end of Emperor WENCESLAVS his Empire.

All this while IOHN PALEOLOGVS raigned in *Constantinople*, who was also called CALOIOANNES; yet BLONDVS is of opinion, that ANDRONICVS, sonne of this CALOIOANNES, rained at this time; wherein (as I coniecture) he is deceiued; for the authors which particularly write the liues of the Greeke Emperors, make no mention of ANDRONICVS in this place, but of IOHN CATACVZENVS, with whom CALOIOANNES contended for the Empire. A little after the depriuing of WENCESLAVS, EMANVEL PALEOLOGVS succeeding his father CALOIOANNES, the Empire of *Constantinople* decayed and came to ruine; for BATAZETH the great Turke tooke many prouinces and countries thereof, as we haue already declared, yet it had some rest in those daies, by reason of the calamitie brought vpon the *Turkes* by the great TAMORLAN; but it continued not long, for TAMORLAN being dead, CALAPIN sonne of BATAZETH, recouered and reformed the kingdome and Empire of the *Turkes*, and againe molested and persecuted the Empire of *Greece*, and the Kings of *Hungary* also.

Xxx 4

THE

Anno Dom. 1400.

The Emperor Wenceslaus deposed from the Empire.

Calapin the great Turke.



THE LIFE OF ROBERT  
ONELY OF THAT NAME,  
AND CX. ROMANE  
EMPEROVR.



THE ARGVMENT.

**R**obert being in the time of Wenceslaus made Emperour, tooke speedy order to make it known to the world that that dignitie was not given him for nought, and therefore made himselfe to be crowned: and having suppressed the troubles of Germany went to be crowned in Italy, and to protect the Florentines against the Duke of Milan; but his coming was no lesse dishonorable, then unprofitable; neither were the Florentines warres with the Duke of Milan asswaged, but through the death of the sayd Duke: for the Emperour departing without having defended them, or without putting their adversary in any feare, applied himselfe to the affaires of Germany, wherein he was much troubled about the schisme in the Church of Rome: and desiring to assemble a Councell, the Popes not consenting thereto, hee was a long time in doubt; but in the end resolving to have a Councell held in such a place, as whither both the Popes without suspicion might come, he fell sick and dyed, in the tenth yeare of his raigne.



He Emperor WENCESLAUS being in such manner (as I said) deprived, and ROBERT Duke of Bauiere chosen in his place, the new Emperor elect accompanied by the electors and some other princes, went to the citie of Colen, and there was crowned by the Archbishop thereof; and his election and coronation was confirmed and ratified by pope BONIFACE, and so through all Germany he was held and obeyed for Emperor: but not with such obedience and reuerence, as some of his predecessors had been; for the remisse behaviour,

behaviour, and little worth of WENCESLAUS, and the morgages and sales made by his father CHARLES, had giuen such libertie and exemptions, that the Empire scarcely retained the authoritie and reputation in the Imperial countries, and with the princes of Germany, as ought to haue been giuen. But as ROBERT was a wise and prudent prince, and of himselfe very mightie and of great power, so in the tenne yeeres which he raignd, he made a great reformation in all matters, and set therein the best order that was possible, aswell in the controuerfies and warres which were in the land, as in the execution of iustice and good gouernment. Italy then flamed with warre and sedition; in the kingdome of Naples LADISLAUS sonne of CHARLES before named, with the aide of Pope BONIFACE, warred against those which held for LEVVEs Duke of Anion, sonne of the other LEVVEs who held some cities and townes in that kingdome, with the title and right which he inherited from his father, and from QUEENE IOANE, being inuested in that kingdome by CLEMENT, which in Anion was called Pope: and LADISLAUS his power encreasing, he in the end preuailed. The mightiest man in all the rest of Italy, was IOHN GALEAS Viscount Duke of Milan, who (as I said) was an haughtie minded man; who not contented to bee Duke and Lord of so great estates, and of so many cities as he was, thought to haue been a King, yea an Emperour, and Lord of all Italy; and at that time made cruell warre against the Florentines, which onely durst and were able to make head against him, they being assisted by the sonnes of BARNABY which had been tyrant of Milan; and by the sonnes of those which had been tyrants or Gouvernours of Pados, which he had deposed, and others which he had wronged and dispossessed; and by many others which stood in feare to be dealt withall in the like manner.

The matter standing vpon these termes, and the election and coronation of the Emperour ROBERT being published, the Florentines sent to entreate and to perswade him (for sith he was Emperour he was bound thereto) to come into Italy, to free the country from so cruell and pernicious a tyrant, as was Duke IOHN of Milan (who had vsurped so many townes of the Empire, and of the Church also) and therewith offered to giue him towards his charges vpon the way the summe of two hundred thousand Florines, whereof one hundred thousand presently in hand, and the rest the first day that hee with his armie should enter into the tyrant Dukes country; wherein they would assist him with the greatest power that they were able to make, both of foote and horse. These Ambassadors being arriued, in Germany were very well entertained by the Emperour, who presently accepting their offer and seruice, promised to come into Italy, aswell for the enterprife of Milan, as to be crowned in Rome: and he thereupon presently began to provide all things necessarie for his iourney.

The Duke of Milan having intelligence hereof, little regarded the deuices and policies which his predecessors had vsed with the former Emperours, which wereto procure peace with them, and to obtaine their grace and fauour, to beare themselves as their vassals & subiects; but he as a mighty absolute Lord, with great resolution mustered vp his men, and prepared and provided armour and Artillerie (which then was vsed) and all things els needfull for the warres: so that great preparation was made of both sides; and all Italy and Germany were very attentive to see the issue of this great motion. The Emperour staied longer then he, or those which expected his coming, thought hee would haue done: for he having determined to come in the beginning of the yeere 1401, came to the citie of Trent (which is at the entrie into Italy) in the end of haruest following, accompa-

The Emperour  
Robert over-  
throwne in  
Italy by the  
Duke of Milan.

nied by the Duke of *Austrich*, the Archbishop of *Colen*, and some other princes, with many Captaines of *Germany* and of *Italy*. And to performe the conditions made with the Florentines, he came with his armie within sight of *Brescia*, which held for the Duke of *Milan*: but the Duke had in that citie, and the marches thereof, so many good men of warre to make head against him, that they made no doubt to offer him battaile; and the Dukes Cavalierie were so excellent good horsemen, that in all skirmishes and encounters wheresoever they met, they had the aduantage of the Germanes, and slew many of them: and they one day coming to ioyne with their whole forces in a battaile, the Emperour and his people were ouerthrowne, neere to the Lake *Benaco*, now called *Garda*: and being thus broken, he retired to *Trent*, where he stood in great doubt & perplexitie, to think whether he should returne into *Germany*, or reinforce his army to returne into *Italy*; where the Duke of *Austrich* and the Archbishop of *Colen* leauing him returned home, wherewith the Emperor was forie that he was readie to haue done the like; but perswaded by FRANCIS CARRARA, son of CARRARA the tyrant of *Padoa*, and by other Italian Captaines; and thinking it a shame for him to returne, without further triall of his fortune, he went with his armie (which he had reinforced) so farre as *Triuigi*, and thence to *Padoa*; where by meanes of CARRARA he was receiued; whither came to him foure principall Ambassadours from the Florentines, which also sent two Captaines with certaine troupes of horse and foote; one of which (as saith BLONDVS) was SFORZA ATENDVLO, which afterwards was an excellent and very famous captaine, and was father of that FRANCIS SFORZA, which was one of the best Captaines in the world, and afterwards Duke of *Milan*. This SFORZA ATENDVLO was borne in a village called *Cattinola*, of meane parentage and very poore. With these Ambassadours, ROBERT had long treaties and discourses, concluding, that the Duke of *Milan* was of such power, that neither he nor they had forces sufficient to defeat him or pluck him downe from his throane: wherefore he held it best for him to returne, and that they should seek new aide and reliefe: besides this he demanded so great a summe of money for the payement of his souldiers, that it seemed not to be raised.

The Florentines fearing their destruction if the Emperour should leaue them and so returne, left no meanes vsought to detain him: wherefore two of the Ambassadours returned in post to *Florence*, to conferre with their citizens about this matter; and the other two remained with the Emperour, who for that it was winter, and no fit time to make warre (hauing a great desire to see that citie) went to *Venice*, where he was most sumptuously receiued and entertained. The Florentines in the meane time hauing heard their Ambassadours, resolving what answer they would make to the Emperour; determined to procure the friendship of the Venecians, and to make a league with them, and with the Pope, and to giue the Emperour great aide of men and money: herewith the Ambassadours returned to him to *Venice*, relating to him the determination of their citizens. The Emperour complained of them to the Venecians, for that they had not giuen him that pay which they had promised: and they excusing themselves, alleaged that hee came not with such power as was requisite, neither had entred the territorie of *Milan*. Finally, many treaties and speeches passed, as well with the Emperour as the Duke of *Milans* Ambassadours, which came thither to defend their cause before the Venecians; the Florentines still insisting to stay the Emperour in *Italy*; who giuing them sometimes hope, and sometimes making the matter doubtfull, came from *Venice* to *Padoa*, where he lay all the rest of the winter: and the month

neth of Aprill being come, in the yeere of our Lord 1402, in the third yeere of his raigne, he perceiuing that the Venecians would be but lookers on, and new-trals, and would not helpe the Florentines; and that LADISLAVS king of *Naples* had enough to doe with LEVRS of *Aniow*; and that Pope BONIEACE (notwithstanding that the Duke of *Milan* had taken many townes from him) as little durst attempt ought against him; resolved with himselfe to returne into *Germany*, and did so, although with losse of reputation: whereby it appeared that the Empire was not of such power as in former time; wherewith the Florentines were infinitely forie, and vsed all possible meanes to haue staid him. And although I shall make some digression, yet I will declare what end the warre betwene the Duke of *Milan* and the Florentines had, and how it was interrupted by the death of the said Duke.

The Emperour being departed out of *Italy*; the Duke of *Milan* thinking presently to haue accomplished his desires, and to haue made himselfe Lord of *Florence*, sent his Generall, called ALBERICO Earle of *Cuno*, with all the force which he had leuiued to make head against the Emperour, to assault *Bologna*, which was gouerned by IOHN BENTIVOGLIO, a friend and confederate with the Florentines. And with the Dukes army went the Marquis of *Montoa*, his friend and confederate, and PANDOLPHO MALATESTA Lord of *Arimino*: the Florentines to the reliefe of BENTIVOGLIO, sent their best Captaines and men of warre, amongst which was FRANCIS CARRARA son of FRANCIS CARRARA Lord of *Padoa*. BENTIVOGLIO herewith and with his owne forces took the field, with a determination to fight with the Duke of *Milans* power, which refused not the same, wherein IOHN BENTIVOGLIO and his partakers being ouerthrowne, hee escaped by flight, and the CARRARI were taken prisoners: and ALBERICO presently besieging the citie of *Bologna*, and battering it in many parts, by one of which, part of his people, by the permission of some within the citie began to enter; but BENTIVOGLIO resolving to die honorably Lord of *Bologna*, charged those which were entred, and fought with such obstinacie, that being vknowne he was there slaine, and cut in pieces. So soone as it was knowne that he was dead, the citie without any more resistance was entred, and so the Duke of *Milan* had that citie. This victory strake such a feare into the Florentines, that they holding themselves for lost, would haue accepted any conditions of peace, had they bin neuer so hard; and sent to desire the Venecians to purchase the same for them: but the Duke of *Milan* which now assured himselfe to be Lord of *Florence*, refusing to heare them commanded his army to march forwards; and being in the height of his greatnes; that God which onely is able, and vseth to abate mens pride, measured his thoughts; for hee was suddenly taken with a pestilent feuer, whereof within fewe daies after he died: and notwithstanding that his death was kept secret, yet it was soone discovered, and the Florentines were freed from the great feare of the seruitude which they expected. I know well that I haue spent much time about this man; but I doe it for that it is a notable matter, to see, to how great power this Duke tyrannically, in despite of Kings and Emperours, which were his aduersaries attained: and forasmuch as he was a subiect of the Empire, whereof this History is, it may be said to be the substance of the same History.

I say then that this Prince IOHN GALEAS Viscount Duke of *Milan* was tall of stature, of a gentle and comely gesture, indifferently well scene in the liberal Arts and Sciences, very well spoken, of a quicke and sharpe wit, hardy and valiant in armes, and therewith very politike and subtil in his actions: but hee was so ambitious

*Bologna taken  
by the Duke of  
Milan.*

ambitious and desirous to raigne, and to commaund, that to attaine thereto, he setting aside the feare of God, made no question to attempt any meanes iust or vniust whatsoeuer, so he might obtaine his purposes; which were so many and such, that I cannot describe them. It is certaine that he acquired much of what he desired, for before his death, he was Lord of nine and twentie cities in *Italy*, which were, *Milan, Pavia, Monfrigal, Nouarra, Bercelly, Alba, Aquì, Alexandria, Tortona, Drobio, Placencia, Parma, Rezzo, Bologna, Pisa, Siena, Massa, Grosseto, Clusio, Perugia, Asti, Nocera, Lody, Feliro, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Como, Cromona, and Crema*, besides the townes and Castles subiect and appertayning to these cities, which were a great number. He died in the moneth of Nouember, in the yeere 1402. This mighty Duke left two sonnes behind him, the eldest of which was called JOHN MARIA Viscount, and the other PHILIP MARIA Viscount: to the elder, he left by his Testament, the title of Duke, and the citie of *Milan*, with all the townes and cities within the iurisdiction thereof; and out of it the cities of *Bologna, Siena, Perugia, and Asti*: to his second sonne PHILIP he left the cities of *Pavia, Verona, Vicenza* and other places; and to a bastard sonne whose name was GABRIEL, he left the citie of *Pisa*. Which diuision made to his sonnes was imputed vnto him for a great ouersight, and was afterwards very preiudiciall to that estate; for the two brothers disagreeing, it came to decay and diminution; for as they were so very boyes, that the eldest of them was but fifteene yeeres old, so there presently began factions and partakings between them, and the widow Duchesse their mother in lawe, and their kinned fauourites, about the gouernment and command. Finally, for that it is long to be recited, the matter grew to that issue, that so soone as the discord was knowne to be betweene the heads, all the members became so out of order, that the greatest part of the cities rose and rebelled against the Duke: some with those which first held them, and others with new Captaines and tyrants, so that what in the time of the Duke was held for the greatest euill (which was to be subiect to one) seemed afterwards to be the least, by reason of the multitude of tyrants, and the many warres and troubles which ensued; for with *Cremona* arose VGO LINO CAVALCABO, and PANDULFHO MALATESTA with *Brescia* and *Bergamo*; PHILIP ARCELLANO in *Placencia*; PAVLO GVITTIGI with *Luca*; FACINO CANEWITH *Bercelly, Alexandria*, and other places; the SVARDI in *Bergamo*; FOGLIANO RISCONE in *Como*; GIANNINO VENATESE in *Lodi*; GEORGE BENZONE in *Crema*; OTHO VITALE in *Parma*; and others fought to doe the like in other places; as the CARRARESI and those of SCALA, sought to make themselues Lords of *Verona*, and *Padoa*: in such sort that the state of JOHN MARIA the new Duke of *Milan* was in great trouble and daunger also, and what did most hurt was his owne tyrannicall condition, for he (as a proud cruell boy) beheaded sundrie the most principall men of that countrie: he also apprehended his mother, and committed many other insolencies, which in the end cost him his life; whereof being reprehended by a seruant and fauourite of his, which told him that hee was vnlike to his ancestors, he yeelded a reason answerable to his actions, willing him to let him alone, for that house or lineage could not be accounted excellent or famous which produced not men of all conditions: Let this suffice for his estate, and now to our purpose.

The Emperour ROBERT going into *Germany* (at such time and in such manner as is before said) applied himselfe to the pacifying thereof: for besides the ancient controuersies betweene the cities (as before is recounted) in those daies many great men in *Hungary* through the old hatred which they long before had conceiued

ceiued against SIGISMUND their King, for the cruell execution which he made to be done in the beginning of his raigne, rebelled against him, and they apprehending him committed him in a Castle to the custodie of a widow and her two sonnes, whose father he had put to death. SIGISMUND being thus prisoner, they sent to LADISLAUS king of *Naples* to come and take possession of that kingdom, sith to him it belonged: and notwithstanding that he was not thoroughly confirmed in the kingdom of *Naples*, yet moued with an ambitious desire to raigne and to commaund, he made the greatest haste thitherward that he could; and leauing *Naples* came into *Slauonia*, where, in a citie subiect to the kingdom of *Hungary*, he was crowned and proclaimed king thereof: but in the meane time SIGISMUND vsed such meanes with the widow and her sonnes, that they released him out of prison; and he being at libertie, with the aide of his friends and many others which he reduced to his seruice, recovered his kingdom: and LADISLAUS being thereof aduertised, without proceeding any further (his hope and purpose failing him) returned to the kingdom of *Naples*: but before his departure, in requitall of his good entertainment, he sold to the Venecians that citie wherein he was harboured. For all these matters (as it appeareth by the histories) his brother WENCESLAUS king of *Bohemia* and deposed Emperour, tooke little care; for he had enough to doe to hold in himselfe in his kingdom; and as little is written of what the Emperour ROBERT did herein, or in the cruell warres betweene the Swissers and the Duke of *Austrich*; the originall and issue whereof were long to be recounted. It should seeme that hee was otherwise busied in the affaires of the Empire; whereof, for as much as it was in peace and quiet, there is no notable matter written; and matters of small importance are not worth the reading: for certainly although it be the blessing of God to liue in peaceable times, and vnder the rule of good kings and princes for the time present; yet the histories of them after their death are nothing delightfull, and men commonly take more pleasure in reading of battailes, alterations of kingdomes, the fall of kings and their estates, then in histories of peace, iustice, and quiet times: and this is the reason why bookes of lies and fables are read with such delight; for that they are full of such fained great accidents and aduentures. True it is that those times were not without matters worthie to be related: but forasmuch as they concerne not the Emperour, I am not to write them in this historie.

The Emperour ROBERT rainging in peace and rest in *Germany*, in the fifth yeere of his raigne Pope BONIFACE died in *Rome*, in the yere of our Lord 1404; and he being dead the Cardinall of S. *Croffe* was chosen, and called INNOCENT the seuenth, who before was called COSMO; BENEDICT the thirteenth liuing still in *Auinion*. Before that INNOCENT was chosen, all the Cardinals sware and promised, that whether soeuer of them should happen to be made Pope, should doe his best endeouour to end the schisme in their Church; and this INNOCENT swore the same: but after that he was Pope, he vsed no such care therein as was expected. The Emperour ROBERT for that he was otherwise busied in *Germany*, or else through want of men or money, or both, could not, or would not come into *Italy* at that time; whereto if he had had meanes, occasion was offered him, to haue recovered to the Empire the cities which the Duke of *Milan* and others had vsurped, by reason of the wars and great troubles which were amongst them in those daies: but (as I haue already said) the power and authoritie of the Emperours (for the causes before mentioned) was so much weakened, that they could not prouide for all parts: but the Venecians taking the benefit of the time,

made themselves Lords of *Padoa, Verona* and *Vicenza*, with their confines; which before that time held not any citie of importance in the maine land of *Italy*: and so they wholly extinguished the houses and estates of the *CARRARI*, and of *SCALA*, which of long time had been Lords of *Padoa, Verona*, and other townes. The Florentines at this time bought the citie of *Pisa* of *GABRIEL* the bastard sonne of Duke *GALEAS* of *Milan*, who after that he had been Lord thereof the space of three yeeres, being vnable to rule it, sold the same: and the *Pisans* to defend their libertie, and for the hatred which they bare to the Florentines, resolved (although in vaine) to shake off the yoake of subiection: whereupon the Florentines besieging them, through famine, and the treason of one *JOHN SHORTLEG*, took the citie, which in former time had been of very great power, and was now made a slave and subiect to the Florentines, as it is at this day: such is the weakenes and instabilitie of the power and estate of this world. Pope *INNOCENT* the seuenth being dead, all the Cardinals before the election of a new Pope, made a solemne vow, that he which should be chosen, should endeavour to cause *BENEDICT* the thirteenth, who was in *Auinion*, to renounce the Papacy, and that *BENEDICT* doing so, he that was chosen should doe the like, to the end that the schisme in their Church might cease; and that another should be chosen: this was held the fittest meane to end the schisme. After this solemne oth, one *ANGELO CORARIA* Cardinall of *S. MARKE* a Venecian was chosen, and called *GREGORY* the 12; who so soone as he was chosen, confirmed the oth which hee before had made: whereupon a meeting was procured to be had betwene these two Popes, to the end that they both together should haue renounced the Papacie, and that another might be chosen: and many letters and messengers were sent, and they both made shew to be willing thereto. But they could not agree vpon the place of meeting: yet in the end *Saona* was appointed, and one Pope came from *Rome* to *Luca*, and the other from *Auinion* to *Genoa*, but they alleaging many friuolous reasons, neither of them came to *Saona*, whereby it plainly appeared that they had no meaning by their reconciliation to end the schisme. The Cardinals of either side lying neere together, and perceiuing that neither of these two Popes had any meaning to renounce the Papacie, or to perforce what they both had sworne, by letters and messages passing betwene them agreed to meete together, to call a generall Councell, to denie obedience to them both, and to chuse a new Pope: and so they meeting all together in *Pisa*, after many disputations a Councell was assembled, wherein met three Patriarches and 180. Archbishops and Bishops: the conclusion was, that the two Popes were cited to come to this Councell: whereto *BENEDICT* which was in *Auinion*, answered, that the question was betwene him and Pope *GREGORY*, whether of them two should be Pope: wherefore they could not, neither did it appertaine to them to determine the cause; and that he inauenciled at their presumption in attempting the same. Pope *GREGORY* also sent them word that they well knew him to be right Pope and canonically chosen; and therefore they neither could nor ought to call a Councell generall without his authoritie, for it appertained vnto him, and that he would not haue it held in *Pisa*, but in some other place; and that they were bound to goe to that place which he should appoint, which was to *Aquileia*, whither he went. About this controuersie the Emperour *ROBERT* summoned a Diet or Councell to be held in *Frankford*, whither came a Cardinall from Pope *GREGORY*, and another from the Councell held in *Pisa*, each defending his cause; and Pope *GREGORY* desired that some other place might be appointed, but not *Pisa*. Finally, after many

many alterations, the Emperour holding with Pope *GREGORY* affirmed that he onely had authoritie to call the Councell, and to appoint the place: But notwithstanding the Emperours opinion, the Councell of *Pisa* holding neither *GREGORY* nor *BENEDICT* for Popes, chose a Franciscan Frier called *PETER*, Cardinall and Archbishop of *Milan*, who tooke to name *ALEXANDER* the fifth. This being done, thither came *LEVES* Duke of *Aniow* and King of *Prouence* (riual and competitor with *LADISLAUS* king of *Naples*) who acknowledging *ALEXANDER* for Pope, was by him inuested: and *ALEXANDER* gaue him the title to the kingdom of *Naples* against *LADISLAUS*, who tooke Pope *GREGORY*'s part. The schisme for all this ceased not, but encreased, for in lieu of two Popes now there were three; and each of them held his court apart, and had Cardinals, and many followers; but the new chosen Pope had the greatest and strongest partie: and Pope *GREGORY* wandering vp and downe remained for a space in *Gaeta*, (for *LADISLAUS* king of *Naples* was his friend) but in the end he came to *Arimino*, where *CHARLES MALATESTA* Lord of that citie harboured him; he there continuing vntill the Councell of *Constance*. Pope *ALEXANDER* went to *Bologna*; but within eight moneths after his election he died in the same citie; and the Cardinals which were with him assembling in their Conclau in the same citie, chose *BALTHASAR COSSA*, a Napolitane and Cardinall of *S. Euface*, who was called *JOHN* the 24. which election was by some held for violent and made perforce; for this *BALTHASAR* being a captaine in the warres, and Gouvernour of *Bologna*, had the commaund of men of warre and was of great power: but yet in the end he was by the greatest part of *Italy* held for Pope; and so were *GREGORY* and *BENEDICT* also in the places where they liued; by reason whereof all Christendome was diuided into three factions. The Emperour *ROBERT* being herewith discontent, and desiring a redresse, procured that a generall Councell might be held by the consent and authoritie of all those three which were called Popes; which afterwards in the time of his successor *SIGISMUND* was accomplished. But he hauing begun this worke was within few daies after surprised by death, in the tenth yeere of his raigne, in the yeere of our Lord 1410, leauing the schisme and diuision in the Church as before. This Emperour had sixe sonnes, the eldest of which, *ROBERT* and *FREDERICK* died before their father, so as when he died there remained *JOHN*, *LEVES*, *STEPHEN*, and *OTHO*, which had diuers titles, and possessed sundrie estates.

*EMANUEL* held the Empire of *Constantinople* in little prosperitie, aswell by meanes of the warres with the Turkes, as other troubles and disorders in that Empire. In his time *MAHMET* sonne of *CALAPIN* was king of the Turkes, who in the beginning, and before that *EMANUEL* was Emperour, came into *Europe* and warred in *Walachia*, but the rest of his time he spent in *Asia*, in recouering that which *TAMORLAN* had taken from his grandfather *BAIAZETH*.

In his time *JOHN HVSSE* began to be of such credit and reputation in *Bohemia*, that he drawing many to be of his opinion, threw down the Images in Churches, denied Purgatorie, the sacrament of Confession, the Popes power, his Indulgences and pardons, Dirges and praying for the dead; praying to our Lady and to Saints; and held many other opinions which at this day are maintained in the greatest part of Christendome.



# THE LIFE OF SIGISMUND ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND CXL. ROMANE EMPEROUR.



## THE ARGUMENT.

**S**igismund King of Hungary, after the decease of the Emperour Robert was chosen Emperour, whose election was very gratefull, for that he was a man of great expectation. He being confirmed, procured a Councell to be held in Constance, to cease the schisme which had continued many yeeres: but it behoued him to deferre it for a time, by reason of the warres between the Pope and the king of Naples, who had taken Rome. But Ladislavus being dead the Councell was assembled, whither the Emperour himselfe came in person: in which Councell John Huss and Jerome of Prage were condemned and burned. The two Popes Gregory and John renounced the Papacie, but the third (which was Benedict) would not so that the Emperour in person going to procure him to renounce it, could not preuaile; for Benedict was resolu'd to die with that title notwithstanding that he was deposed by the Councell; and that all the Princes Christian together with his best friend the King of Arragon (seeing his obstinacie) reiected him. The Councell being dissolved, the Emperour went to pacifie the troubles in Bohemia, and to suppress the followers of John Huss, but he neither by peace nor warre could effect the same: and the Papists being severall times memorably overthrowne, the Bohemians could neuer be subdued by force of armes. But in the end Sigismund was receiv'd as King of Bohemia: and the Councell of Basil having decreed, concerning the opinions of the Bohemians, the Emperour upon the way going into Hungary died in Zenona, when he had reigned 37 yeeres.

**H**e Emperour ROBERT being dead and buried, the princes Electors (according to their custome) met to chuse a new Emperour in the citie of Franckford: which being made knowne to Pope IOHN, he (with the desire

fire to shew the authoritie of a Pope, to currie fauell, and to get aide against king LADISLAVS, who againe would haue made himselfe Lord of Rome) sent his Legate to desire and entreate them to make choise of SIGISMUND king of Hungary: truly his request was reasonable, for hee was a prince in that time, for his wisdom and valour besides his other gifts of nature much esteemed, for he was tall of stature, very well proportioned, of a gentle aspect, very discreet and aduised, of a milde and pleasing conuersation, and about all most liberall: and in conclusion such a one as was needfull for the present time. The Ambassadors from IOHN which was called Pope, were ioyfully heard by the Electors; and all Germany fixed their eyes vpon SIGISMUND, as well for the demerits aforesaid, as for that he was a mightie king, and sonne of the Emperour CHARLES the fourth, so as by common consent he was nominated and chosen Emperour; and he coming from Hungary to Aken, was there crowned with accustomed solemnitie: and his raigne was afterwards very long, and so am I to be in writing his historie. When Pope GREGORY in Arimino, and Pope IOHN in Bologna were aduertised of his election, they sent him their Ambassades and approbations, either of them attributing the authoritie to himselfe: but SIGISMUND by reason of particular former friendship, seeming to incline to Pope IOHN more then to any of the others, presently began by messengers to treat with him concerning the calling of a generall Councell, for the abolishing of the schisme: about the appointing of the place, there was some question, but the Emperour appointed the citie of Constance, whither (as all men thought) that all those which were called Popes, were bound to go, to the end there to make their renunciations. And for as much as the most of the townes and cities in Italy held IOHN for Pope; and also for that LADISLAVS king of Naples sought to haue vsurped Rome, and all the Church lands and goods, and in effect, though not in name, vnder colour of taking Pope GREGORIES part to make himselfe Emperour, Pope IOHN departing from Rome, sent against him LEVVIS Duke of Anjou, and called king of Naples, PAUL VRSIN, SPORZA, and other captaines and souldiers with the aide of the Florentines which were his friends. These ioyning in battaile with LADISLAVS, overthrow him; but they following not the victorie, LADISLAVS gathered his people together, and leuied so many others, that Pope IOHN (being then in Rome) was glad to make peace with him; and LADISLAVS sent to yeeld him obedience: but as it appeareth fainedly, for within few daies after he came vnder colour of other occasions with an armie into the territorie of Rome, and entred the citie by force; and Pope IOHN hauing no power to make head against him, fled to Florence: so as the king was lodged in Rome with as great state as if he had been Lord thereof; which strake a great feare into the Florentines and their confederates. To Pope IOHN being then in Florence, the Emperour SIGISMUND sent another ambassade concerning the generall Councell; and the Pope sent two Cardinals Legates to the Emperour, which concluded that the Councell should be held in Constance, to be begun the first day of the moneth of Nouember in the yere 1402: which for some occasion was deferred, but yet the Emperour neuer left to procure the same.

The state of Milan and Lombary was not in peace in those daies, for there were great warres betweene the tyrants which were therein, of which I haue named some, but FACINO CANE was of greatest power of any them; for hee was possessed of Alexandria, Bercelli, Tordona, and Nouarra, and found the meanes vnder the title and name of Gouvernour of PHILIP Viscount brother to the Duke of Milan,

*Sigismund  
chosen Empe-  
rour.*

*Anno Dom.  
1402.*

lan, to get into *Paui*; and being possessed of that citie, kept the young PHILIP in poore estate in the Fortresse: vnder the same pretext he afterwards made cruell warres against the other tyrants and cities which were his aduersaries. At the same time the Emperour SIGISMUND sent a capitaine with a good number of souldiers to warre vpon the Venecians, wherein (as saith SABELLICVS) happened many notable aduentures: but forasmuch as he sheweth not the cause of this warre, I hold it fit to come to the matters of greatest importance, concerning the Emperours comming into *Italy*; before which, in the yeere 1412. FACINO CANE dying, left neither sonne nor daughter to succcede him but his wife, who was his heire. At that time was IOHN MARIA Duke of *Milan*, by reason of his cruelties and bad conditions slaine by his owne seruants and familiars, and those which slew him taking the city, made ASTROGIO Viscount sonne of BARNABY Viscount, whom the mightie IOHN GALEAS father of this IOHN MARIA, to haue the dominion of *Milan*, put to death by treason (being his Vncle) as is before declared: which the other brother PHILIP (who was in *Paui*, and now of age and of power to execute any great attempt) vnderstanding, he by the counsell of his friends tooke the widow of FACINO CANE to wife, notwithstanding that she was much older then himselfe, by which marriage, besides *Paui* which was his owne, he made himselfe Lord of those townes which FACINO CANE had possessed. And his power and courage herewith encreasing, he resolved to see if he could get *Milan* and the rest, which his father and his brother had enioyed, and thereupon went presently thither; ASTROGIO not hauing yet gotten the Fortresse, for it defended it selfe against him; and hauing intelligence with some within the citie, and assisted by certaine captaines which had serued FACINO CANE, he entred *Milan*, and expelling ASTROGIO, suddenly made himselfe a Duke; and in processe of time hauing good successe, was a great and very redoubted prince, of whom we shall sometimes make mention. These matters before spoken of, together with the tyrannie and power of king LADISLAUS of *Naples* (Italy being out of order) were the cause why the Councell appointed to be held in *Constance* tooke not such effect as the Emperour SIGISMUND desired: for Pope IOHN, which had appointed the same, durst not goe out of *Italy*, leauing his competitor GREGORY and the king of *Naples* with such power therein: wherefore the Emperour resolved to come thither, to make some conclusion with Pope IOHN concerning the Councell, and to assist him against the king of *Naples*, to the end that the Councell might be the more commodiously held, which he presently put in execution: and as the land was diuided into factions and parcialities, some were glad of his comming, and some were sorie. And the Pope being certified thereof came from *Florence* to *Bologna*, and thence to *Placencia*, whither came the Emperour, where they two met and staid a moneth. But what forces the Emperour brought with him, in what manner they were receiued into those cities, or what happened in peace or warre, is not distinctly written: but that he was in *Lodi*, and in *Cremona*, and afterwards in *Mantua*; where the Marquis gaue him most sumptuous entertainment. In these places they treated of the recoverie of the citie of *Rome*, and other places which were vsurped by the King of *Naples*; which seemed very expedient to be done, to the end that the Councell might be held: and on the other side it seemed that the matter ought to be deferred, considering the Kings great power, with whom the Florentines at that time (more for feare then for any good will) had made peace, and (to the end that he should draw his forces out of their frontiers) were to giue him a great summe of money: for

for which Pope IOHN was very sorie, for this made his warre more doubtful then before. But that feare was soone ouer past, for LADISLAUS feeling himselfe sick, went to *Naples*, & there died Lord of *Rome* and of all the territorie thereof, besides his kingdome of *Naples*. When he died, he left neither son nor daughter, and but one sister whose name was IOANE, which presently succeeded him in his kingdome: in whose little time, and after her death in that kingdome, were great wars and troubles about the succession. LADISLAUS being dead, the citizens of *Rome*, crying libertie, reduced themselves to the seruice of Pope IOHN, and so did the most part of the other townes; and he sent his Legates to them; for Pope GREGORY although he had a better title, yet he had not so great power to doe it: for he with his Cardinals liued poorely in *Arimino*: yet some Princes and people acknowledged him. Pope IOHN hauing taken the best order for his busines that he could in *Italy*, resolved to goe to the Councell in *Germany*, whither the Emperour to the end to make prouision of all things necessary (hauing already proclaimed the Councell through all parts of Christendome) was already gone: so as after the comming of Pope IOHN and the Bishops, Prelates, and Ambassadors from the Christian Princes, into *Germany*, the Councell general (according to the appointment) began in *Constance*, vpon the fifth day of Nouember in the yeere 1414. The first session thereof was vpon the sixteenth day of Nouember in the same yeere: and so began this Councell, which continued three yeeres, and was one of the greatest and most solemne, and wherein were the greatest number of Princes, Ambassadors and Prelats, that euer was held by the Church of *Rome*: for writers affirme that with the Emperour, and with the other Princes, Prelates, and Ambassadors, there came 40000. persons. What matters passed, and what was ordained and done in that Councell, plainly appeareth in an Instrument which at this day is extant; the summe whereof (which is to our purpose) is.

That vpon Christmas euen ensuing the moneth of Nouember, wherein the Councell began, the Emperour accompanied by the Dukes of *Saxony* and of *Wittemburgh*, and other Princes came to *Constance*, where he was solemnly receiued; and afterwards in Imperiall pompe and habit was present at the sessions of the Councell. After New-yeeres day came the Duke of *Baniere*, and then the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, and the Duke of *Slesia*. Thither also came Cardinals Ambassadors from Pope GREGORY in *Arimino*, which with authoritie from him approved the Councell: but BENEDICT which was in *Arragon*, would neither come nor send. The Councell being solemnised and ordained in this manner, Pope IOHN in the second session, which was in the second of March the same yeere, promised and solemnly sware to renounce the Papacie, in case that GREGORY and BENEDICT would doe the like: this he did to purchase grace and fauour with the Emperour, to the end that he might continue Pope still, whereof (as all writers affirme) he was unworthy, for his great vices and insolencies, which were made manifest to the whole Councell. And he standing in feare of what after ensued (his owne conscience accusing him) fled in disguised attire into the Duke of *Austrich*, who fauoured him, and tooke his part. Whereupon many Ambassadors were sent from the Emperour and the Councell to Pope IOHN, and from him to them. And the Emperour and the Councell proceeded against the Duke of *Austrich*, for that he was of counsell with the Popes flight, and had (notwithstanding their prohibitions and warnings to the contrary) harbored and protected him: and the Emperour confisking his goods, the Swisssers to certeaine places from him. Whereupon the Duke perfwaded Pope IOHN to depart, and

and to returne to the Councell; where after many citations made and notified vnto him, he submitting himselfe to the Councell, and approuing what by them was or should be determined, as it appeareth in the twelfth session, was by their sentence pronounced for *non Pontifex*: and the Duke reduced him to *Constance*, where he voluntarily renouncing the Papacie, was apprehended, and committed to the Countie Palatine, in whose custodie hee liued miserably the space of three yeeres; what befell him afterwards you shall vnderstand.

After this, CHARLES MALATESTA Lord of *Arimino*, where Pope GREGORY lay, came to the Councell with sufficient authoritie from him to renounce his right to the Papacie: by vertue whereof he publicly renounced the same in the 14. session, saying, that Pope GREGORY in the commission which he gaue him said, that for the vnion and vniuersall reformation of the Church, and for redresse of the schisme, it was requisit and expedient that he and the rest which pretended to be Popes, should renounce the Popedome, and that the Councell there assembled should chuse such a one as might be for the good of the Christian common-wealth: and notwithstanding that hee was right Pope and canonically chosen, yet he now, as he euer before had offered to doe, did renounce and there resigne the Papacie into the hands of the Councell, approuing what therein by them should be done, or what they had done already. Pope GREGORYS renunciation was highly esteemed, and he therefore much commended: whereupon the Councell holding the Papall seate for voide, made him a Legate and gouernour of the *Marca de Ancona*; which office he enioyed but a little while, for he shortly after died, as some say of sorrow, to see himselfe deposed from his pontificall seate; and for that the Councell had admitted and receiued those Cardinals which had serued him, and were made by him, and had confirmed to them the reuenues which he had giuen them. What appertained to Pope IOHN and Pope GREGORY being ended; it yet rested to deale with BENEDICT which was in *Arragon*, to whom many ambassades and admonitions had been sent, that hee should either come or send to the Councell, for that no Pope should be chosen vntill the schisme were thoroughly ended: what was done therein we will presently declare. But first I will shew you that amongst other matters which in this Councell were ordained and determined, a famous Bohemian whose name was IOHN HUSSE, was therein for certaine opinions which he held, condemned and burnt by the decree and sentence of the Councell; and after him IEROME of *Prage*, who was a follower of his. This being past, the Councell sent to BENEDICT in *Arragon* and to the King thereof, to treat with them, to the end that BENEDICT should renounce the Papacie; and besides this, to treat of a meeting to be had at *Nizza* betweene the Emperour and the King, where they might conferre of the matter: in the end, in the sixteenth and seuenteenth session it was concluded, that the Emperour in person should with the Ambassadors, from the Councell take the paines to goe to Pope BENEDICT, to the end to procure him to renounce the Papacie.

Whereupon he resolving to put their determination in effect, departed from *Constance* in the moneth of Iuly, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, foure hundred, and fiftene. And forasmuch as at that time there were very great warres betweene the King of *England* and of *France*, the Emperour going in person to each of them, sought to haue reconciled them, but he failing of his purpose, concluded with them, to request and require pope BENEDICT in *Arragon* to renounce the papacie; which if he refused to doe, that then they through all their

The burning of  
Iohn Husse and  
Jerome of  
Prage.

their dominions, should commaund that none of their subiects should obey him. And he passing forwards (for that the King of *Arragon* by reason of his infirmitie could not goe out of his kingdome to meete him in *Nizza*, or in *Narbonne*) was content to goe to *Perpinian*, whither the King of *Arragon* and pope BENEDICT were already come, where he and the Ambassadors which came from the Councell were by the King very honorably receiued, and after that the Emperour had visited the King and conferred with him about the matter, he went to see pope BENEDICT, whom with the best speeches and reasons that he could deuise, he perswaded him to yeeld to the Councels determination. To the first, BENEDICT gaue very good words, but generally without any conclusion, and did the like to what the Councels Ambassadors proponed. Afterwards there were other meetings betweene these princes and this pope about the same matter, but to no effect; for BENEDICT notwithstanding the King of *Arragon*s entreatie, and the Ambassadors from the King of *France*, for the same purpose deferring the conclusion with delaies, departing from *Perpinian*, went to *Colibre*, where imbarcking himselfe in a Galley, without any stay (notwithstanding that the King and the Emperour by their letters desired the contrary) he went thence by sea to *Peniscola*, which is a little towne (but very strong) in the countrie of *Valencia* in *Spaine*; whither both the Emperour and the King of *Arragon* sent vnto him, but he persisting obstinate, the King vpon the fifth of Ianuary, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, foure hundred, and sixteene, reiecting him, denied him to be pope. This being published, the Emperour and the Ambassadors tooke their way towards *Constance*, and in his returne (as I gesse) was his journey to the Kings of *England* and of *France*, concerning pope BENEDICT, for by the histories it appeareth not when it was, but it seemeth to be at his returne, for he came not to *Constance* vntill the beginning of the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, foure hundred, and seuentene, hauing spent one whole yeere vpon the way betweene *Spaine* and *Constance*; being one yeere and a halfe after his departure from the Councell to goe this journey. Those which write that he spent three yeeres therein are to be excused, for he tooke part of all three yeeres, to wit 1415. 1416. and 1417. The Emperour and the Ambassadors being returned, and the Councell hauing at large heard their relation, resolved to proceede against pope BENEDICT, as against a rebell, and one whom they neuer had held for pope; and his accusation was notified vnto him, with a new charge to renounce, but he (persisting in his obstinacie) was denounced for no pope, but an heretike, a schismaticke, and a scandalous perturber of the vnity and vniuersall peace of the Christian Church and Common-wealth: and the kingdomes of *Castile*, *Nauarre*, and *Portugall*, which vntill then had been at his deuotion, reiected him. The Councell (by reason of the renunciations made by IOHN and GREGORY, and BENEDICT being depriued) holding the papacie for voyde, determined to chuse a new pope, and appointing fise prelates of fise seuerall nations, to wit, French, English, Spanish, Italian and Dutch, to which together with the patriarch of *Constantinople*, and to the Cardinals which had chosen the other popes, the Councell gaue order to chuse a pope; all which agreeing together, chose Cardinall OTHO COLVNA, and he was called MARTIN the fift. This MARTIN being chosen (to auoyde all occasion of scruple) ordained that euery tenth yeere a Councell should be held, and that the first should begin at the end of fise yeeres, and that all the benefices giuen by the three popes before that IOHN and GREGORY renounced, and BENEDICT was depriued, should be confirmed. After this

this in the five and fortieth session, in the moneth of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, foure hundred, and eightene, three yeeres and a halfe after the beginning of this Councell, it was dissolued, and the pope took his way towards *Rome*, and all the rest towards their countries. At this time the Emperor made the Earles of *Rene*, and of *Sauoy*, Dukes, and so haue their successors been euer since. This being ended, the Emperor went to pacifie the troubles in *Bohemia*, wherein the followers of *JOHN HUSSE* and *IEROM* of *Prage* which were burnt at the Councell of *Constance*, were of such power that they pulled downe some Churches and Monasteries, which did more abound in *Bohemia* then in any kingdome in all Christendome, without that the King knew any meanes how to redresse the same. I say King, which had been Emperor and liued vntill this time, who holding not himselfe to be in safety in the citie of *Prage*, retyred himselfe to a most stronge Castle, about fife miles from thence, and he being there the Hussites rose in a great tumult. Which King *WENCESLAVS* perceiuing, sent to his brother the Emperor (as at other times he had done) for aide, about the time that the Councell brake vp at *Constance*; but he was so resolued to goe to the warres against the Turkes which warred vpon him in *Hungary*, or peraduenture, in hope to be reuenged for the battaile which he lost against them before that he was Emperor, which I write not for that it maketh nothing to my purpose: and he did what he ought not to haue done, for therein he had ill successe, and in *Bohemia* worse, for presently after this, King *WENCESLAVS* dying without leauing any successor but his wife the Queene, the Emperor was sent for to take possession of that kingdome: but he to renew the warre against the Turkes, wherein most commonly he had ill successe, would not come; thinking to entertaine the matter by Gouvernors which he sent thither: wherein he erred, for that occasion being lost, the troubles encreased; and there arose one *JOHN CISCA*, a man of a noble house and very expert in the warres, whom the Hussites made their Capitaine, to whom out of *Prage* and other parts thereto adioyning, came 40000. of the Hussites, which not content with the subuerting of Monasteries and pulling downe of Images, possessed themselues of the fortresses of that citie, and being masters of the field, tooke the towne of *Perezina*, and other townes and Castles. *CISCA* before the comming of the Emperors Gouvernors, was growne so mightie, that they were constrained to make peace with him and with the Hussites, to the end that they should giue vp *Prage* and other Castles, which they desired to haue vntill the Emperors comming, which was shortly after; wherewith farre greater accidents ensued, when peace and quietnes was hoped for; as we will declare after that we haue made some relation of the state of the Empire in *Italy*, wherein they now knew no Emperor but in name onely; and likewise of the comming, and successe of the new Pope.

The Councell being dissolued, Pope *MARTIN* notwithstanding that he was diuersly counsell'd, (by some, that he should continue in *Germany*, and by others, in *France*) remained firme in his resolution to goe into *Italy* and to *Rome*, alleaging that he which gouerneth the Ship ought to sit in the poope, and not in the prow, neither in the midships. In conclusion, he departed from *Germany* the same yeere that he was chosen, and came directly to *Milan*; for Duke *PHILIP* (who by his policie and valour was growne very mightie) was his friend. At that time *PHILIP* was busied in the warres against *PANDULPH MALATESA*, which withheld *Bergamo* and *Brescia* from him, and against *GABRINO FONDULO*, who held *Cremona*, and against other Lords which held other places which

Cisca Capitaine  
of the Hussites  
in Bohemia.

had been his fathers, the mightie *JOHN GALRAS*; and were lost in the time of his brother *JOHN MARIA*; in which warres *PHILIP* had so good successe, that he recovered all those estates, and was afterwards one of the most puissant princes of the world, and was Lorde of *Genoa* also. He possessed the state of *Milan* vntill that he died, which were two and thirtie yeeres, in which time he had great warres with the Venecians and Florentines, and with other princes; wherefore of necessitie we must sometimes make mention of him. From *Milan* the Pope came to *Florence*, but could not goe to *Rome*, for that one *BRACCIO MONTONIO* (an excellent Capitaine and of very great power) in the time of *SABA VACANTE*, and of the Councell, had taken the citie of *Perugia*, and the territorie thereof, and many other townes in the iurisdiction of *Rome*: and many others of his condition ioyned with him, so that there was no safe passage for the Pope to *Rome*, wherein the said *BRACCIO MONTONIO* had a strong partie. But at the intercession of the Florentines which were mediators betweene them, *BRACCIO MONTONIO* afterwards submitted himselfe to the Pope, and rendered some townes which he had taken; and the Pope made him his Generall against *Bologna* which rebelled; which by him and by *GABRIEL* Cardinall of Saint *CLEMENT* was reduced to the Popes obedience. In those daies (but somewhat before this time) *BALTHASAR COSLA* which had been Pope *JOHN* (who renounced his Papacie in the Councell at *Constance*, of whom Pope *MARTIN* stood in no small feare that he would haue attempted some alteration by taking vpon him as Pope, and would haue renewed the schisme) came into *Italy*, and finding fauour and entertainment amongst some his friends, would not intermeddle in any matter, but of his owne accord without any safe conduct or other agreement, at such time as no man thought thereof came voluntarily to *Florence* where the Popelay, and comming into his Palace, kist his foote and acknowledged him for Pope. Saint *PETERS* successor, *CHRIST* Vicar; whereupon Pope *MARTIN* made him a Bishop, and a Cardinall: but he within few moneths after dying, was in *Florence* most solemnly buried, by the procurement (principally) of *COSMO DE MEDICIS*, a rich and noble citizen thereof, and chiefe of the house and family of the *DE MEDICIS*, whose principall beginning (as it is written) was through the treasure and riches which he enherited from this *BALTHASAR COSLA*, otherwise called Pope *JOHN*. Pope *MARTIN* knowing what troubles were in the kingdome of *Bohemia*, fought by his Bulls and Edicts to haue pacified the matter; but seeing it was come to blowes, the friendship betweene him and the Emperor *SIGISMVND* was soone after broken. In those daies came to *Rome* *LEVVS* Duke of *Arragon*, Lord and King of *Prouence*, sonne of the other *LEVVS* deceased, to receiue of the Pope the title and inuettiture of the kingdome of *Naples*, against Queene *IOANE*, sister and heyre to King *LADISLAVS*; being called thither by the Pope for the same purpose, through her ill gouernment and tyranny; but chiefly for that she ioyned with *BRACCIO MONTONIO*, and made warre vpon him; and for other matters too long to relate. The Pope proceeding against her and holding her vnworthie to enioy the feudatorie lands of the Church, sent for Duke *LEVVS*, offering him the kingdome of *Naples*: but Queene *IOANE* being thereof aduertised, adopted *ALONZO* King of *Arragon* (who was also King of *Sicilia*) whom she called to her aide, and to the succession in that kingdome, who came accordingly. And the Queene afterwards (according to her naturall condition) falling at oddes with him, and reuoking the adoption which

Warres for the  
kingdome of  
Naples.

she

he had made of ALONZO, adopted the same LEVVS whom the Pope had called. Hereof grew the warres betwene LEVVS and ALONZO, for the kingdome of Naples; and after the decease of LEVVS, with his brother RENE, which warres continued many yeeres; but in the end ALONZO hauing the victory, obtayned the soueraignty of that kingdome.

This which I haue saide, passed in Italy, wherein the Emperors were now of small power: and in Germany, the warres which the Turke made in Hungary being asswaged, the Emperor determined (although late first) to come into Bohemia, to take possession of that kingdome; whither if he had presently come, it is very likely that the troubles therein had been pacified: for at his comming to Bruna which is in Moravia, Ambassadors came to him from Prage to submit themselves and to sue for pardon; which hee entertained and heard, and proposing certaine tollerable conditions, graunted them a generall pardon; the newes whereof were very ioyfull to the inhabitants of that citie and kingdome: to the Hussites, to see themselves pardoned of their offences; and to the rest, in hope to liue in peace. But all this was marred, for that the King came not presently to take possession of that citie which is the head of that kingdome, where they peaceably attended his comming; but he would first goe to Vratislaue, the chiefe citie of Slesia, a prouince to the East of Bohemia. Therein, as well as in Prage (in time of the insurrection of the people) the gouernors which were left there by WENCESLAVS were slaine: and the Emperor to punish the offence, did iustice vpon the principall heads of that rebellion. As the newes thereof was published in Prage, and as their offences were equall or greater, this vnreasonable punishment strake such a terror into the people, that they fearing the like rigor, without any further consideration, rose vp in armes; and resolving to refuse him for their King, wrote their letters, thereby inciting the rest through all the kingdome to doe the like; publishing that hee had determined to commit great crueltie amongst them. This tooke such effect, that in the most and best part of that kingdome, the people tooke armes: and as the greatest part of those of Prage were Hussites (the rest ioyning with them) they all together sent for a Captaine of the Hussites, a man of great power, whose name was CISCA, whom they put into Prage for defence thereof against the Emperor, who was comming against it. Hereof ensued in that citie and kingdome many encounters, skirmishes, battailes, and bloodshed by fire and sword, such as neuer were scene or heard of, and such as I am not able to recount: the most effectuall whereof may bee scene in the third booke of AENEAS SILVIUS, called afterwards Pope PIUS QVINTVS, in his Historie of Bohemia: for my part I will rest satisfied with briefly mentioning the most notable matters that passed. The Emperor accompanied by the Duke of Saxony, the Marquesse of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Austria, with many other very good men of warre both of Foote and Horse, came neere to the citie of Prage: whereof the Fortresse called *Vicengrade* was at his deuotion.

CISCA and his people very resolutely battered the same, but their chiefeest hope was to take it by famine. The Emperour comming thither relieved the Fortresse, and entring it, was therein crowned King of Bohemia; the Fortresse being victualled and garrisoned, he presently besieged the citie; which siege continued sixe weekes; in which time in all the skirmishes and encounters which happened, it pleased God that CISCA and his followers had the better: the like befell in a manner in all parts of the kingdome, betwene the Hussites and the Imperialists. Whereupon the Emperor raising his siege from before Prage,

came

The Emperor making warre against the Hussites besieged the citie of Prage.

came to Cutna: and CISCA leauing the citie, ioynd with the Taborites, so called after the name of a citie founded by them and so called: and being victorious, and not contented to make defensiu warres, taking the field, tooke some townes and Castles from his aduersaries. Many other conflicts after this ensued, which I omit: and the matter came to this issue, that the Emperor with his whole power came to a strong Monasterie which held for CISCA, with a determination to batter and to take it; and if CISCA came to the reliefe thereof, to fight with him: for his armie was such, that he nothing doubted of the victorie. But there befell a strange accident, which was, that CISCA resolving to come to the reliefe of that Castle, and so to fight with the Emperor, and being come to the point to haue ioynd, the Emperors troupes but vpon the sight of their enemies, without making any resistance, or shewing the mindes or courage of men, suddenly ran away, & the Emperor was driuen to doe the like, not daring to stay in any part of all Bohemia: so as CISCA and his people being masters of the field, besieged many strong holds & Castles, which he took perforce: at the assault of one of which, as he had but one eye, that one was shot out with an arrow; but his credit and reputation was so great, that he continued in the gouernment and command of the armie, which was led by a blinde Christian: a thing neuer scene nor read in any historie: for notwithstanding that he was blind, yet he still prosecuted the wars.

The Emperor (notwithstanding these disasters) was not dismayed, but leuying his whole power and sent for the Princes of the Empire, which he appointed to enter Bohemia by the West; and he with his Hungars would enter it by the East. Thither came with many men of warre, the Countie Palatine of Rhine, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Archbishop of Mentz, and some other Princes and Prelates, which began the warre, and besieged and tooke some townes: the Emperor stayed longer then he had appointed, but comming with his armie, he began on his side, and notwithstanding that CISCA was blind yet he tooke the field against him; and comming to ioyne in battaile, the Emperors men were stricken with such feare of CISCA and of the Hussites, that they were presently ouerthrowne, and many principall men of them were slaine; and the infortunate Emperor in the warres being driuen to flie, CISCA followed the execution of the victorie. The matter standing in this estate, the nobles and principals of Prage and of all Bohemia (desiring to haue a King, that might oppose himselfe against SIGISMVND) sent to yeeld themselves and their kingdome to VITOLD Duke of Lithuania; for which CISCA was sorrie, and the Duke to be a King, accepting their offer, sent a Captaine called TORISVT with his power; who being gladly receiued into the citie, began to shew the power of a new King, and to batter such Castles and Fortresses as were his aduersaries. But this Duke within short space after, at the entreatie of the King of Poland, comming to a composition with the Emperor, gaue ouer his enterprise and title to the crowne of Bohemia. It followed that the Emperor gaue the prouince of Moravia to his sonne in law, one of the Dukes of Austria, to the end that he should defend the same; and he returning to the warre against the Hussites, there happened betwene CISCA and the Imperialists another great battaile; where in CISCA hauing the victorie, nine thousand of the Imperialists were slaine. The Emperor seeing the power of CISCA to be so great, that without his good will he could not be King of Bohemia, sought to be at peace with him; and to that end made him many large promises and offers: at the time of the parley thereof, and at a point to haue made a conclusion, CISCA died of the plague: after

The Emperor comming to fight with the Hussites at the sight of them, his people fled without one blow stricken.

The Emperor ouerthrowne the second time by the Hussites, and their blind Captaine Cisca.

Zzz

whole

A third battle wherein the Emperor was overthrowne and 9000. of his people slaine by the Hussites.

At a fourth invasion the Imperialists vanquished any enemy.

A wonderful discomfiture.

whose death the Hussites were diuided into severall factions, of which some were called Hussites, and some Taborites; so as they were at variance amongst themselves; but against the Imperialists they ever ioynded and were friends. After many other accidents, Pope MARTIN sending his Legate into Germany, enioyned and commaunded the Emperor to renew the warre against the Bohemians; and the Duke of Saxony entering the countrey vpon the one side, and the Marquis of Brandenburg vpon another side, and at another place the Archbishop of Treuere, either of them with the best power that they were able to leuie; all which meeting together in Bohemia, and beginning the warre, and knowing that the Hussites came to fight with them (a matter seeming incredible, yet true although strange and shamefull) were stricken with such feare, that without seeing or hearing any enemy, both Captaines and Souldiers setting all shame apart, abandoning the field ranne away in such manner, that neither entreatie nor authority sufficed to withhold them; and the Hussites pursuing them, tooke all their baggage and their artillery; and not content therewith, sallying forth of their kingdome, made warre in other parts, out of which, in consideration of a great summe of money they returned home againe. The Pope vnderstanding in what estate the affaires of Bohemia stood, resolved to giue a Croyfades, and to send a new Legate against the Bohemians, notwithstanding that in Italy was as little quietnes; but great warres aswell in the kingdome of Naples, as in Lombardy and in other parts. And to that effect sent IULIAN Cardinall of Saint Angelo, to be his Legate against the Hussites; and to the end that the time being expired, he might sit in his place in the Councell appointed to be held in Basil. This Cardinall comming to the Emperor, it was decreed, that a new armie, and new forces to a greater number then before should be leuied against the Hussites; whither came FREDERICK Marquis of Brandenburg (who was chosen Generall) and the Dukes of Bauere, and of Saxony, the Archbishop of Mentz, Treuere, and Colen, and many Bishops, other Prelates and Princes, together with the companies of the cities, and so many others that they amounted to the number of fortie thousand horse, but not so many foote (for it seemeth they were not so requisit for that warre) which with this power entred the kingdome of Bohemia, the Cardinall Legate going with the armie. But the Hussites were so accustomed to the bearing of armes, and were therewith so valiant, that they drew themselves to one head, with a determination to fight with the Imperialists; and the one armie being opposite to the other, so as no man doubted but that the Imperialists (considering their multitude and the goodnes of their Captaines and Souldiers) would haue had the victorie; there happened the most strange case that euer was seene in the world; whether through treason or practise in the armie, or through some vaine and cowardly feare or imagination, or through the secret iudgement of God who was not pleased that the matter should be decided by armes, there fell a sudden feare in the campe, and a rumor that they were not to stay there: whereupon they all began presently to march, leauing behinde them all that they brought, and many, their armes and furnitures: and the whole armie (without that any admonition, threatening, or entreatie, made by the Princes and Commanders, could any way preuaile with them) themselves fled, and they did the like, without seeing, or fighting with any enemy: and so they flying out of the land, the Hussites made great bootie of what their enemies left and could not carrie with them.

So great an army being so shamefully ouerthrowne, the Emperor intended not (for

(for that time) to raise any other; but the time being expired that the Councell should begin, the Cardinall Legate went to Basil; and the Emperour by reason of the aide and assistance promised him by PHILIP Duke of Milan, resolved to goe into Italy to be crowned in Rome. At this time died Pope MARTIN, and after his decease a Cardinall called GABRIEL CONDAMARCO was in March in the yere 1431. chosen, and called EVGENIUS the fourth in the beginning of whose Papacie many insolencies (as saith PLATINA and other writers) were committed in Rome; betwene the Pope and the Colonhois. EVGENIUS approouing the Councell appointed by Pope MARTIN, commanded it to be begun in Basil, where in the Cardinall of S. Angelo being President, the first session was held vpon Friday the seventh of December: whereof before that we make any relation, which shall be but little (notwithstanding that it continued long, and that therein was much contention and contention with the Pope) we will describe the journey which SIGISMUND made to his coronation; which was in this manner. Vpon assurance of the promises and offers made by the Duke of Milan, SIGISMUND with small troupes of Germanes and Hungars came into Italy; and comming to Milan, the Duke being not there, he was by the Dukes commaundement very honourably receiued, by a Captaine of his called NICHOLAS PICHENINO, and other principall men, and there according to the custome was crowned with the crowne of Iron: but the Duke came not to see him; yet he afterwards by letters and delays temporized with him many daies, in Parma, and in Placencia, without furnishing him with such things as hee had promised against the Florentines, which as enemies to the Duke stopped his passage to Rome, which to that effect maintained an armie in the field: and moreouer perswaded the Pope to prohibit his comming to Rome, certifying him, that by the instigation of Duke PHILIP he came against him. The Emperour without speaking with the Duke, in the best manner that he could came to Luca; and notwithstanding that the Pope and the Florentines sought to stay him, yet he after some accidents which happened betwene the souldiers of the one and other side, came to Siena, wherein hee staid sixe moneths, in which time he came to a composition with the Pope, many ambassades passing betwene them in the meane season, so as he peaceably departing towards Rome was therein solemnly receiued, and with great solemnitie crowned by the hands of the Pope, vpon the last day of May in the yere of our Lord 1432, and after some treaties hee tooke his leaue to returne into Germany; and by the way was entertained in Ferrara and Mantua, by their Lords and Dukes: (the warres continuing in Italy as before) wherein passed many great matters: the principals were the Florentines and Venecians which warred against the Duke of Milan, who now was Lord of Genoa, which he tooke by means of dissension and discord betwene the inhabitants. Whilest the Emperour was in Italy, in the Councell at Basil many matters were treated of, but had not yet taken such effect as they desired, for the Hussites persisting constant in their opinions; the Councell sent thither certaine learned men, such as well knew the countrey, which by flatterie and faire means sought to haue seduced the Bohemians; in whom they sometimes found hope of peace, and at other times signes of warre: and so the case continuing as doubtfull as before, it pleased God that by secret means vknown to man, there grew some suspition and ialousie betwene the Nobilitie of that kingdome (whereof one MENANDER was the chiefe) and the Taborites and the Hussites (notwithstanding that some of the Nobles were Hussites) but in the end it grieved them all to be gouerned by PROCOPIVS, a man of base parentage

The Emperour Sigismund crowned in Rome by the Pope.

tage (which being Generall of the Taborites commaunded all) and by another PROCOPIVS called the younger, captain of the Hussites. After that they had long murmured at the matter, they summoned a Parliament to be held by all the estates of the realme, vnder pretext to set some order in the government; for they were discontent with the violences and insolencies daily committed. Finally, the Parliament was assembled, and a Noble man nobly defended, although of but meane estate, whose name was ALCEON, was nominated and made their Gouverneur, and he presently vnderooke the government. And although that hee had the title and outward shew, yet all was done by the order and direction of MENANDER the chiefe of the Nobilitie. Herewith the Hussites and the Procopii were so much discontent that the matter came to blowes: I cannot describe all that passed, for there were many very notable matters, but I will tell you the issue thereof. When the Emperour comming out of *Italy* into *Germany* was vpon his way towards *Basil*, he well knew that betwene the Pope and the Councell there was great discord: for the Pope perceiuing that the Councell began to treat of many matters against his authoritie and dignitie, commaunded it to bee dissolved, and to be passed to *Bologna*; and the Councell reiecting his commaundements, would not accomplish what hee required, but made other acts and statutes to his disgrace. Whereupon many matters passed, and the Emperour came to the Councell, and there hearing the matter debated, made a reconciliation betwene them: and the Pope againe ratified the Councell, yet they afterwards fell further out then before, as you shall heare: for those of the Councell refusing to make an end, continued the Councell a long time in despite of the Pope; but the Emperour by his authoritie in the best manner that he could took vp the matter; and vnderstanding of the warres betwene the Nobilitie and the Hussites in *Bohemia*, holding the same for the most assured meane for him to recover that kingdom, went from *Basil* to *Vlme*, where he was aduertised of a battaile fought betwene them, wherein the Lords had the victorie; and therein were both the PROCOPII (Captains of the Hussites and Taborites) slaine, with many thousands of others; and a great number were taken prisoners; and they found the meane afterwards to kill or burne all those which were taken, or escaped from the battaile. The Emperour vnderstanding hereof, sent his Ambassadors into *Bohemia*, by gentle meane to perswade the Nobilitie to obey and receiue him for their King, for that of right it appertained vnto him, as to the sonne and brother of the Kings of *Bohemia*. And it pleased God to worke such an alteration in the hearts of the Bohemians that they sent their Ambassadors to *Ratisbone*, whither the Emperour was gone from *Vlme*, to which they gaue order to receiue him for their King and Soueraigne Lord: and they agreed with him concerning his comming into *Bohemia*; and hee there ratified the conditions concluded by those of the Councell with the Bohemians, concerning points of religion, which in summe was, that the Bohemians wholly submitted themselves to the Church of *Rome*, and that they beleeuing as it did, forsooke all matters in question, except communicating vnder both kindes of bread and wine; which was graunted them vpon this condition, that the matter should be referred to the determination of the Councell: And all other matters concerning Church rents and goods, and other ecclesiasticall benefices were concluded and agreed vpon.

These matters being ended, the Emperour within fewe daies after peaceably entring *Bohemia*, was with feasting and great solemnitie vpon the fourth day of August in the yere of our Lord 1436. receiued into the citie of *Prage*: he had not been

Dissention betweene the Pope and the Councell of Basil.

beenthere but a fewe daies space, but there was so great an alteration, that it seemed a new world, and another kind of people: for notwithstanding that there remained some of the sect and remainder of the Hussites, yet the greatest and most common were Papists: the Temples which had been spoiled and ruinate were new built, and those which were defaced were repaired, and the Altars were decked with Images and reliques, and the Monkes and Friars returned to their Couents and Cloisters: finally all was restored to the former order of the pretended Heretikes, which would not be conuerted, some fled for feare of imprisonment, and to others a time was limited wherein they should recant: and against such as persisted constant, the Emperour proceeded: for his successe herein Pope EVGENIVS sent him a Rose of gold, who at that time commanded the Councell at *Basil* to be dissolved and a generall Councell to be held at *Ferrara*, where they expected the Emperour of *Constantinople*: but the Councell of *Basil* holding themselves to be about the Pope, would not obey him neither be dissolved. The Emperour being now threescore and ten yeeres olde, and tired with warres and troubles both before and after that hee was Emperour (which were more then I haue recounted) began to waxe feeble and sickly, and perceiuing death to approach, he was aduertised that his wife (considering him to be old and could not liue long, and that he had but one daughter, which was married to ALBERT of *Austrich*) sought so soone as he should be dead, to marrie with the King of *Poland*; and that the Bohemians should take him and her for King and Queene: for redresse hereof, and being somewhat iealous of the Bohemians for matters past, he sent for the Noble men of *Hungary* which came with him into *Bohemia*, to which in secret (aduertising them of what passed) he recommended his daughter and sonne in law, and made them to promise to take them for their King and Queene after his decease. And notwithstanding that he was so sicke, yet he made himselfe to be carried out of *Prage* towards *Hungary*, where he desired to die; but being vnable to reach thither, he was carried to his daughter and sonne in law in *Moravia*, who by his gift possessed that prouince, which came to nicete him in the citie of *Zenomia*, whither also came his wife the Emperesse, which there by his commaundement was apprehended. The Emperour within few daies after, in the 37. yeere of his raigne, vpon the day of the conception of our Lady, in the yeere of our Lord 1437. dyed: and so ended this prince both his life and troubles; who although he had infortunate successe, especially in armes and warres, yet hee failed in nothing that belonged to a wise and valiant Knight. He was twice married, first to MARY daughter of the King of *Hungary*, by whom he had that kingdom; the second time with BARBARA daughter of the Earle of *Cilia*, by whom he had his daughter ISABEL which was his heire, and married to ALBERT one of the Dukes of *Austrich*, who then was Lord and Marquis of *Moravia*.

The state of *Italy* when SIGISMUND died was so confused and out of order, that except I should relate the whole, I cannot expresse the same in such sort as it may be vnderstood. Duke PHILIP of *Milan* being an enemy to Pope EVGENIVS, faoured the Councell of *Basil*: and the Florentines and Venecians supported the Pope against him. There were other warres amongst them; wherein the most famous Captaines, were FRANCIS SFORCE before named, and NICHOLAS PICHININO. ALONSO King of *Arragon* (Queene IOANE and LEVVE being dead) contended with RENE, LEVVE's his brother, about the kingdom of *Naples*: a little before that LEVVE died, King ALONSO, and his brother the King of *Nauarre* being taken in a battaile by sea, and with them many

The death of the Emperour Sigismund.

other Lords by the fleet of the Genowaies, were carried prisoners to Duke PHILIP of Milan, who then was Lord of Genoa; who shewing his magnificence, released them, and set them at libertie: which the Genowaies tooke in so ill part, that they reuolting made themselves free from the Duke.

In those daies were cruell warres between the Kings of England and of France, and amongst the French was a woman which bare armes like a souldier, and afterwards (as a Captaine) wrought wonders therein, and defended and recovered many castles for the French: this woman was called JEANNE LA PYCELLE.

After the decease of EMMANUEL Emperour of Constantinople, his sonne JOHN PALAEOLOGVS raigned, who was already vpon the way to come to the Councell in Italy.

## THE LIFE OF ALBERT THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND CXII. ROMANE EMPEROR.

And of JOHN PALAEOLOGVS in Constantinople.



### THE ARGUMENT.

**S**igismund being dead, his sonne in law Albert was peaceably chosen, who was in some doubt to accept the Empire, by reason of the kingdom of Hungary: which being past he accepted the government. For that he liued not long he could not effect so great matters as he projected. He had warres with some rebels which he luckily ended. But he could not make any peace or union between the Councels which were held in his time, one in Basil without the Pope, the other in Ferrara where the Pope was in person, which Councell was afterwards ended in Florence. He tooke armes against Amurat King of the Turkes

Turkes in the behalfe of the Dispute of Serbia: but being in a little village vpon his way, he dyed of a Dissenteria, hauing raigned but a small time. His death was much lamented, by reason of the great hope conceived of his vertue.



He same day that the Emperour SIGISMUND died, his sonne in law ALBERT Duke of Austria was by all the principall Lords of both those kingdomes which were there with him, together with his wife SIGISMUNDS daughter, to whom in right those kingdomes did appertain, hailed King of Hungary and Bohemia: who from that citie of Znomia, which is in Moravia, sent Ambassadors into Bohemia, with SIGISMUNDS Will and Testament, and by his authoritie to take possession of that kingdome: and he with his wife, carrying with them the dead bodie of the Emperour, and the widow Emperesse prisoner, departed towards Hungary; where they were without any contradiction receiued and obeyed; and afterwards with great solemnitie vpon the first day of January in the yeere of our Lord 1438. crowned; hauing first performed the Imperiall funerals and obsequies. In the meane time his Ambassadors which were in Bohemia, assembling the principall Lords of that realme in the citie of Prague, shewed the testament of the deceased Emperour and their King; and alleaging many effectuell reasons, perswaded them to chuse ALBERT, as well for that he had married the onely daughter and heire of their King, as also for that he was of the house of Austria; betweene which and Bohemia there was an ancient covenant, that whensoeuer there failed an heire in any one of these houses, one should be chosen out of the other. Finally, the Ambassadors vsed so good meanes, that it was by the assemblee concluded, that ALBERT and his wife should be their King and Queene; and so in their absence they were sworne vnto, and receiued for such; notwithstanding that some of the principal Barons were against the same, amongst which many were the Emperesse kinsmen; of which the chieftest were TASCAN and ALCIOSTEREMBERGH, which were consenting to the practise which wee spake of when the Emperour died. These men requiring certaine conditions which might not bee graunted, departed from ALBERTS seruice and obedience; which calling and inuiting others to ioyne with them, chose for their King CASIMIRE brother to the King of Poland, and they sending for him to come and to take possession of the kingdom, offered him their aide and seruice in the action. In this meane time, the Electors of the Empire being certified of the death of the Emperour SIGISMUND, met in Franckford to chuse a new Emperour; where ALBERT King of Hungary and Bohemia, and Duke of Austria, was vpon the 20. day of March in the yeere 1438. chosen: and being by the same Princes aduertised of his election, very gladly gaue care to their ambassade, but yet could not presently accept the government, for that when he was sworne in Hungary, he promised the Hungars, that notwithstanding that he were chosen, yet he would not accept the Empire, for that it was not held expedient for that kingdom, that the King thereof should be Lord of any other countries, but should make his abode in Hungary onely; producing the Emperour SIGISMUND for example, whose absence was the occasion of many inconueniences in that country. But notwithstanding all this, new ambassades daily arriuing, he caused the principall Lords, and the Burgeses of cities in Hungary to meete in the citie of Viena in Austria, wherein he found some contradiction, but in the end the Hungars

Anno Dom.  
1438.

Albert Duke  
of Austria  
chosen Empe-  
ror.

Albert crowned  
Emperour  
in Aken.

gars being entreated and perswaded by **FREDERICK** Duke also of *Austrich*, they consenting to his election, and **ALBERT** accepted thereof; and presently went to be crowned at *Aken*, which was acceptable to all *Germany*; for hee was held for a wife and valorous prince, and shewed the same in the small time that he enioyed the Empire.

**ALBERT** knowing that **CASIMIR** brother to the King of *Poland* had accepted the kingdome of *Bohemia*, and that with the aide of his brother, hee leuied forces for that enterprise; sent his Ambassadors to the King, desiring him, that sith he well knew him to be the right King of *Bohemia*, he would not suffer their iust friendship for any vniust cause to be broken: whereto the King of *Poland* answered, that he could not let his brother to accept that kingdome, which by the naturall subiects thereof was offered him, together with other excuses such as he thought good. And within few daies after, the Emperour entred *Bohemia*, notwithstanding that **TOSCON** and the rest of his faction sent (with certaine protestations) to require him that hee should not doe it: but he holding on his iourney was in the moneth of May, in the yeere 1438. crowned in the cite of *Prage*: and **TASCON** and such others as tooke **CASIMIR**'s part, ioyning themselves with the men of warre which came out of *Poland*, raised an army, and taking the field, and fortified such townes as were at their deuotion, warred vpon the rest, and the Emperour with the troupes which he brought with him, and others which came to his aide, did the like. And notwithstanding that others were expected to come to him out of *Austrich*, and from other parts, yet he would not stay, but went to seeke his enemies and to fight with them; but **TASCON** and the Polacres not daring to giue him battaile, returning, encamped themselves neere to the cite of *Tabor*, which was enhabited by pretended heretikes, whither the Emperour pursuing them had in his army **CHRISTOPHER** Duke of *Bauiere*, **FREDERICK** Duke of *Saxony*, and **ALBERT** Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, which there pitching their Tents, daily skirmishes passed betweene them, wherein the Polacres and Bohemians were so hardly bested, that they disbanding, part of them put themselves into *Tabor*, which is a most strong impregnable towne; and **ALBERT** knowing it to bee such, returned to *Prage*: and the Polacres (fewer in number then they came into that countrie) returned to their houses; so as the Emperour finding no resistance, discharged his souldiers which were strangers: and some Princes which came to his aide, returned to their countries, yet betweene the one and the other kingdomes, some roades and incursions continued, but shortly after a truce was taken betweene them. And forasmuch as there came tidings of the coming of **AMVRATH** the great Turke with a great power into *Hungary*, **ALBERT** was constrained to leaue Gouvernours in *Bohemia*, and to take his way thithward, with a determination to leuy forces and to fight with the Turkes, notwithstanding that he was counfelled by many to the contrary, being feared with the infortunate battaile fought by the Emperour **SIGISMUND**. But notwithstanding all their admonitious and perswasions, nothing could diuert the Emperour, so great a desire had he to fight: And what more encreased his resolution, was, that the Dispute of *Scruiis*, flying from **AMVRATH**, came into *Hungary* to implore aide and succour, to relieue and vnset his sonne which was besieged in the cite of *Sinderonia*, situate vpon the side of the riuer *Danubius*, which the Turke held besieged, and put it to great distresse: wherefore the Emperour resolved to raise his forces for that iourney, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1439.

In this time the discord betweene the Council of *Basil* and the Pope grew to a greater

greater extremitie: for notwithstanding the Popes commaundements and dissolutions (it hauing now continued eight or nine yeres since it first began) they held, and refusing to be dissolved, cited the Pope to make his personall appearance before them. The Pope hereupon summoned a generall Councell to be held in *Ferrara*, which was the yeere before, by his commaundement begun by the Cardinal **S. Crosse**, whither the Pope himselfe came in person. Here was that which neuer before was seene (a schisme of Councels) for those of *Basil* would not giue ouer, yet many which had been there came to *Ferrara*. In the Councell of *Basil* were many disputations and arguments concerning this matter. To the Councell of *Ferrara* came **JOHN PALOLOGVS**, Emperour of *Constantinople*, with a great number of Greeke Prelates, notwithstanding that those of *Basil* sought to haue induced him to haue come thither: but a great plague falling amongst them at *Ferrara*, the Pope remoued the Councell to *Florence*; where the Greeks and their Emperour submitted themselves to the Latines, touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, the third person of the Trinitie, which they held to haue proceeded but from the Father only: and other matters were there handled, which **ANTONINVS** Archbishop of *Florence* in his histories, and **PLATINA** and others write at large. But this notwithstanding those of *Basil* proceeded in their Councell against the Pope; & although the Emperour sought to bring them to an vnity, yet his other affaires were so great (considering the small time that he reigned) that hee could not doe it; and now worst of all, for hee had raised his whole power, and was marching with his armie against the Turke, to vnset the cite of *Sinderonia*. And being past *Buda*, and encamped betweene the riuers *Ticinus* and *Danubius*, he was certified that the Turke had taken the said cite, and had put out the Disputes sonnes eyes: and **AMVRATH** being aduertised of his comming, retiring with his armie towards *Thessalonica*, a famous cite in *Macedonia*, tooke afterwards many cities in *Epire* and *Thessalia*. The Emperour seeing that he could not recouer the cite, and that the Turke was retired, returned to *Buda*, where hee discharged his armie, and being come thither, what with the scorching of the Sunne, and with the heate of Summer (and as some say, by eating of more Cowcumbers then did him good) he was taken with the flux of his bellie, wherewith growing very weake, departing from *Buda* with a desire to goe to *Viena*, he died by the way, in a little village called *Lang Straet*, vpon the 27. day of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1439, before that two yeeres were fully expired, since that he was first chosen Emperour: his death was much bewailed for the great hope conceiued of him, that hee would haue proued a good prince. The Emperour **ALBERT** left two daughters, one of which was married to the Duke of *Saxony*, and the other afterwards to the king of *Poland*; and his wife the Emperesse he left great with childe of a sonne, which in time came to be king of *Hungary*, and of *Bohemia*: but first there ensued much discord and debate betweene the two kingdomes, as hereafter shall be declared. The schisme and contention betweene the Pope and the Councell of *Basil* grew to be so great, at what time the Emperour **ALBERT** died, that they chose for Pope **AMADEVS**, whom many called **BASILISKE**, for that hee was chosen at *Basil*, who was now called **FELIX**, and had been Duke of *Sauoy*, and been married and had wife and children, and tooke religious orders (as many write) to the end to be made Pope: he was father in law to **PHILIP** Duke of *Milan*, to whom was imputed the principall cause of his election, for he being the Popes enemy, procured the Councell in *Basil* to make choise of him, and hee himselfe made cruell warre against the Pope, against the Florentines, and the Venecians, **PICHININO** being

The death of  
the Emperour  
Albert the second.

being Generall of his armie. And FRANCIS SPORCE (PICCININO his competitor) was Generall for them, so as there was a greater diuision in the Church of Rome then euer had been scene before, for there were now two Popes, and two Councils; and some Princes fauored the one, and others the other, amongst which ALONSO King of Arragon being an enemie to EVGENIUS, fauored Pope FELIX: but as it seemed that EVGENIUS had the better title, Pope FELIX his credit daily impaired, yet he held the name of Pope the space of nine yeeres; and afterward Pope EVGENIUS being dead, in the time of Pope NICHOLAS he renounced the Papacie.

In Constantinople reigned IOHN PALOLOGVS, who in those times came to the Councell at Florence; who hauing ended such matters as he came for, concerning the vnion of Greeke and Latin Churches, returned to Constantinople; where, within a little after he died, and CONSTANTINE succeeded him in the Empire.

## THE LIFE OF FREDERICK THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND CXIII. ROMANE EMPEROR.



### THE ARGVMENT.



**A**Ll the Electors peaceably agreeing in the election of Frederick Duke of Au-  
strich, a young man of the age of fife and twentie yeeres, he accepted the Em-  
pire, and coming to be crowned in Aken, was confirmed by the Pope. He was  
a lover of peace and a faithfull obseruer thereof in all his actions: He supplanted the schisme, and shewed himselfe a perfect friend to the Pope, and com-  
ing into Italy was crowned in Rome to the great contentment of all the land:  
wherein were made most sumptuous and costly feasts by all the cities which  
receiued him. He afterwards returning into Germany, was much troubled with the commotions  
which he found therein, by reason of the King of Bohemia, which could not be pacified but by the  
deliuerie of the King to the Bohemians. In time of this Emperor, Constantinople to the great shame  
and dishonor to all Christendome was lost, and greater harmes were threatened by the Turke, but a  
Crosseade

Crosseade being made, the Turke had a very great overthrow, so as he was constrained to alter his  
determination. This Emperor had some controuersie with his brother about the Duchie of Au-  
strich, but in the end the title rested in the Emperor: who to his sonne Maximilian gave the title of  
Archduke of Au-  
strich, and made him King of the Romanes. He euer sought to maintaine peace,  
by reason whereof he was called the peaceable Emperor. And being now old, and his sonne Maxi-  
milian swaying the government, it pleased God to take him out of this world, when he had ruled the  
Empire three and fiftie yeeres.



**I**Hose which haue travelled a long journey, and being come  
neere to their waies end; through the desire they haue to at-  
taine thereto, and to rest their wearie bones, make commonly  
greater haste then at any time before; so I desiring to do the like,  
and to make a quicke dispatch in writing the history of the Em-  
perors remaining yet behinde; being tired with the long jour-  
ney which I haue travelled, and to the end to obtaine rest, after so long watching  
and so much paines taken in that which is past, in the end of my journey the Em-  
peror FREDERICK presenteth himselfe, and after him his sonne MAXIMILIAN,  
whose liues were such and so long, that all the time and paper which I haue spent  
might haue bin employed in writing the liues of them two: of FREDERICK, for  
that he was naturally more enclined to peace, and procured the same, and raig-  
ned fiftie and odde yeeres; in which long time so many matters passed, that they  
require a long discourse: and of MAXIMILIAN, for that his acts were so great,  
and so many accidents happened in his time, that if they all should be written,  
this volume would hardly containe his historie. Which (when I had thereof  
well considered) did put me in a great perplexitie, for feare to be tired or found-  
ered before I should attaine to the end of my journey: but setting all feare apart  
I will proceede, and thus it was.

So soone as the death of the Emperor ALBERT was published, the Princes  
Electors of the Empire assembling in the cite of Franckford; about two or  
three daies before the new yeere 1440. chose for Emperor FREDERICK Duke  
of Au-  
strich, a young man of the age of fife and twentie yeeres, who a little before  
came from Ierusalem where he had been in Pilgrimage. This FREDERICK was  
the sonne of Duke ERNESTVS of Au-  
strich, descended in line masculine from the  
Emperor ARNVLPH, aboue named. So soone as he vnderstoode of his election,  
he accepting the same, prepared himselfe to goe to Aken to be crowned; before  
which I hold it expedient to recount in few words what happened in the king-  
domes of Hungary and Bohemia, after the death of the Emperor ALBERT; sith  
they were prouinces of the Empire: and forasmuch as besides this, they serue  
for our purpose, for the liquidation and better vnderstanding of that which fol-  
loweth.

*Frederick  
Duke of Au-  
strich chosen  
Emperor.*

The widow Emperesse (as before is said) at the time of her husbands decease  
was with childe: and so soone as he was dead, the Lords of Hungary assembling  
together consulted about the choosing of a new King, for sith the Emperesse  
before had already two daughters, they thought not that she now would haue  
had a sonne: whereupon after many doubts they choosung VLADISLAVS  
King of Poland for their King (yet some say it was the Kings brother) sent to ad-  
uertise him thereof. In the meane time that the Ambassadors were vpon their  
way, the Emperesse was deliuered of a sonne, who was named LADISLAVS;  
which when they saw, they then would that they had not sent to the King of  
Poland: yet they held it more expedient for the good of the land to haue him  
for

The King of  
Poland chosen  
King of Hun-  
gary.

for their King, for that he was of age and of power to protect their countrie, and to gouerne the same, which would be wanting in the infant; and they in like manner were of opinion that the Bohemians would haue made him their King also. Standing in this doubt, the King of Poland (to take benefit of the time) in the greatest haste that hee could make, came into Hungary, and was in Buda by those which desired to haue him so receiued for their King. In the meane time, the widow Queene with her new borne sonne, together with the Earle of Cilia and great part of the nobilitie, went to ALBA REGALIS, where vpon Whitsonday the young child was crowned King by the Archbishop of Strigonia. This solemnitie being ended, and fealtie sworn to him by those which were present, as to their Lord and King, the Queene with her sonne fearing the inconstancie of the Hungars, by the counsell of some her friends presently tooke her way towards Viena, and committing him to the protection of his Vncle the new Emperor, together with the crowne of that kingdome, which she had in her power (which is there held for the best right to haue the possession thereof) she returned into Hungary, to see if she might haue the gouernment thereof, during her sonnes minority. Some say that she sent the young King to the Emperor, but howeuer it was, the Emperor as his Vncle had the wardship of the childe, for to him appertained the tutell and protection of the house of Austria. In Hungary was great contention about who should be King, but those which tooke part with VLADISLAUS King of Poland being assisted by IOHN AVNIADIS VAIVODA (a very famous Captaine for the great victories which he had obtained against the Turkes) for that time preuailed: and the young LADISLAUS, although crowned, remained a long time dispossessed in the Emperors keeping. In the kingdome of Bohemia was no lesse hurlicburlic: for so soone as the Emperor ALBERT was dead, they in like manner treated of the chusing a new King; and they hauing appointed a day for that purpose, before that that time came, the widow Emperesse was deliuered of her sonne LADISLAUS, and she presently vpon her deliuerie sent into Bohemia, to enforme the Bohemians of the equitie of her cause, and to put them in minde that she was the daughter of the Emperor SIGISMUND, King of Bohemia; and that she and her husband ALBERT had enioyed the same, wherefore they should not now deprive her sonne of his right. The Ambassadors doing what in them lay, found fauour and assistants; but TASCONE and the rest which had been ALBERTS enemies, were of such authoritie, that notwithstanding that they confessed that the childe LADISLAUS had right to the crowne, yet they alleaged that he ought not to be King before that he was foure and twentie yeeres of age, and their sentence preuailling, they chose ALBERT Duke of Baviere for their King, who shewing the greatnes of his minde, would not accept it: a rare example of magnanimitie, and seldom seene. The Bohemians meeting againe agreed to send to entreate the Emperor FREDERICK; that seeing he had charge himselfe with the protection of the person of the young King, that he would also be pleased to take vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome of Bohemia: and TASCONE which was one of the Ambassadors, counselled him to haue made himselfe King thereof; which was a matter easie to haue been done. This Ambassade was deliuered to the Emperor at such time as he was departing towards Aken to be crowned (for he was but newly chosen) his answer hereto he referred vntill his returne; which then was, that whereas they had offered him the kingdome of Bohemia, he would not shew himselfe so vniust a tutor, as to bereaue the pupill of his right: and that he could

could as ill take vpon him the gouernment of the countrie, for he had otherwise enough to answer for before God, for what he had already done, and therefore would vndertake no other charge: for that they amongst themselves might finde sufficient men enough to haue the gouernment. Those which came with this Ambassade being returned, the Lords of Bohemia appointed a new meeting; and chose for Gouernors vntill that LADISLAUS should come to age, TASCONE and MENANDER; which were heads and leaders of the contrarie faction: to TASCONE repaired all the reputed heretikes of time past. Within a little while after, TASCONE dying, POGIABRA'CCIO succeeded him, who after the decease of MENANDER, had the sole gouernment; and many other matters befell in the time that LADISLAUS, by reason of his nonage was in the Emperour FREDERICKS protection: and the Hungars and Bohemians oftentimes fought to haue the keeping of him vntill he came to full age. This for the present may suffice to vnderstand the successe of the kingdomes of Hungary and Bohemia.

The Emperor FREDERICK spent the time from January vntill Iuly, in providing for the affaires of Hungary and Bohemia, and to make prouision for his coronation, which should be solemnized in the moneth of August, in the citie of Aken, at which time Cardinall LEVVE being sent by the Councell at Basil, came thither to opproue and authorise his election. About whose comming, there was great adoe, for the Bishop of Liege who was an enemy to the Councell of Basil, and to Pope FELIX, holding with EVGENIUS, put him out of the towne: but THEODORICVS Archbishop of Colen (who held with those of Basil) made him to be receiued in againe, whereupon Pope EVGENIUS deposed him from his Prelacie, vntill that afterwards he was through the Emperors entreatie by his Ambassadors restored. The coronation being ended, the Emperor returned into Austria, wherein he was at great controuersie with his brother ALBERT about the diuision of estates thereof; with whom FREDERICK seeking to come to an agreement, procured peace and concord through all Germany; for he was euer enclined to peace and a loue thereof. Whilst the Emperor applied himselfe hereto, in Italy in those daies (or a little before) after great warres and infinit conflicts past, a peace was concluded betweene Duke PHILIP of Milan of the one side, and the Venecians and the Florentines of the other. And FRANCIS SFOURCE who was Generall of their armie marrying the Duke of Milan's bastard daughter, had Cremona and other places with her for her dowrie: this peace was made in the yeere 1442. A little before this, in the same yeere, ALONSO King of Arragon wholly expelling his competitor RENE out of the kingdome of Naples, remained in full possession thereof. About this time, VLADISLAUS King of Poland (who was also in possession of Hungary) after many aduentures past in the warres against the Turkes fighting a battaile with them, was therein unfortunately slaine; hauing been King of Hungary but foure yeeres onely.

King VLADISLAUS being slaine in this manner, the noble men and Burgeses of cities assembling, chose the childe LADISLAUS their right Soueraigne, for their King; who (as I said) at the age of foure moneths was crowned in Alba Regalis; and they hauing proclaimed him for their King, sent a solemne Ambassade to entreate the Emperor to permit them to haue the custodie of him, to the end that they might crowne him: whereto the Emperor (commending their doings) answered, that there needed no election, sith he was their naturall Lord; neither was there any neede to crowne him; sith he was already crowned. And

Aaaa

seeing

The Emperor  
Frederick  
crowned in  
Aken.

seeing that he was but an infant, and wanted a tutor, vntill that he should come to age, he willed them to chuse them *Gouernors*; and he would take care for his person vntill he should be of yeeres fit to gouerne. With this answer the Hungars being greatly discontented, resolu'd to haue that by force which by faire meanes they could not obtaine: and *JOHN HUNIADÉS* being chosen for their *Gouernor*, came into *Austrich* to warre vpon the Emperor, for that he gaue them not their King; but he there finding sufficient resistance, mist of his purpose. About the same time, the Bohemians in like manner sued to haue him; to whom the Emperor gaue the like reasons and excuses as he had done to the Hungars, and so dispatched them for that time. Whilest these matters passed, after most cruell warres, betweene *England* and *France*, a truce for a time was taken betweene them, and the Dolphin of *France* whose name was *LEVES*, in the time of this truce, without any reason or occasion that might moue him thereto, leuied a very mightie armie, and entring *Germany*, besieged and tooke the citie and state of *Wittembergh*, and other townes of lesse qualitie, no man knowing the cause thereof: yet Historians set downe sundrie: some say that he came by the Emperors procurement against the *Swissers*, which at that time were enemies to the house of *Austrich*. *NAVCLERVS* writeth, that he published, that he came to recouer those lands which in auncient time appertained to the house of *France*. *PLATINA*, and other *Italians* write, that the Dolphins comming was by the Popes instigation, to ouerthrow the Councell at *Basil*; which in my opinion is most likely to be true, for he presently marched against *Basil*; and the *Swissers* (which were in league with that citie) sent 4000. chosen men to the reliefe thereof, but they could not enter it without first meeting with the Dolphin, which within sight of the citie fighting with his whole armie were all slaine, not one escaping; but they sold their liues very deere, for they fighting in a manner all one whole day from the morning vntill night, were not broken, vntill they had slaine twise so many of their enemies as they were. After this battaile the Emperor sent to require the Dolphin to make no warres in the lands of the Empire, and began to provide for the defence thereof. Some report it after this manner, and others after another; the conclusion was, that the Dolphin hauing done much harme in many places, returned to his fathers kingdom.

At this time died *JOHN PALEOLOGVS* Emperor of *Constantinople*, and for that he had no sonne, his brother *CONSTANTINE PALEOLOGVS* succeeded him. Many matters passed in those daies in *Italy* which I haue not time to relate. King *ALONSO* of *Arragon* possessing the kingdom of *Naples*, and defending the cause of Pope *EVGENIUS* (with whom he was in great grace) was by him inuested, and confirmed in his kingdom. Pope *EVGENIUS* being dead, Cardinall *THOMAS SARZANO* (who lately was Legate in *Germany*) was chosen, and called *NICHOLAS* the fifth, to whom so soone as he was consecrated, the Emperor sent to acknowledge obedience, and he sought to haue established a generall peace through all *Italy*; but the treatie of peace and the conclusion thereof was interrupted by the death of the great & puissant *PHILIP* Duke of *Milan*, who might iustly be called great, for he was great of minde, of bodie, of power, of estate, and of farre greater wit and vnderstanding then any of his auncestors: which *PHILIP* died the thirteenth day of August, in the yere of our Lord 1447. in the two and fiftith of his age, and the two and thirtieth of his raigne: when he died hee left neuer a sonne, and but one bastard daughter, whose name was *BLANCH*, who (as I said) was married to *FRANCIS SFORCE*. The Duke being dead,

A memorable  
battaile fought  
by the *Swissers*  
against the  
French uicere  
to *Basil*.

The death of  
*John Paleologus*  
Emperour  
of *Constantinople*.

The death of  
Pope *Eugenius*  
whom *Nicholas*  
the fifth succe-  
ded.

The death of  
the mightie  
*Philip* Duke of  
*Milan*.

dead, the citie of *Milan* crying libertie and Empire, made choise of twelue men to gouerne it; but therein was a suddaine alteration, for many sought to haue been Lords thereof. The *Milanoies* (as I said) desired their libertie; and King *ALONSO* of *Naples* and *Arragon* pretended thereto title of enheritance; for Duke *PHILIP* by his Will and Testament made him heyre to all his dominions. The Emperor (with better right) alleaged that estate to appertaine to the Empire (principally, in default of heyres) and that therefore that estate was to returne to the Empire: but he had not time to come into *Italy*, by reason of the great feare and danger of the comming of the Turkes into *Hungary*; which, as Emperor, and tutor to the young King, he was to defend. *FRANCIS SFORCE* hauing married the bastard daughter of Duke *PHILIP*, pretended title to the Duchie of *Milan* by the right of his wife. *CHARLES* Duke of *Orleans* would haue it, for that he was the sonne of *VALENTINA*, sister to Duke *PHILIP*s father; which *VALENTINA* was married to *LEVES* Duke of *Orleans*, and brother to *CHARLES* the sixth King of *France*: wherefore *CHARLES* alleaged that Duchie to appertaine vnto him. The Venecians taking for their right the occasion which was offered, presently seased fundrie townes into their hands, as *Cremona*, *Placencia*, and *Lodi*. All those which pretended title to the Duchie of *Milan*, sent their Ambassadors to the *Milanoies*, not that they all did absolutely make claime thereunto, but with certaine complements and offers to assist them against the Venecians which tooke their townes. The *Milanoies* would accept no Soueraigne but the Emperor, whom they entreated to permit them to enioy their libertie, vpon condition whereof they would yeerely giue him a cup of gold in token of their Vassellage and subiection; and to that effect they dispatched their Ambassadors vnto him: but God in his secret iudgement had reserved that estate for *FRANCIS SFORCE*; which happened after this manner.

*FRANCIS SFORCE* being certified of the death of his father in law *PHILIP*, and that the Venecians made themselves Lords of the land; hasted him to *Cremona*, which was his owne towne, giuen to him for his wiues dowrie; and fortifying, garrisoning, and furnishing the same with all things needfull, hee went to *Pausia*, whither being called by the inhabitants, he became Lord thereof. The *Milanoies* made him Generall of their armie against the Venecians, and he accepting the charge, hauing good successe, ouerthrew them in battaile: and being victorious (imitating *OCTAVIUS CESAR*) made peace with them, which they gladly accepting, in their agreement bound themselves to assist him with certaine troupes of men of warre: and he resolu'ing to put in execution what he had purposed (which was to make himselfe Lord of *Milan*) bent his forces against the townes and cities of *Lombardy*; some of which he tooke by force, and other by faire meanes, and in the end besieged the citie of *Milan* it selfe: and after many accidents, was receiued into it; and so with the title and right of warre, was called (as was his father in law) Duke of *Milan*, and afterwards comming to be Lord of the whole estate, was a mightie and a valorous Prince, and liued many yeeres Lord thereof.

In the same time that these matters passed in *Milan* and in *Italy*, the Emperour *FREDERICK* after the dissolution of the Councell of *Basil*, sought by all meanes to roote out the schisme betweene the Popes, for *FELIX* was still called Pope and obeyed by the Sauoifins: but the Emperors counsell and authoritie so much preuailed with him, that he came to obedience, and renouncing the Papacie, was by

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Pope

Titles to the  
Duchy of *Mi-  
lan*.

Pope NICHOLAS made a Cardinall, and his Legate in *Sauoy*, and in certaine other prouinces. Shortly after ensued great warres in *Germany*, betweene many of the Imperiall cities, and the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, who was assisted by the Earle of *Wittembergh*: the warre was such that in the space of two yeeres that it lasted, they in the plaine fields fought nine seuerall times, and fortune fauouring sometime one, and sometime the other, much harme was done before that the Emperour could redresse the same: vntill that at length, by his intercession and commaundement, a peace was concluded betweene these princes and the cities: and he hauing settled this concord, resolved to come into *Italy*, for the great desire he had to be therein crowned, wherein ALONSO King of *Naples* and *Aragon* was his allie and great friend; the Venecians were also his friends, for as he loued peace, so he euer sought to maintaine the same. He hauing resolved to goe his iourney, and agreed to marrie with the Ladie ELENOR daughter to the King of *Portugall*, it was decreed that she (he being there) should come into *Italy* by water; and that the nuptials should there be solemnized. Whereupon he leued an indifferent armie of foote and horse, and prouided all things necessary for his iourney: and departing from *Germany*, carried with him LADISLAUS the young King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, not without griefe to both those kingdoms, which very instantly desired to haue had the guard of him: by reason whereof a great number of the Nobles of both those kingdomes, together with many Lords of *Suenia* and of *Austrich* accompanied him: with which (although in warlike manner) in the beginning of Ianuary in the yeere of our Lord 1452, he came into *Italy*: and comming into the countries subiect to the Venecians, Ambassadors with shew of singular loue and affection came to entertaine him: which of free cost furnished his whole armie with victuals so long as he was within their iurisdiction. And keeping on his way by *Trenigi* and by *Padoa* to *Ferrara*, was there by BORRIO their Duke highly feasted; and in all parts was entertained with great loue and good will. From *Ferrara* hee came to *Bologna*, (notwithstanding that FRANCIS SFORCE inuited him to come to *Milan*, there to be crowned with the Crowne of Iron) and following his way towards *Rome*, accompanied with the Cardinall which came to receiue him there he went to *Florence*, and was therein most sumptuously entertained, and had the like in *Siena*, whither hee presently went: at his being there, he was certified that the King of *Portugals* daughter, to whom he was to be married, she being but sixteene yeeres old, was arriued by sea in the cite of *Pisa*, and hee staying for her there, she with many gallants in her traine was brought to *Siena*; where the Emperour, accompanied with the King of *Bohemia* and other Princes and men of account, went to meete her. The Emperour was already by his deputie betrothed to her, but he deferred the Nuptials vntill he might receiue her at the hands of the Pope. The Emperour being come to *Rome*, was sumptuously entertained and feasted by Pope NICHOLAS, who vpon the steps comming into S. PETERS Church clad in his pontificalibus, attending his comming, receiued him; the Emperesse and the King of *Bohemia*, and they kissing his foote, hee gaue them his hand; and comming into the Church, and hauing made their prayers, and other ceremonies accustomed, they went thence to their lodgings; and vpon the fifteenth day of March in the yeere 1442, the Emperour was married to the Emperesse, and was the same day with the Iron crowne, which should haue been done in *Milan*, crowned King of *Lombardy*: and threedayes after in the same Church, with the ceremonies and solemnities accustomed, was crowned Emperour of *Rome*, and the Emperesse in like manner. The

The Emperours  
going into Ita-  
ly.

Henricus Mu-  
cius lib. 29.

The Emperour  
Fredericke  
crowned and  
married in  
Rome by Pope  
Nicholas.

feasts

feasts at the coronation being ended, the Emperour leauing King LADISLAUS in *Rome* went to *Naples*, whither afterwards came his wife the Emperesse, to see King ALONSO who was her vnclie, where they were continually for the space of fiftene daies sumptuously feasted. From *Naples* the Emperour by sea, and vp the riuer *Tiber* returned to *Rome*, thence to take his iourney towards *Germany*; wherein he was aduertised, that the Hungars & Bohemians had caused some commotions, for that the Emperour detained their King from them; the chief motors were VLRIKH Earle of *Cilia*, & another VLRIKH a man of great power. The Emperesse tarrying 8. daies longer in *Naples* then the Emperour did, went from thence by land to *Manfredonia*, and from thence by sea to *Venice*, for she knew that the Emperour would go to see that citie before his returne into *Germany*. The Emperour in his iourney took *Ferrara* in his way, where in reward of the seruice done him by BORRIO Duke of *Ferrara*, at his comming & going, he made him Duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*, & gaue him the title and soueraigntie of those cities, and being there, GALIAS SFORCE Viscount, son of FRANCIS SFORCE Duke of *Milan* came to see him, and brought him gifts & presents from his father. The Emperour friendly entertaining him dubbed him Knight, for the good conceit he had of his person. And fro *Ferrara* the Emperour sending his people by land, went downe the riuer *Po* to the citie of *Venice*, where he was receiued with infinite kinds of triumphs, whither the Emperesse was already come, and was receiued with no lesse solemnitie: in such feasting and pastimes hee spent there other ten dayes: and then departed, accompanied with the Duke and Senate of *Venice* to the sea side, which sent Pouruours before with order, that in all their dominion, his whole court should be furnished with all things necessary gratis. And so this peaceable Prince passed through *Italy* in peace, and with euery mans loue and good will, which he could not haue done if he had been ambitious and desirous of warre: and if hee could haue done it, it would haue bin to the greater losse of his people and expence of money, and with the peril of his life and burthen to his conscience, as by the histories of other Emperours which came into *Italy* to other intents, it may appeare. The Emperour being departed out of *Italy*, it seemed that peace & quietnes went away with him, for the warres presently began betweene those which theretofore had bin enemies, which so long as he was there was in some sort pacified. The Venecians being in league with King ALONSO, with the Duke of *Sauoy*, and with the Marquis of *Monferrato*, against FRANCIS SFORCE Duke of *Milan*, made cruell warre against him, whom the Florentines and LEVRES GONZAGA Marquis of *Montea* assisted and aided. And King ALONSO, enemy to the Florentines sent his sonne FERDINAND with 8000 horse and 4000 foote to make warre in *Tuscane*. The King of *France* dealt with RENE King of *Prouence*, to passe into *Italy* with 2000 horse, in the behalfe of the Duke of *Milan* and the Florentines, in hope of the enterprise of *Naples*. So as there was most cruell warre waged through all *Italy*, the issue whereof I haue no time to declare. The Pope vsing all meanes to haue pacified the same, desired that they all should haue ioyned together, to haue holpen the Emperour of *Constantinople* against the great Turke, knowing that he purposed to besiege the citie of *Constantinople*: but he could not then effect the same, and so *Constantinople* was not relieved, whe it stood in most need. The Emperour FREDERICK comming into *Germany*, found it in no better peace, then at his departure he left *Italy*; for great part of his countrie of *Austrich* was in armes against him, and had thrust out the Gouvernours which he had set there: all which was done for that he had not left the young King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* at his libertie, mo-  
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warres be-  
tweene the  
States of Italy.

ued thereto by the Earle of *Cilia* and by *VIRICHA* great man in *Bohemia*; who perswaded them to take *LADISLAVS*, sonne of *ALBERT* Duke of *Austrich* for their Lord, to whom that prouince did more properly appertain; and the Emperour vnderstanding of their rebellion, came with part of his armie to a towne called *Nieustat*, where those of *Austrich* came against him, and notwithstanding that the Emperour had good forces, yet they fought with him, and the fight continued foure houres: but so many charged the Imperialists, that they were constrained to retire to a towne called *Nieustat*, before which those of *Austrich* encamping themselves with great furie, in the name of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* requiring their King, battered the same. When it was knowne that the Emperour was besieged, great preparation was made through all *Germany* by sundrie princes which resolved to vnset him: and the like was made by the Hungars and Bohemians, which to the contrary required to haue their King. The Emperour foreseeing the great euils likely to ensue, gaue eare to a parley, wherein it was agreed that he should deliuer the young King *LADISLAVS* (who was not yet fully 14 yeeres old) into the hands of the Earle of *Cilia*, who should haue the keeping of him vntill Nouember then next comming, in the yeere 1452: and that the Proctors and Deputies of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* should meet in the citie of *Viena*, there to conclude who should haue the gouernment of those kingdomes; with many other promises which were neuer perfourmed. Herewith the siege was raised from before the citie, and the Earle of *Cilia* carried the yong King to *Viena*, where he was receiued with as great ioy, as if he had been the naturall Lord thereof: and so presently without any other composition, he gaue offices and dignities as Lord of the land; and was also called Duke of *Austrich*, by the title before specified. To him came presently many great men of both the kingdomes, and amongst them *JOHN HVNIADIS VAIVODA*, who had been Gouverneur of *Hungary*; and *GEORGE POGIOERACCIO* Gouverneur of *Bohemia*. The time appointed being expired, thither resorted many Princes of *Germany*, and Ambassadors from the Emperour: but the young inexperienced King would accomplish no part of what was couenanted; and being ruled and led by fauourites, in the small time that he liued many disorders were committed in his house and court, which *ÆNEAS SILVIUS* hath most excellently written in his Historie of *Bohemia*. *Viena*, and the other cities which held for *LADISLAVS* being supported by *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, perseuered in their rebellion, and so continued so long as *LADISLAVS* liued.

Whilest the Emperour *FREDERICK* was pestered with these troubles, and the other Princes had warres amongst themselves, *MAHOMET* the great Turke in the beginning of the yeere 1453, with an huge armie besieged the Imperiall citie of *Constantinople*, the head of all the Greeke and orientall Empire (*CONSTANTIN* the last Emperour thereof being within it) which he besieged the space of more then fiftie daies; in which time (for that it was not relieved) vpon the nine and twentieth day of May in the same yeere, the citie was by force of armes taken and entred, and the Emperour to the shame and dishonour of all Christendome was therein slaine: and in that citie were such cruelties committed, as the like thereof had neuer been seene or heard of. For the losse of *Constantinople* all the Princes in Christendome were very forie, but much more when they thoroughly vnderstood how great cruelties and murders the Turke had afterwards therein committed; and that he had taken other townes and prouinces thereto adioyning, and that he therewith threatned *Italy* and *Germany*: whereupon they began to

Anno Dom.  
1453.  
Constantinople  
besieged and  
taken by the  
great Turke.

to consult of defence and resistance to be made against him; but the ambition and dissention which raigned amongst them, gaue no place to the conclusion or performance of any good exploite; as in our daies the like hath been seene in the like necessitie. Yet the next yeere a peace was concluded in *Italy* betweene the King of *Naples* and the Venecians, the Duke of *Milan*, and the Florentines, and those of their league: which being concluded, the Pope rigged vp a great flecte of galleys to make head against the Turkes; but they write that he was euer so sorowfull after the losse of *Constantinople* that he neuer had good day, but falling sicke died, vpon the 25. day of March in the yeere 1455. in the fiftenth yeere of the raigne of the Emperour *FREDERICK*, and the eighth of his Papacie. After his decease, *CARDINALL ALONSO BORIA* a Spaniard was chosen Pope, and called *CALIXTUS* the third. The first thing that he vndertooke was to procure the warre against the Turkes, and to that effect sent out his Buls, and a generall Croisade, and therewith sent his Legates into all parts of Christendome, especially into *Germany*; where the Emperour hauing the like care, had summoned a Diet or Parliament, to consult of a redresse. And notwithstanding that many Princes gaue in their names, and offered to serue in this warre, yet the suspicion and dissention amongst them was such, that they put nothing in execution: but the Pope neuertheless sent *CARDINALL IOHN CARATAVAL* for his Legate into *Germany*, who for that it was certainly knowne that the Turke was comming into *Hungary*, with the Emperours aide and fauour leuiued men and money: presently hereupon came newes that the Turke was come, and that hee had in his armie (they which say least) one hundred and fiftie thousand men, and that he went to besiege *Belgrado*, otherwife called *Alba Greca*, and more anciently, *Taurinum*; and that he purposed in few daies (taking that citie) to march forwards. King *LADISLAVS* giuing the charge of that warre, with the defence of that citie and kingdome to *JOHN HVNIADIS*, retired to *Viena*: for in truth he was neither of age, neither had power sufficient to fight with the Turke. The Popes Legate with the greatest number of men that he could get came to *Buda*, and from thence before the Turks comming put himselfe therewith into the citie of *Belgrado*: amongst those which came with him, was one *JOHN CAPISTRANO*, a Franciscan Frier, who with his sermons and exhortations gathered together and brought with him a great number of men, which for their deuice ware the signe of the Crosse. And the Turke comming with his power, and besieging the citie, these men wrought wonders in the defence thereof, being furiously battered. To the reliefe thereof, with the power which the Emperour sent, and such others as hee could raise in *Hungary*, which were 40000. foote, and 5000. horse, came *JOHN HVNIADIS*. To be brief, it pleased God, that the succours being arriued, and come to blowes, they had so good fortune that the Turke was ouerthrowne and wounded, and a great number of his people slaine: whereupon he raising his siege and flying, left his Artillerie and baggage behind him. This happened vpon *S. MARY MAGDALENS* day, in the yeere 1456. All Christendome reioyced, and made bonfires for this so notable a victorie: and *Italy* and *Germany* by this meane were deliuered from the feare which they conceiued, by reason of the late losse of *Constantinople*: for considering the great power of the enimie, they all feared to haue been lost. Within few daies after this victorie, died the excellent Captaine *JOHN HVNIADIS*: and the Turke by reason of this ouerthrow, suffering *Hungary* and *Italy* to rest in peace, made warres in the Ilands, in the Sea called *Archipelagus*, and in other countries bording vpon them.

Anno Dom.  
1455.

The great Turke  
entred Hun-  
gary.

The Turke be-  
sieged Belgra-  
do.

The great Turke  
ouerthrowne  
before the citie  
of Belgrado in  
Hungary.

The Emperour FREDERICKS raigne was so long, and so many accidents happened therein, that I shall be enforced to be briefer in writing what followeth, then I haue been in what is past. After this victorie obtained by IOHN HVNIADDES, the Emperour FREDERICK applied himselfe to the establishing of peace in *Germany*, to the end to be able to preuent what might befall: and being busie herein, the young King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* being of the age of eightene yeeres died (not without suspect of poyson) in the citie of *Prage*, where he attended the coming of the French Kings daughter, to whom he should haue been married. The realmes of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and that also which he held in *Austrich*, by reason of his death without issue and heires were void; which caused much strife in those countries and kingdomes, about the succession and election: diuers Princes pretending to haue right to them. In the end the Bohemians tooke GEORGE POGIOBRACCIO (who was Gouvernour thereof in the time of LADISLAUS) for their King, a man of a noble house and of great valour. The Hungars for their King chose MATTHEVV the sonne of the excellent warrior IOHN HVNIADDES, as well for the loue which they bare to his father, as for the good hope they had of his person, being a young man of nineteene yeeres old, and then prisoner in *Bohemia* for the death of the Earle of *Cilia*; whom POGIOBRACCIO the new King of *Bohemia* setting at libertie, married him to his daughter; and hee afterwards being King of *Hungary*, prooued an excellent and a most valorous Prince. In the house of *Austrich* (the government whereof in right appertained to the Emperour) his brother ALBERT alleged, that forasmuch as his brother was Emperour, he ought to enioy the same: the like did his cosine SIGISMUND. About this controuersie, those of *Austrich* assembling auerred the Emperour to be their principall Lord; and that he according to the custome of *Germany* was to haue regard to the maintenance of his brothers and cosin germanes estate: wherefore and for the better preservation of the peace, certaine lands and reuenues were assigned vnto them. The Emperour vpon this agreement came to *Viena*, and was there receiued and obeyed, but his brother and cosin perseuering in their purposes raised Commotions in the countrie; and there were some sharp bickerings about this matter, but by the mediation of LEVES Duke of *Bauiere*, a composition was made betweene him and them, yet they were neuer without ieaousies and contentions, vntill the death of ALBERT: at which time the Emperour without any contradiction tooke possession of that estate. After this, in the yeere 1458, died ALONSO King of *Arragon* and *Naples*, whom his brother IOHN King of *Nauarre* succeeded in the kingdomes of *Arragon*, and *Sicilia*; and in the kingdome of *Naples* succeeded his bastard sonne FERNANDO, who contended with IOHN, sonne of RENE, with whom his father was at variance about that kingdome. And in the month of August following died Pope CALIXTVS, and in his place was chosen AENEAS SILVIUS a Cardinall and citizen of *Siena*, and was called PIVS the second, who was so excellently learned and endued with so many graces, that I cannot expresse what is written in commendation of him: besides this, the bookes which he wrote beare record of his wisdome and literature; who accordingly first tooke care for the defence of Christendome, and for the warres against the Turke; and to that effect wrote to the Emperour and the other Princes. The next yeere after his election, hee summoned a generall Councell to be held in the citie of *Mantua*, to treat of the matter more to the purpose, where many Noblemen and Princes Ambassadors met, and many matters were deuised and ordained, which were neuer put in execution; by reason of the warres and troubles

troubles in *Italy*, and betweene the most part of the Princes in Christendome. Particularly in *Germany*, in the yeere 1460, began great debate and strife betweene VDARICVS Earle of *Wittenbergh*, and FREDERICK Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, about a dowrie, and some such matter; for which, they came to fight sundrie times, and many were slaine of either side, vntill that an agreement was made by the Emperours commandement. After this, another warre ensued, which was of longer continuance and more dangerous. Which was for the Archbshoprick of *Mentz*; for which DIETTERVS of *Ysenburgh*, and ADVLPH of *Nassaw* contended: DIETTERVS who was in possession of the greatest part of the Bishoprick, being for his contumacie, intrusion, simony, and such other matters, by the sentence of Pope PIVS deposed; ADVLPH, by the Emperours consent was by the Pope created: so as the one to get possession, and the other to defend the same, troubled all *Germany*, which the Emperour could not remedie; for their rage grew to that heighth, that his commaundements being contemned; some Princes taking part with the one, and some with the other, al employed their whole force therein; and there followed many battailes and encounters, and many great personages were slaine of either party. This warre continued long, but yet in the end by the Emperours order and authoritie the matter was taken vp: but the harmes which were done before that time, could not be remedied as he would haue had them. For he was so ill obeyed by his subiects in *Austrich*, that those of *Viena* ioyning one day with his brother ALBERT, in the yeere of our Lord 1463, rose and besieged the Emperour in the fortresse of that citie, and battring the same would haue taken him prisoner. The King of *Bohemia* who was his next neighbour, desiring to win his grace and fauour, came to his aide, and rescuing him, in such manner pacified the rebellion, that the Emperour if it had so pleased him might haue apprehended his brother ALBERT, but he of purpose let him goe: and it pleased God that within few daies after Duke ALBERT died, when as without his death there was no meane of peace in the state of *Austrich*: he being dead, the Austrians together with Duke SIGISMUND wholly submitting themselves, became subiect to the Emperour.

In the yeere 1464, in the 24. yeere of the raigne of the Emperour FREDERICK, died the excellently learned Pope PIVS the second, otherwise called AENEAS SILVIUS, after whom by the Cardinals after the accustomed manner was chosen Cardinall BARBOA Venecian, and was called PAVL the second, who considering that the Turkes daily conquered the Christian countries, applied himselfe to procure a remedy: but the same occasions which hindred others, hindred him also, so as he could not bring it to passe. Yet the Venecians entred into league with MATTHIAS King of *Hungary*, whose fame and exputation was then very great; and they giuing him a certaine summe of money, resistance was made in diuers parts. About this time died FRANCIS SFORCE Duke of *Milan*, whom his eldest sonne GALEAS MARIA SFORCE succeeded in that Dukedome. About this time also died PHILIP Duke of *Burgondy*, and Earle of *Flanders*, whom succeeded the most valiant and renowned Captaine Duke CHARLES, called CHARLES the Hardy.

In the second yeere after Pope PAVLs election, the Emperour FREDERICK came to *Rome*, where by the Pope he was most honorably receiued: the cause of his coming, some say was to performe a vow which he had made; others say that it was to conferre with the Pope concerning warres to be made against the Turke: but howsoeuer it was, he came and returned in peace into *Germany*, where through

Anno Dom.  
1464.  
The death of  
Aeneas Sil-  
uius, otherwise  
Pope Pius se-  
cundus.

through his meanes peace continued a long time after; at the least there was no notable warre worth the speaking of, either in *Germany* or in *Italy*. In those daies, notwithstanding that these countries were in peace and quiet, yet Duke CHARLES of *Burgundy* had cruell warres with *France*, and with the *Swissers*, and with other Princes. Pope PAUL being dead, SIXTVS the 4. succeeded him, who although he was but a Franciscane Frier, yet they write that he was so warlike, that the most part of the time that he was Pope he warred in *Italy*. The next yeere after his election which was in the yere 1472, and the 32. of the Emperors raigne, Duke CHARLES of *Burgundy* (of whose power and high mind, and of his warres, and the battailes which he fought, wonders are written) procured leaue to see, and to speake with the Emperor: and they meeting in *Lutsemburgh*, the Duke requested many matters at the Emperors hands, amongst which this was one that the Emperour should giue him the title of King of *Naples*, and of his Vicar or Lieutenant in *Italy*, for he purposed to haue made a conquest thereof. The Emperour knowing and disliking the ambition of this Prince, temporizing in the best manner that hee could, answered him in generall termes without concludung any thing, and in a night without bidding him farewell, departed the city; wherewith the Duke was very much discontented, and the next yeere following he leuied a very great army, and marching towards *Colen* besieged the citie of *Nuis*, which he did to the end (as he said) to restore to the Bishoprick of *Colen* the Archbishop thereof, who was his kinsman and good friend. The Emperour vnderstanding that the Dukes meaning was (if he could) to take *Colen*; required him to raise his siege; which taking no effect he leuied a very great armie, and therewith marched directly against the Duke: but as he was slacke in his busines, so he needed (considering the Dukes power) to haue speedily brought a great armie: but as he came not with such expedition as the cause required; so the besieged, and the country thereabout endured great extremitie, and the siege continued many daies: but he comming at length (though late first) and the one armie encamping neere to the other (with the Emperour came the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, the Archbishops of *Mentz* and *Treuer*) and being at the point to haue giuen bataille (which as it was thought would haue been very cruell) a treatie of peace was moued betweene them, whereto the Emperour neuer refused to giue eare, in so much that he was therefore called the peaceable Prince: what the conditions of the peace were, I finde not written by those authors which I haue read, but the effect of what ensued was, that the Duke raising his siege from before the towne, returned with his armie into his countrie; and so the warre ended betwixt the Emperour and him. But the Duke was not without other warres, for he euer desired and procured the same, and thereby enlarged his countries and dominions, vntill that in the yere 1466, in a cruell bataille which he fought with the *Swissers*, he was ouerthrowne and slaine. His death was the cause that the Emperour and his sonne MAXIMILIAN warred with the French King, the reliques and seede whereof continued long, and happened in this manner.

The warlike Duke CHARLES dying in such manner, as I said, left no heire but one onely daughter, whose estate contained the two *Burgundies*; the estates of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Guelders*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Artoys*, and many other townes, besides those which he had taken in *Lorraine*, in *Picardy*, and from the *Swissers*; for his minde and valour was so great, that hee durst hold all the world for his enemy, and made no reckoning to take their townes. But this smoke (for so it may well be called) being by his death ouerblowne; euen as he had done by all others, so

so all men dealt with what was his. The Duke of *Lorraine*, and his confederates the *Swissers*, recovered what he had taken from them. LEVVS the French King speedily leuying an armie, recovered *Picary*, tooke the cities of *Peronne*, *Mountdidier*, *Turnay* and other townes. The Flemmings and Burgonians with those of their partie, in the name of their Soueraigne Lady, MARY daughter of the deceased Duke, for their defence put themselves in armes. The French King alleged that *Burgundy* for want of heires males, was to returne to the house of *France*: and the Duke of *Lorraine* by his commaundement entring *Burgundy*, tooke the greatest part thereof; and the King sent to require the Duchesse MARY to come into *France* in person to doe him homage for the Earldome of *Flanders*, and her other estates subiect to the crowne of *France*: but she vnderstanding his meaning, refusing to come stood vpon her guard. Hereabout were many treaties and parleys, and many townes were taken too long to be recited. The Flemmings sending to the Emperour for aide, offered their Duchesse MARY in marriage to his sonne MAXIMILIAN, who was then one and twentie yeeres old, a young man of a great minde, valiant, a comely personage, of a very good constitution, and apt for any attempt. The Emperour being very glad of this proffer, graunted their requests, notwithstanding that hee saw that he vndertooke a warre against *France*, and that he already had warres with MATTHIAS King of *Hungary*, who (like the Duke of *Burgundy*) was neuer content with what he had, but thought all too little: and incensing the Austrians against the Emperour, took some townes from him in *Austria* and warred vpon him. The French King hauing intelligence of this treatie of marriage, sent to the Emperour and his sonne MAXIMILIAN, with many reasons perswading them to desist. This notwithstanding MAXIMILIAN who was now called Archduke of *Austrich*, with many good men of warre, in Iuly in the yeere 1467. went into *Flanders*, and marrying this Lady MARY had with her all her dominions: the warres on the Flemmings side against the French through his comming, were well reinforced, and he therein fighting oftentimes in his owne person, shewing the greatnes of his minde, obtained some victories, especially one memorable bataille betweene *Turnay* and *Arras*, wherein he alighting from his horse, put himselfe into a Squadron of foote. Afterwards some treaties of peace being motioned, a truce was taken for a time; wherein the French King rendring some townes, continued in possession of what he had taken in *Burgundy*, and so for a season the war ceased. This peace (so farre as I can coniecture) was made by the Emperors procurement: by reason of warres made against him by MATTHIAS King of *Hungary*, for which, being otherwise troubled with other occasions of the Empire, he could make no sufficient prouision, and also for that the peace with *France* (as presently shall be said) continued but a small time.

At the same time GALEAS MARIA hauing been nine yeeres Duke of *Milan*, certaine his subiects and fauourites, for his licentiousnes, and insatiable luxurie, conspiring against him, slew him as he was in S. STEPHENS Church at Masse, he being then of the age of 33. yeeres. He left for his successor a sonne of the age of nine yeeres, whose name was JOHN GALEAS, who by reason of his nonage was vnder the tutele of his mother BONA, and other tutors: but it afterwards so happened that his Vncle LEVVS came to be his gouernour, who by that title came to be absolute Lord of the whole Duchie: his nephew JOHN (so long as he liued, which were two and twentie yeeres) holding onely the name of Duke, and LEVVS the possession and authoritie; and many matters passed, which for that they concerne not my historie I omit. The truce betweene MAXIMILIAN and *France* continued

continued little more then one yeere, at the end whereof the French King and he renewed the warre, which lasted a certaine space, and some townes were taken of the one side and of the other; vntill that at length through the procurement of the Emperour FREDERICK, a peace betweene them was concluded for seuen yeeres.

The death of  
Mahomet the  
great Turke.

At the same time that these matters passed, the great and mightie Turke MAHOMET, hauing done much harme in the Christians countries, held the *Rhodes* besieged little lesse then three moneths; but it pleased God that he could not then take it: this happened in the yeere of our Lord 1480. After this, in the same yeere, he sent a mightie armie by sea, which landing in *Puglia* and in the kingdome of *Naples*, tooke some townes, and amongst them *Otranto*, which they held more then one yeere after: and if through the goodnes of God the great Turke had not died, all *Italy* was in daunger to haue bin lost: but through the death of this mightie tyrant (who in *Grecia* (besides *Constantinople* and *Thracia*) had taken and subdued many prouinces, and an infinite number of cities and townes) those townes in *Italy* were recouered, and Christendome was freed from the oppression which it endured: and the more, for that his sonne and heire BAIARETH in the beginning of his raigne, was impeached with domesticall warre and dissention. At this time died RENE King of *Prouence* and Duke of *Aniow*, an ancient challenger of the crowne of *Naples*.

In *Italy* was great warre at that time, which beginning betweene the Venecians, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, extended it selfe ouer all *Italy*: which the Emperour FREDERICK perceiuing, and considering how grear daunger all Christendome was in, he procured the Princes of *Germany* to establish some perpetuall peace and concord, to the end to be able to resist the Turkes: the like he practized with the French King, and with his owne sonne the Archduke of *Austrich*, and Duke of *Burgundy*. Whilest he was busie thereabouts, the Duchesse MARY daughter of the braue Duke CHARLES, with whom MAXIMILIAN had so many prouinces, came unfortunately to her end; for she (as of custome she vsed to doe) riding on hunting, fell from her horse, and as some say, the horse trode vpon her, or kickt her, whereof she died: others say, that with the fall she was so fore brused, that she died therof the eleuenth day after, which was vpon the seuenteenth day of March in the yeere of our Lord 1482, when she had been Lady of those countries little more then fife yeeres. She left at her decease one sonne and one daughter, which were PHILIP, who afterwards was King of *Spaine*, and father to the Emperour CHARLES the fifth; and MARGARET, which afterwards was a Princess in *Spaine*. When this Duchesse MARY died LEVVS the French King was very sick, and lying vpon his death-bed, desired peace; wherewith the Emperour being well pleased; they agreed, that MARGARET (which was a childe of two yeeres old) when she should be of age, should be married to his sonne CHARLES, who afterwards was King, and then twelue yeeres old: and that their fathers and they should keep perpetuall peace: with this condition that either of them should continue in possession of what they held in *Burgundy*. This being concluded, the young MARGARET with great pompe was brought to *Paris*, where her wedding feast was held, although it afterwards tooke no effect, as shall be said.

The death of  
Lewes king of  
France.

Within few daies after this solemnitie King LEVVS died, and his sonne CHARLES of the age of almost thirteene yerres to succed him. At the same time, a peace was concluded in *Italy*, and about the same time the Emperour assembled the Princes Electors, and other Princes of *Germany* in the citie of *Frankford*, where

where he desired and obtained of them to make his son MAXIMILIAN King of the Romans, which was effected in the 47. yeere of his raigne, vpon the 16 day of February in the yeere of our Lord 1486. and departing thence with a very great court of Princes and Lords, they went to the citie of *Aken*, where he was with great solemnitie crowned with the crowne which sometime was of CHARLES the great; brought for that purpose from *Norimbergh*, where it was kept with great veneration. And the same day, by the consent of all the Princes, he made a law, wherby he ordained vnder great penalties that peace should be kept through all *Germany*, which was obeyed, and in the greatest part of *Germany* obserued a long time after. This being past, the new King of the Romans came into the prouinces of the Low Countries, whereof his sonne PHILIP was now Lord, whose tutour he was; and being in the citie of *Bruges*, in the yeere 1487. for certaine discontentment, the Burghers rose against him, and in this tumult apprehending his person, with certaine of his traine, they held him prisoner the space of foure moneths: whereof when his father had intelligence, leuying the best forces that he could, he hasted to him, and notwithstanding that his sonne before his coming was at libertie, yet he seuerely punished the Burghers of *Bruges* and of *Gaunt*, and so the King of the Romans peaceably enioyed the gouernment of the prouinces of the Low Countries: and of that which he held in *Burgundy*, and his father the Emperour being now old and tyred, returned into *Germany*, to maintain peace and iustice therein, and to prouide for defence to be made against the Turkes. For the preseruatiou whereof, notwithstanding that MATTHIAS King of *Hungary* had taken *Viena* and other townes in *Austrich*, he permitted it, and attempted not by force of armes to recouer the same: but within short space after King MATTHIAS died, without any heires, when he had reigned 37. yeeres. His death being made known to MAXIMILIAN King of the Romans, he speedily departed from *Flanders*, and with his fathers aide, leuying an army, in short space recouered *Viena* and the rest which King MATTHIAS had vsurped. Whilest these matters were in handling, LADISLAVS sonne of CASIMIRE King of *Poland* wholly recouered the kingdome of *Bohemia*, for which both he and his father CASIMIRE had warred with King MATTHIAS, from the time that GEORGE POGGIOBRACCIO died. After this, both he and MAXIMILIAN pretended to be king of *Hungary*, each of them sought to marry the Queene widow, the Lady BEATRIS of *Aragon*, daughter of FERDINAND King of *Naples*, who was of great authoritie in that kingdome. MAXIMILIAN being somewhat slow in the matter deferred the time; but LADISLAVS making more haste, married her and was receiued for King of *Hungary*, and crowned in *Alba regalis*, and presently betweene him, the Emperour and MAXIMILIAN, a peace was concluded, wherein it was ordained by the consent of those of the kingdome, that if LADISLAVS died without any lawful issue male, that then MAXIMILIAN and his heires should enherite the kingdome. But LADISLAVS reigned two and twentie yeeres after, and his sonne LEVVS succeeded him, who married MARY sister to the Emperour CHARLES the fifth: and FERDINAND brother to the Emperour CHARLES, married his sister ANNE, by which marriage (King LEVVS being in the yeere of our Lord 1526. ouerthrowne and slaine by SOLIMAN the great Turke) this FERDINAND succeeded in the kingdomes of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*: and so the couenant by meanes neuer thought of, came to be accomplished betweene LADISLAVS and MAXIMILIAN; which passed in the yeere 1490.

Lewes king of  
Hungary ouer-  
throwne and  
slaine by the  
Turke, anno  
Dom. 1526.

Returning to our historie, I say, that after this agreement, MAXIMILIAN COM-  
Bbbb ming

VVarrs be-  
tweene the Em-  
perour and the  
French King.

ming to *Nurimburgh*, by the consent of his father hee treated of a marriage be-  
tweene him and the Duchesse of *Britaine*, who after her fathers decease without  
heires males, succeeded in that Dukedome: and *CHARLES* the French King in  
like manner sought to haue her, notwithstanding that he was alreadie betrothed  
to *MARGARET* of *Burgundy*, which was but a child, and whom he had in his power,  
as hath been declared. The French writers excuse him herein, and yeeld reasons  
for what he did; whereof those Kings are neuer to seeke which haue not the feare  
of God before their eyes. They alleaged that the Kings contract with the young  
Lady *MARGARET* was of no force, for that she was vnder age; and also for that  
King *CHARLES* neuer consented thereto: and notwithstanding that he had con-  
sented, yet he was likewise vnder age, and afterwards reuoked the same. And that  
the contract of the Duchesse of *Britaine* with *MAXIMILIAN* was of no effect:  
for the Duchesse gaue thereto no sufficient authoritie, for none of the Ambassa-  
dours being foure in number, had any authority in solidum to make any contract;  
neither had the Duchesse any meaning to doe it: and that which she did was but  
to temporize with the Britaines, to the end that they should not yeeld themselues  
to King *CHARLES* of *France*. And admitting that the contract had been made  
by men hauing sufficient authoritie thereto, not being confirmed it was of no  
worth, for that the conditions and couenants were not afterwards perfourmed.  
Finally, by these and other reasons they excuse him, holding their arguments for  
true and sufficient in their opinion. And the French King going into *Britaine*, the  
Princessse *MARGARET* (who was nothing sorie for it) returned: for (they say) she  
neuer liked of the match, yet yeelded thereto by the perswasion of the Flem-  
mings: and so a very furious and cruell warre began betweene the Emperour,  
his sonne *MAXIMILIAN*, and the French King. And forasmuch as his father was  
now old, *MAXIMILIAN* had the sole gouernment, and had alreadie vnderaken  
the charge: but after some bickerings, a peace was made between them; where-  
to *MAXIMILIAN* by reason of the great and excessiue charges of the warre, and  
for some other respects, was constrained to condescend, but principally for that  
at the same time, which was in the yeere 1492, the men of warre which had ser-  
ued the valiant *MATTHIAS* King of *Hungary*, which kept still together, for that  
they were mourning colours for their King, were called the blacke Regiment;  
through want of pay, or some other insolence, making warre in *Austrich*, had  
the spoile of some townes: for the reliefe whereof, *MAXIMILIAN* leuying for-  
ces, went into those parts, and without any great trouble brake and scattered the  
mutiners, and for example to others seuerely punished them. This yeere was  
much noted about others for three speciall things: the first was, for that there-  
in died Pope *INNOCENT* the 8, in the eighth yeere of his Papacie, whom *RO-  
DRIGO DE BORJA* a Spaniard, borne in *Valencia* in *Spaine* succeeding, was called  
*ALEXANDER* the sixth: the second was, for that the great citie of *Granada* in  
*Spaine*, was in the beginning of that yeere, by *FERDINAND* and *ISABEL* King  
and Queene of *Castile* taken from the Moores: the third was, for that in the same  
yeere, by the commaundement of the same Princes, the *West Indies* were discou-  
ered in the Ocean sea. This being past, and the yeere 1493, being come; *Germany*  
and *Italy* being through the Emperours wisdom and good gouernment in peace,  
and himselfe at peace with all Princes, in quiet possession of the Duchie of *Au-  
strich*, and his sonne *MAXIMILIAN* being King of the Romanes, and gouernour  
of the states and prouinces of the Low Countries, and of part of *Burgundy* in the  
behalf of his sonne *PHILIP*; when he had reigned 53. yeeres and foure moneths  
Emperour,

Emperour, wherein no Emperour but *AVGVSTVS CESAR*, who raigned three  
yeere longer, could be compared with him: but yet *FREDERICK* did farre ex-  
ceede him in age: at this time it pleased God to take him out of the world. This  
Prince is reported to haue had many vertues, for besides that he was courteous, de-  
sirous of peace, temperate in his diet, and very deuout: he was in all his life time  
neuer heard to sweare but twice, which he could not auoide: once was, when he  
was crowned in *Aken*; and the other time in *Rome*. He had great care for the con-  
seruation of the lands of the Empire; and to the end not to aduenture the same,  
or to put them in hazard, he sometimes made peace with losse of his owne estate:  
neither would he euer inuest *FRANCIS SFORCE*, nor his sonne *GALBAS MA-  
RIA*, in the Duchie of *Milan*, notwithstanding that they were in quiet possession  
thereof. He had by his wife *ELENOR* (who died long before him) three sonnes and  
two daughters: his first sonnes name was *CHRISTOPHER*, who died a child: his  
second sonne was *MAXIMILIAN*, who was afterwards Emperour: the third  
was *JOHN*, who also died a childe. Of his two daughters, the one called *HELEN*,  
died in her infancie; and the other called *HVGADA*, was married to *ALBERT*  
Duke of *Bauiere*, and was afterward mother to the Dukes, *WILLIAM*, *LEVVES*,  
and *ERNESTVS*.

The death of  
the Emperour  
*FREDERICK* the  
third.

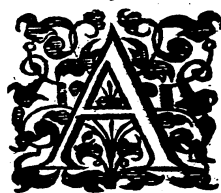
## THE LIFE OF MAXIMI- LIAN THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND CXIII. ROMANE EMPEROVR.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**F**REDERICK being dead, his sonne *Maximilian*, who in his fathers life time had the govern-  
ment of the Empire, was without any contention made Emperour. In the beginning of  
his raigne, he disposing himselfe to goe to the wars against the Turke, which had kept a  
great stirre in *Hungary*, made him to flie. He tooke to wife *Blanch* daughter to the Duke of *Milan*,  
and made great warres against the *Swissers*. In this Emperours time the *Pisani* in *Germany* made  
an insurrection, which was one of the greatest tumults that had bin scene, but they being soon re-  
pressed

pressed. He subdued many other rebels. Then began to grow the causes of the dissention between Spain and France for the Duchie of Milan. This Emperour made warre against the Venecians, then followed the terrible batailes of Raucenna and Marignano with diuers fortunes of warre, which ended in a sained (yet for a time durable) peace. When the Emperour Maximilian departed out of this life, he had reigned 25 yeeres.



After the peaceable **FREDERICK**, followed his sonne, the warlike and victorious **MAXIMILIAN**, who in his fathers life time was crowned King of the Romanes. The same yeere that his father the Emperour **FREDERICK** died, the Turkes made a roade into the countrie of *Croacia*, a prouince of *Hungary*, which bordereth vpon *Dalmatia*: and the new Emperour desiring to find a redresse, speedely raising his forces, went to fight with them, but they hauing intelligence of his comming, retired: whereupon he dissolued his armie. The Emperour **MAXIMILIAN** hauing bin a good space widower; so soone as his father was dead, contracted himselfe to the Lady **BLANCH**, daughter of **GALBAS**, and Niece to **LEVVE** S **SPORCE** Duke of *Milan*; who being Vncle and gouernor to his nephew **IOHN GALBAS** (which in right was Duke) vsurped and held his estate. This **BLANCH** being the fairest woman of her time was wooed by many Princes, yet to her was the Emperour married. At the same time, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1494. the French King **CHARLES** the eight (who was called great head) made preparation to come into *Italy*, who a little before had giuen out in speechs that he meant to make a conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*, which he alleged to belong to him, by the last will and succession of **RNE** Lord of *Prouence*, and his auncesters Duke of *Aniow*: whereto he was chiefly induced by **LEVVE** S Duke of *Milan* Vncle to the right Duke **IOHN**: for **FERDINAND** King of *Naples*, and his sonne **ALONSO**, had required him to leaue the gouernment of *Milan*, to Duke **IOHN GALBAS**, who was married to King **FERDINAND** S Niece, and vpon this quarrell they determined to war vpon him: by reason whereof he by all meanes possible perswaded the French King to come against them into *Italy*, & to that effect furnished him with a great summe of money. And to the end that the Emperour **MAXIMILIAN** should not be his enemy in this case, **LEVVE** S **SPORCE** procured this mariage of his Niece with the Emperour. In the time wherein his comming was most bruted, died **FERDINAND** King of *Naples*, when he had reigned 37. yeeres, and his sonne **ALONSO** Duke of *Calabria* succeeded him. At this time was the new Empreffe **BLANCH** carried into *Germany*, and there was married to **MAXIMILIAN**: *Germany* being in peace and quiet, and the Emperour taking care for the warres, and resistance to be made against the Turkes. But the King of *France* neuerthelessse tooke his way towards *Italy*, and to the end to passe in more safety, he gaue to King **FERDINAND** the Earledome of *Rossillon*, and the Ile of *Sardinia*, which **IOHN**, father of **FERDINAND** had mortgaged to **LEVVE** the French King, father of this **CHARLES**. Of the comming of this King **CHARLES**, although it concerneth not this history, yet I will briefly write the summe: for it was a matter very famous, and much feared by the Pope, and by all the Princes and Potentates of *Italy*: and also for that it will serue for the better vnderstanding of what wee shal speake of hereafter.

King **CHARLES** then with 50000. men of foote and horse, in the moneth of September in the same yeere came into *Lombardy*, where he was by Duke **LEVVE** S receiued with great honor, and his armie was by him furnished with all things necessarie.

Charles the eighth, King of France, came into Italy.

necessarie. And being there he went to visit the right Duke, **IOHN GALBAS**, who lay sicke in *Pauia*, and within few daies after died, leauing a young sonne called **FRANCIS**: and holding on his iourney he came to *Pisa*, and was afterwards receiued into *Florence*, and from *Florence* he went to *Rome*, no man daring by the way to make head against him, and much lesse at his comming to that citie. And Pope **ALEXANDER** not daring stay his comming in his Palace, retired himselfe into the Castell Saint *Angelo*, so greatly did they stand in feare of him. And afterwards they two came to a composition of peace, although they met not neither spake together, but afterwards vpon securitie they met and conferred, and within few daies after the King with the greatest part of the forces which he brought with him out of *France*, tooke his way towards the kingdom of *Naples*, in the moneth of Ianuary, in the yeere of our Lord 1495. wherein King **ALONSO** durst not stay vntill he came; aswell by reason of the great armie which he brought with him, as for that, by reason of his vicious and dissolute life, he was ill beloued of his owne subiects of that kingdom; whereupon, at what time as King **CHARLES** was in *Rome*; King **ALONSO** hauing reigned not fully one whole yeere, giuing vp that kingdom to his sonne **FERDINAND**, went into *Sicilia*, where he became a Monke, and in short space after died: by reason whereof, his sonne **FERDINAND** being King, raised the greatest power that he was able, so that it is affirmed that he had 5000. men at armes, 500. light horse, and a great number of foote. Neuerthelessse the French had so good successe, and King **FERDINAND** found so great feare, and so little constancie in his people, that after some accidents, he came to *Naples*, and thence fled by Sea to *Ischia*, and afterwards into *Sicilia*; and so the French King in two moneths space, became Lord of the whole kingdom, excepting some little townes vpon the Seaside, which held for King **FERDINAND**. Pope **ALEXANDER** seeing the prosperitie and possession of King **CHARLES** in the kingdom of *Naples*, and knowing his ambition, and fearing to loose his estate; whilest he was busied in the conquest of *Naples*, procured a league to be made betweene him, the Venecians, and the Emperour **MAXIMILIAN**, whom he solicited to come into *Italy* to the reliefe and defence of his Church. Into this league also entred **LEVVE** S Duke of *Milan* (notwithstanding that by his procurement King **CHARLES** tooke occasion to come into *Italy*) being grieved in minde for that King **CHARLES** had so happie successe in *Naples*, which made him stand in feare of his owne estate; whereto the French King euer had an eye. As afterwards **LEVVE** S Duke of *Orleans* and cosin germane to King **CHARLES**, who afterwards was King, made apparant; who challenged that Dukedome to appertaine vnto him, for that he was Nephew of the other **LEVVE** S, Duke also of *Orleanse*, brother to King **CHARLES** the sixth, and of his wife **VALENTINA**, sister to Duke **PHILIP** of *Milan*, the last of the Viscounts, whose bastard, **FRANCIS** **SPORCE** Duke of *Milan* tooke to wife, when he became Lord of that Duchie. Whereupon **LEVVE** S for the better confirmation of his estate, obtained of **MAXIMILIAN** (as supreme Lord of all *Lombardy*) to be inuested in the Duchie of *Milan*, which in my iudgement, and of all those which write without passion, was his truest and best title; for after the death of Duke **PHILIP** aboue named, neither the Emperour **FREDERICK**, neither **MAXIMILIAN** had giuen that title to the Duke, or to his Father, or to his Nephew; neither could it descend to them by line feminine; and much lesse to this **LEVVE** S Duke of *Orleans*, which then sought, and afterwards tooke the same, when he came to be King of *France*; and by so much the more,

King Charles of France his conquest of the kingdom of Naples.

for that the descendents from this *Sforce*, came from the woman being a bastard, whereby he vnjustly and without reason possessed so great estate: he being inuested by the Emperour with great ioy and solemnitie, tooke the Ducall Ensignes. King *Charles* hauing intelligence of the League newly made by these Princes, resolved to leaue such number of men of warre in the kingdome of *Naples*, as might suffice for the defence thereof, and with the rest of his army to returne into *France*; and marching towards *Rome*, giuing the Pope to vnderstand that he came to doe his dutie to his Holines; Pope *Alexander* after some Ambassades betweene them, not daring to abide his comming, departed from *Rome*, wherein, and in other townes belonging to that Church, the Kings souldiers did much harme. And the Pope, not holding himselfe to be in safety in *Ciuita Vecchia*, went to *Perugia*, with intent, if he were oppressed, to goe to *Ancona*, and there to imbarke himselfe for *Venice*. The French King departing from *Rome*, continued his iourney towards *France*, notwithstanding that he knew that in *Lombardy*, the Venecians and the Duke of *Milan* had an army in a readines to fight with him: and in *Lombardy* *Leues* Duke of *Orleans* had already taken the cite of *Nouarra*, vnder pretext of the title aforesaid; whereupon the Duke of *Milan* made haste to besiege him. And King *Charles* comming neere to *Parma*, passing the riuer *Tarro*, found a great army of his enemies; whereof *Francis Gonzaga* Marquis of *Mantua* was Generall; with whom neere to the riuer he came to a battaile, wherein happened very notable accidents. But herein is great difference amongst the writers about this matter, for the French attribute the victorie to their King, and the Italians giue it to the Venecians and to the *Milanois*. The truth is, that neither of the armies was wholly broken or ouerthrowne, but the Italians that day seemed to be the chiefe Masters of the field, which appeareth in this, that they taking many French prisoners, none of them were taken by the French; and they moreouer compelled the French King to seeke another passage, by reason whereof they were reputed to haue the victorie. There dyed in this battaile, which was fought vpon the sixth day of Iuly, in the yeere of our Lord 1495, a thousand men of both sides; and after some treaties had betweene the said two armies, the French in a night went towards *Aste*, where the King remained certaine daies, and a peace was concluded betweene him and the Duke of *Milan*: and *Leues* Duke of *Orleans* rendring *Nouarra*, King *Charles* returned into *France*, and shortly after, *Ferdinand* King of *Naples* wholly recovered that kingdome, but not without great difficulty, by reason of the French which remained in garrison therein, and of those which the King afterwards sent thither. In which warre, matters of greatest importance for the seruice of King *Ferdinand*, were guided and directed by the famous Captaine *Gonsalo Fernandes*, who for his excellencie was called the great Captaine of *Spain*; sent thither by King *Ferdinand*, called the Catholique, for the defence of that Kingdome, the first time that he went thither: and so of all this great enterprise, there remained nothing to the French King, but that he did much harme, and put all *Italy* in great feare (for the reputation and power wherewith he came was very great:), and making a iourney, gaue a bolde attempt, and therewith returned.

Whilest these matters passed in *Italy*; the Emperour in the same yeere 1495, assembled a Councell or Diet in the Citie of *Wormes*, wherein the matter was argued, whither the Emperour should goe to rescue the Pope, against the French King, or make warre against the Turkes: but the Princes were so contrary in their opinions,

A battaile betweene the French and the Italians.

The Kingdome of Naples recovered by King Ferdinand of Aragon.

opinions, that nothing was concluded. The Emperour at this assembly, gaue to the Earles of *VVittembergh*, the title of Dukes, which they hold to this day: and from thence, he sent the Ensignes and inuestiture before named, to *Leues* Duke of *Milan*; and other matters were ordained concerning the gouernment and peace of *Germany*. At that time was *Maximilian* daily solicited by the Duke of *Milan* to come into *Italy*, but it then tooke no effect. It happened after what I haue said, that King *Ferdinand* hauing recovered his kingdome, falling sicke, dyed; and for that he had no sonne, his vnkle *Frederick*, brother to his Father King *Alonso*, had the kingdome, and many other matters befell in *Italy*, which I haue no time to recount: and the Emperour was in peace with King *Charles*, who shortly after in the yeere 1497, dyed suddainly; which caused a great alteration: for by reason that he had no issue Male, the aforesaid *Leues* Duke of *Orleans* being next of blood, succeeded him in the kingdome of *France*; who, so soone as he was King, made himselfe to be called Duke of *Milan*; whereby it might be easily perceiued that he had a determination to doe that which he afterwards put in execution: and he presently diuorcing himselfe from his wife *Ioane*, which was sister to his predecessor *Charles*, alleaging for his reason that she was barren, and that he was forced to marry her; and also to the end to haue (as he had) with her the Duchie of *Britaine*, he married the widowe Queene *Anne*, late wife of the deceased King *Charles*. The Emperour hauing intelligence of the death of the French King; desiring to get the Duchy of *Burgundy* for his sonne *Philip*, which afterwards was King of *Spain*, entred it with armed hand, and tooke some townes: for the defence whereof, the new King *Leues* sent a very great army; but within few daies following, a peace was concluded betweene them, greatly to the Emperours honour and aduantage; which was the more easily effected by reason of the great desire the French King had to proceede in his enterprise against *Milan*, for the right which he alleaged to haue to that Duchy; and for that the Emperour had determined to make warre against the Duke of *Gelders*. The Duke of *Milan* hauing regarde, and standing in great feare of the French Kings proceedings, so much as was possible for him, prouided for his defence, principally through the league and friendship with the Emperour; who being of sufficient power to protect him, was resolved to haue done so: but other warres happening in the meane time with the *Swissers*, which in the yeere of our Lord 1499, made warres in *Austrich* (which warre, and the occasion thereof, is written at large by *Henricus Mucius*, and *Naclerus*, to whom I referre the reader.) The Emperour leauing the enterprise of *Gelders*, went to this warre, for the *Swissers* (called in auncient time *Helueccians*) as well by reason of the situation of their countrey, enuironed with most high hills and steepe mountaines, as also for their great strength and courage, were then (and at this day are) greatly esteemed, and reputed valiant in armes: *Maximilian* comming against them, notwithstanding that this warre began against his will, yet he followed the same in such sort, that in sundry conflicts and feates of armes atchieued betweene them, 30000. men were slaine of both parties, but the greatest number was of the *Swissers*: fortune inclining sometime to the one side, and sometime to the other: in which warre he did wonders in his own person, vntil that at last, through the iptreatie of the Duke of *Milan* and other Princes (which interposed themselves) the Emperour concluded a peace with them. But before that this warre was ended, *Leues* the French King (who procured the same) to take benefit of the time, raised his whole power; and in

the moneth of October, in the same yeere, entring *Lombardy*, besieged and tooke the Duke of *Milans* townes; who for that he was ill beloued of his subiects, and the Emperour failing him in his necessitie; and also for that the Venecians were in league with the King, resolved by abandoning the Citie, to giue place to the French fury; and sending his brother *ASCANIVS* S F O R C E before, with his sonnes *MAXIMILIAN* and *FRANCIS* into *Germany*, he with the best and greatest part of his treasure, within few daies after followed. The Duke being in this manner departed, the French King with very little resistance or none at all, was received into *Milan*, and into the rest of the cities in that Duchy: and the Venecians (according to the composition made betwene them, tooke the Citie of *Cremona* and other places of that estate.

King *LEVVEs* being in this manner become Lord of all *Lombardy*, leauing therein such gouernours and garrisons as he thought expedient, returned victorious and triumphant into his country. The Duke of *Milan* being come before the Emperour (who loued him very well) was by him very honorably and kindly intertained; and within few daies after, the Emperour assembling the greatest part of the Princes of the Empire, resolved to relieue and succour him, as a prince by him inuested, and who had the best title to that estate; and so with the greatest expedition that could be made, a good army was leuied, the greatest part whereof were *Swissers*; wherein the Cardinall *ASCANIVS* the Dukes brother vsed great diligence. With these men and with such others as he leuied in *Italy*, the Duke in the yeere 1500. returned into *Lombardy*, and his brother the Cardinall going before, was receiued into *Milan* and other cities; who speedely conducted hither his brother. The French King being certified hereof, in the greatest haste possibly sent into *Lombardy* the greatest number of choice men that he could get, the greatest part whereof likewise were *Swissers*: and the Duke who wanted neither men nor courage to fight, attended in the field the comming of the French army: and the two armies being at the poynt to haue ioyned, the *Swissers* which were with the Duke, not only refused to fight, but (as some say) corrupted with money, deliuering vp the poore Duke to the French, he was carried prisoner into *France*, and afterwards his brother the Cardinall was also taken. And so in few daies space, the French King recovered the estate of *Milan*, and Duke *LEVVEs* afterwards, poore, afflicted, and depriued of his Duchy, dyed in prison, hauing been one of the most puissant, valorous and redoubted Princes of the world.

In this yeere 1500, vpon Saint *Matthias* day, being the fife and twentieth day of *February*, *CHARLES* who afterwards was King of *Spaine* and Emperour, and was called *CHARLES* the fifth, was borne in the citie of *Gaunt* in *Flanders*. Duke *LEVVEs* hauing in this manner lost his estate, the Emperour receiued his sonnes which the Cardinall *ASCANIVS* brought with him: what became of them, you shal heare hereafter. In the yeere 1501, prodigious sights, much to be admired, appeared in *Germany*; for certaine crosses of sundry colours, and some blacke, were seene vpon men & womens apparel, vpon their heads, and vpon the beds whereon they did lie, made so perfect & so liuely for the time that they lasted, that it was wonderfull to behold; after which, ensued a most grieuous and cruell Pestilence. In those dayes also in *Asia* began the Empire and dominion of the great Prince, called the *Sophi* of *Persia*, who had his beginning from one called *SCHIN*, or *SECHIN*, who was said to be descended from the auncient Kings of the *Persians*: this Prince by force of armes made himselfe Lord of all *Persia*, and of great

The *Swissers* gaue the Duke of *Milan* into the power of his enemy the French King.

part of *Armenia*, of *Mesopotamia*, and other Prouinces: and afterwards the Kingdome of *Persia* was established in his successors; which since encreasing, is in some sort a bridle to the vnmeasurable rapine and power of the great Turke.

At the same time, *LEVVEs* the French King standing in some doubt of the Emperour, by reason of his late conquest of *Milan*, and the enterprise of *Naples*, which he purposed to vndertake, sought to enter into a league with him, and to giue his eldest daughter *CLAUDIA* in marriage to the young *CHARLES*, which afterwards was Emperour and King of *Spaine*, being then but one yeere olde (she being also an infant) to whom appertained the succession and inheritance of the Duchy of *Britaine*: with this match, the Emperour and his sonne *PHILIP* were well content: and Queene *IOANE* and the said *PHILIP* being then to goe into *Spaine*, by the leaue and consent of the said French King, went through *France*, and in the citie of *Paris* this marriage was solemnized; and so they passed into *Spaine*, where they making their abode not fully two yeeres, returned by the same way they came through *France*, as through their friends country. Which marriage afterwards was not accomplished, for King *LEVVEs* married his said daughter *CLAUDIA*, to *FRANCIS* Duke of *Angolessme*, who was afterwards King: by reason whereof King *LEVVEs* lost the title which he pretended to haue to the Duchy of *Milan*; for at the making of the peace, it was decreed, that if this marriage tooke not effect, that then the Emperour should giue the Duchy of *Milan* to the said young Prince *CHARLES*. The French King being in this manner in league with the Emperour, sought also to enter into the like with *FERDINAND* King of *Castile*, with these conditions; that they two making a conquest of the kingdome of *Naples*, and deposing King *FREDERICK* from it, should diuide the same betwene them: which conditions were accepted by King *FERDINAND* (as saith *SABELLICVS* a writer of that time) for that King *FREDERICK* shewed himselfe ingratefull to his Nephew, who sent him ayde and succours; and the same went, that he secretly practising vnderhand with the French King, offered to pay him tribute, to the end that he should not warre against him, but suffer him to liue in peace, and that he promised to helpe him to take the Ile of *Sicilia*, which appertained to King *FERDINAND*, and to the house of *Arragon*. This being concluded, the two Kings sending thither their armies and Generals, the warre began; and after some matters which I haue no time to relate, King *FREDERICK* abandoning the kingdome, yeelded himselfe into the French Kings hands, who vsed him very well, but his army neuerthelesse tooke all his country, *Calabria* and *Pulia* excepted, which the Spaniards tooke in the behalfe of King *FERDINAND*; and so for a while the peace continued betwene the French and the Spanish, vntill that the French seeking to intrude themselves into the Spanish limits, they warred one against the other, which warre was one of the most cruell and famous that euer was; and wherein the French employed the greatest force and power: and *GONSALO FERNANDES* of *Cordoua*, being Generall for King *FERDINAND*, in the space of three yeeres that this warre lasted, obtained so many notable victories, and performed such exploits in armes, and vsed so many policies and stratagems, that he purchased the name of great Captaine: and wholly expelling the French out of that kingdome, made a conquest thereof for his King; and so it remaineth vntill this day, subiect to the house of *Castile*. In the time of this warre, which was in the yeere 1503, dyed Pope *ALEXANDER*, when he had been Pope eleuen yeeres; he died (as it is written) of poyson, which was vniuitingly giuen him by his sonne Duke

A league betwene the French King, and the King of *Castile*.

The Pope poisoned by his own sonne, with the poison which he had provided therewith to have poisoned another.

Duke VALENTINE (who was one of the most ambitious men of the world :) this poison was provided by the Pope to have been given to a Cardinall. In his place was chosen Cardinall FRANCIS PICCOLLOMINI, Nephew to Pope PIVS, being his sisters sonne, and was therefore called PIVS TERTIVS; but he being Pope but thirtie dayes, Cardinall IVLIAN was chosen, and called IVLIVS the second.

An insurrection of the Commons of Germany, in the Countrey of Spire.

The Emperour intermeddled not in the affaires of Naples, as well for the preservation of the league and friendship with France, as also the better to provide for other matters in the Empire, wherein at the very same time, which was in the yeere 1502, befell a strange adventure in the countrey of Spire, wherein an infinite number of people gathering themselves together vnder the name of liberty, addressed themselves against the temporall Lords and Princes, and also against the state of the Clergie: these men having made them two Captaines, began to warre, to robbe, and to commit all manner outrages and insolencies; having first determined to obserue certaine articles, which they meant to hold for a law and religion: the first was to purchase liberty, and to make themselves free, or to dye in the action: another was, to say every day a certaine number of *Pater Nosters*, and other prayers; vpon another day, to destroy all the Princes, and to kill all those which should resist them, and some others they purposed to robbe, and to make all the clergie goods common; with other strange and dangerous deuices. These men within few daies gathered themselves together in so great a number, that if the Emperour had not very speedely sent an armie against them, which brake and ouerthrew them; they had brought the estate of Germany in hazard, if they had continued as they began; but through the Emperours endeouour, the matter was redressed, and the offenders were, for examples sake, iustly punished. Neuertheless, at the same time the citie of *Basil* (which was an Imperiall citie, and tributary to the Empire) gat libertie, and making it selfe free, entred into a league and confederacie with the Swissers, which was a matter of great importance and danger; as well for the charge to provide for such a case, as for the warre against PHILIP, the Countie Palatine, and his sonne ROBERT, which sprang through this occasion.

GEORGE Duke of *Bauiere*, hauing no more but one daughter, whose name was ISABEL; and marrying her to ROBERT the eldest sonne of the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, who was also called Duke of *Bauiere*, for in auncient time both had been but one house: gaue him with her for her dowrie, the inheritance and succession of his whole patrimonie, which was against reason, and a wrong done to his brother ALBERT, who was also Duke of *Bauiere*, and had married the Emperour MAXIMILIANS sister. This marriage being made, Duke GEORGE, father in law to ALBERT, in the yeere 1503, dyed: and ROBERT hauing ISABEL to wife (being by his father in lawes last Will made his heire generall) with the helpe of his father, the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, began to take Townes and Castles in *Bauiere*, and to make himselfe Lord of great part thereof; and so began the warre. And the Emperour seeking meanes to bring them to an agreement, ROBERT would not accept the conditions: whereupon the Emperour proceeding against him, and against his father the Countie Palatine (who notwithstanding that he had bin often required and perswaded to the contrarie, counselling his sonne to proceed, assisted him with both men and money) confisked his goods, and exposing the same to him that would take them, made presently cruell warre vpon him: and by his order, the like was done

done by the Lantzgrau of *Hessen*, the Duke of *Wittembergh*, the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and the said ALBERT and ALEXANDER Dukes of *Bauiere*, and other Princes: against all which the father and the sonne armed themselves, with the helpe of the King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, from whence many men came to their aide; and so betwene them began a most cruell warre; wherein the Emperour warred in his owne person, particularly in the countrie of *Bauiere* (whereof ROBERT was in possession:) And WILLIAM Lantzgrau of *Hessen*, and the Duke of *Wittembergh*, either of them for their portion, together with their friends and parents, made warres in seuerall parts in the countries, subiect to his father the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*. The Emperour warred with such force and courage, that obtaining certaine notable victories against ROBERT and the Bohemians, he recovered all the townes which he had taken, but ROBERT saued himselfe by flight; and the Emperour giuing those townes to his cosin ALBERT, went with his armie into the Countie Palatines countrie, wherein the Princes aboue named had taken some townes: and coming with the like force and furie as he had recovered the estate of *Bauiere*, he tooke the greatest part of that dominion: and PHILIP being vnable to defend what he held, sending to the Emperour for pardon; promised from thenceforth to be his loyall seruant. And CHRISTOPHER Marquis of *Baden*, together with certaine religious persons being intercessors; the Emperour considering that if he should thoroughly bring him to ruine, being a Prince Elector, there would be great controuersie about the right of the election, thought it best to pardon him; and so ceased the warres on all parts, and the Countie Palatine returning to his obedience was pardoned: but his countrie and estate was much diminished. His sonne ROBERT after the warres were ended, being of the age of siue and twentie yeeres, seeing himselfe overcome and dispossessed, dyed of sorrow and his wife also, by whose right he challenged that which is aboue specified. Whilest the Emperour was busied about these matters, the great Captaine of *Spaine*, GONSALO FER-  
NANDEZ, wholly conquered the kingdome of *Naples*, and (as writeth SABEL-  
LIVS) a truce being taken betwene King FERDINAND of *Castile*, & LEVVE the French King for three yeeres; and so *Italy* was in peace for a time. In this yeere, 1504, dyed ISABEL Queene of *Spaine*, whom Queene IOANE succeeding in that kingdome, was with her husband PHILIP called to the gouernement: but their comming was deferred vntill the beginning of the yeere 1506. In which time the Emperour summoned a Councell to be held in the citie of *Colen*; from whence he went with an armie against the Duke of *Gelders*; and taking some townes from him, brought him to such distresse, that he was constrained to sue for pardon; and he forgiuing him, returned to the Councell or Diet at *Colen*. The next yeere following, the Emperour being displeased with the King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, for the assistance giuen to the Countie Palatine against him, and for his rebellion against the Empire, leuied an army and went against him; and entring *Hungary*, did so great harme therein, and put the King thereof in such feare, that he (with great humilitie sued to him for peace, which was graunted vpon such conditions as pleased the Emperour, and so the warre ended. In the meane time, LEVVE the French King, hauing no meaning to marry his daughter CLAVDIA to Prince CHARLES, who being afterwards Emperour, was called CHARLES the fifth, shortly after married her to FRANCIS Duke of *Angoulesme* and Dolphin of *France*, who afterwards was King: and fearing warres with the Emperour about the Duchy of *Milan*, made a perpetuall league with

The Spanish conquered the Kingdome of Naples from the French.

with FERDINAND King of *Castile*, who was vpon his departure from *Aragon* to returne to *Naples*; for he expected King PHILIP, who went thither in the beginning of the yeere 1506: this league being made betweene them, King FERDINAND married the Lady GERMANA, sister to the Earle of *Foix*: and in Aprill, in the yeere 1506, leauing *Spaine*, he went to *Naples*: and vpon the five and twentieth of September in the same yeere, King PHILIP being of the age of eyght and twentie yeeres, departed out of this world: his death was much deplored by all his subiects, but more by the Emperour his Father, who was extremely forrie for the same. After his decease, for that the Queene was sickly, and the Prince CHARLES a child, King FERDINAND of *Naples* was called to the gouernement of those Kingdomes; whereupon the yeere next following he came into *Spaine* to that effect: and the Emperour, to the end that he should vnder take the gouernement of the Low Countries, was by Ambassadours from the States thereof, solicited to come thither; who accepting the gouernement, went presently into *Flanders*. After this, he appointed a Councell or Diet to be holden in the Citie of *Constance*, which continued from Aprill, in the yeere 1507, vntill August; wherein he proponing the iniuries done him by the Venecians, alleaged that they vsurped some townes of the dominion of *Austrich*: and he also found himselfe griued, for the ayde giuen by them to the French King, in taking the Citie of *Milan*; by which King, the Emperour held himselfe much iniured, as well for this occasion, as for that he had giuen his daughter in marriage to FRANCIS Duke of *Angoulesme*, she being first married to his Nephew CHARLES. About this matter he practised with Pope IULY, who at that time by force of armes, had recouered the citie of *Bologna* and other townes: which he did, to the end to put the French King into ieloufie and suspicion. These matters being argued and debated in this Councell, in the end it was concluded, that warres should be made against the Venecians, and all such as should take their partes. And leuying a mightie armie, the Emperour beginning the warre, tooke such townes as they held in *Austrich*. In the meane time, CHARLES Duke of *Gelderland*, through the ayde (as it was surmised) of the French King, made warres in *Brabant*, whereupon the Emperour was constrained to goe ouer the warre against the Venecians, and with his forces to goe to the reliefe of that Countrey, wherein he making head against the Gelderois, put himselfe to the worst. In the yeere 1508, LEVVES Duke of *Milan*, called the Moore, being depriued of his estate, dyed prisoner in *France*; his sonnes MAXIMILIAN and FRANCIS, liuing in the Emperours Court in *Germany*. After this, the Emperour being in *Flanders*; some say at the suite of Pope IULY, who for a good space had had a Legate in *Germany*, and as some others say, at the request of King LEVVES of *France*, there was a treatie of a League to be made betweene the Emperour, the Pope, King FERDINAND, and the French King, against the Venecians, for the recouery of such lands of the Duchie of *Milan*, and of the Empire, and of the Cleargie as they possessed: which league, as it was made by the Pope and the French King, but for their particular interest, so they obserued the same no longer, then they thought fit for their profit. The yeere 1509, being come, the first that began the warre was the Emperour: and some delaies and suspicions arising, in the end, the Emperour, the Pope, and the French King, each of them apart, warred with very great armies, and the Venecians mustering vp their troupes which were lead by the Earle of *Petilian*, and the Lord BARTEMEVV ALVIANO, most excellent men of warre. Many notable serui-

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A league be-  
tweene the  
Emperour, the  
French King,  
the Pope, and  
the Duke of  
*Milan*, against  
the Venecians.

uices were performed, which to relate at large, would require long time, and much paper: the issue whereof was, that the Emperour after that he had recouered certaine townes which they held in the Duchie of *Austrich*, tooke from them *Padua*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *La Chiusa*, *Goritia*, and many other: the French King tooke *Crema*, *Cremona*, *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, *Peschiera*, and other townes of the Duchie of *Milan*: Pope IULY had *Rauenna*, *Faenza*, *Imola*, and afterwards *Modena*, and other townes; King FERDINAND recouered *Brandizzo*, *Tarento*, and other townes of the kingdome of *Naples*, which the Venecians in former enterprize had taken: but notwithstanding that at one instant they were inuaded by so many great Princes together, yet in the end, through their vertue and diligence, they recouered much of what they then lost, but after that time they were neuer of so great power as they had been before. The first that gaue ouer this warre was Pope IULY, who being sued vnto by the Venecians for peace, graunted the same, and therewith drew his forces. Pope IULY (as he was a subtil cunning prelate) hauing gotten what he desired, mistrusted that the Emperour and the French King hauing brought the Venecians to ruine, his owne state would be in daunger, for his meaning was that no man should be of greater power in *Italy* then himselfe. But as the French Kings purposes were to the contrarie, so he tooke his agreement betweene the Venecians and the Pope in very ill part, and after many Ambassades past betweene them, in the end they two fell at variance. The Pope practising vnder hand with the Genoais, made them rebell against the French King; and the King (in requitall) made a schisme in the Papacie, and to that effect drew the Cardinall of *S. Croffe* (who had been Legate in *Germany*) together with some other Cardinals to his deuotion; which calling a Councell against the Pope, appointed the citie of *Pisa* for the place of their meeting. The Emperour notwithstanding the League betweene the Pope and the Venecians, desisted not from warring against them: but he was aduertified that the French King had induced the Duke of *Ghelders* to war against the Emperour, and to that effect had with money supplied his want: for the King although he would that all should aide him, yet he would not that any but himselfe should haue the victorie.

Vpon this occasion, the Emperour leauing the friendship of the French, ioyned with the Pope. And the French King persisting in his determination, caused many Bishops and other Prelates to goe to *Pisa*, where he procured the Councell to be assembled, which the Cardinall of *Saint Croffe* had already begun; but holding themselves to be there in no safety, they went afterwards to *Milan*. And the Pope in like manner sent to the King of *Castile*, requiring his aide, which presently was promised, and afterwards sent him: and then he began with his fulminations to persecute the French King. And to the end to defeat this Councell, he summoned a Councell generall to be held in *Saint JOHN DE LATRANE*, in *Rome*, the yeere next following, which was in the yeere 1512. the warre betweene the King and the Pope being very cruell, the King mightly engrossing his armie, made MONSIEUR DE FOIX Generall thereof; who going to *Bologna* tooke it, and taking *Brescia* sacked it. The Cardinall of *Saint Croffe*, and those which ioyned with him, cited the Pope to appeare before them; and the Pope after many protestations proceeding against them, depriued them of all their Ecclesiasticall dignities and benefices. And King FERDINANDS forces comming to the Popes aide, after some bickerings, the two armies meeting neere to *Rauenna*, vpon Whitsonday, in the yeere 1512. came to a battaile; which was

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The French  
King caused a  
schisme in the  
Popedome.

A battaile betweene the French and the Popes forces neere to the river of Carroin Italy.

as cruell, and as bloodie, as euer was any in the world; and although the French obtained the victorie, yet twise so many of them were therein slaine, as of those which were ouerthrowne, if they may be accounted for ouercome, whereof one Squadron remained whole and was neuer broken, and so past through the midst of their enemies without that any durst to charge them. In this battaile was MONSIEUR DE FOIX the French Generall slaine, together with many of the French Nobilitie. Finally, the French were reduced to such estate, that notwithstanding that they had the victorie, yet it fared with them, as though they had been ouercome: for they departing from *Rauenna*, and taking their way towards *Milan* (MONSIEUR DE LA PALISSA being their Generall) Pope I V L Y recovered the citie of *Rauenna*, and in like manner *Bologna*: and vnderstanding the issue of the battaile (though at the first he stood in great feare) yet being certified of the truth and how much the French armie was distressed, he after his accustomed manner leuying new supplies, wrote to all the Kings and Princes of Christendome to stirre them vp to warre; and to that effect sent a Cardinall to the Emperor; who being discontent with the French King, within few daies after, sent into *Italy* by the way of *Verona*, an armie of Swissers, and of Germanes, with MAXIMILIAN S F O R C E, sonne of Duke L E V V E S, to recover the state of *Milan* which was his fathers. MAXIMILIAN S F O R C E entring *Italy*, and being come to *Verona*, and ioyning with the Spanish armie, and with those which were in league with the Pope; the French were stricken with such feare, that the Cardinall of Saint *Cresse*, and the rest of the Councell of *Pisa* (which had withdrawnne themselves to *Milan*) with all speede possible departing thence, fled into *France*; and MONSIEUR DE LA PALISSA, the French Generall, leauing such garrisons as he thought good in the Castles of *Milan* and of *Brescia*, and other townes in *Lombardy*, abandoning the citie, retired to *Paui*; and the enemy comming thither, he departed thence, and went also into *France*. And so MAXIMILIAN S F O R C E in short space recovering the Duchie of *Milan*, was with great ioy through the Emperours aide and fauour receiued into the citie: and then presently came to him Ambassadors from *Genoa*, to doe him honor, and to congratulate his returne, for the *Genoais* then rebelling against the French, and hauing chosen them a Duke besieged the Castle of the *Lanterne*, which was at the French deuotion. In the proceste of his warre, the King of *Nauarre*, for that he held with the French King against the Emperor, against the Pope, and the King of *Castile*, and would not giue passage to the Spanish armies, was bereaued of his kingdome; and the Kings of *Castile* possesse the same vntill this day.

After these things, and other which succeeded, in the beginning of the yeere vpon the three and twentieth day of Februarie in *Rome* died Pope I V L Y, in the tenth yeere of his Papacie, and in his place was chosen I O H N Cardinall DE M E D I C I S, who being taken at the rout of *Rauenna*, and afterwards set at libertie, was called L E O the tenth; in the beginning of whose Papacie, the King of *France*, the Lord of *Tremouille*, and the Duke of *Albania*, with a great armie came into *Lombardy* against MAXIMILIAN: went of *Milan*, who with the aide from the Emperor, and the Swissers comming in a battaile with them neere to *Nouarre* (where his father was taken prisoner) obtained the victorie, with the death, ouerthrow, and imprisonment of many of them: so as he driuing the French out of that Duchie, remained Lord thereof in peace. Presently after this in the same yeere, the Emperor resolving to let the French King know that he had committed an error, in not conseruing the peace made and concluded with him, came

came to a composition with H E N R Y the eight King of *England* (who was enemy to the French King) to enter *France*, and to make warre against him: for perfourmance of which conditions, the King of *England* came to *Calis*, and entring *France*, the Emperour with his armie came and ioyned with him: and although the French King durst not fight in battaile, yet there passed many notable skirmishes betweene them: and notwithstanding that the King of *England* lay two moneths before *Terrouenne*, yet the French King in all that space not daring to come to onset it, the towne was constrained to yeelde: and so the King after the taking of some other places, went to *Tournay*, which he battered with such fury, that it yeilded, together with the Castles and other townes neere adiacent; whereof the King of *England* being Lord, made great spoyle in the countrey, without finding any armie in field to make head against him. The Emperour in like manner by another way, sent V D A L R I C K Duke of *Wittembergh*, with a great band of Swissers into *Burgundy*; who besieging the citie of *Dijon*, and hauing brought it to the poynt, that it was hoped that that Prouince would have been recovered; the Swissers (according to their accustomed manner) in consideration of one hundred thousand Ducats, sent them by the French King, and moued with the hope of a promised greater summe, raising the siege, returned home to their houses, maugre the Duke of *Wittembergh* their Generall: who with his people seeing himselfe abandoned, returned also into his countrey. It likewise happened that whilest the King of *England* warred in *France*, the King of *Scots* through the instigation of the French King, entred *England*; against whom in person came K A T H E R I N E Queene of *England*, accompanied by some of the Nobilitie and Commons of that Realme, and fighting with the *Scots* (notwithstanding that the victorie was very doubtfull and vnequall, by reason of the great multitude of them) yet their King was slaine in the battaile, and the *Scots* not daring any longer to hold the field, returned home; & the English entring *Scotland*, tooke certaine places therein, in such sort, that the King of *England* through his wiues meanes in *England*, and the Emperours ayde in *France*, returned victorious into his countrey. And the Emperour, for that his preface was very requisite in *Germany* did the like; for in *Wormes* was much debate and contention betweene the state Ecclesiasticall and secular. There was also great controuersie betweene W I L L I A M and L E V V E S, Dukes of *Bauiere*, the Emperours Nephewes, sonnes of his brother in law A L B E R T. Whereupon the Emperour went to them, and in some sort mitigating the contention, brought them to be in peace. In the same yeere 1513, the Venecians made a league with the French King, which was effected by meanes of the Lord B A R T E L M E V V D'ALVIANO their Generall, who was taken prisoner by the King, and A N D R E V V G R I T T I a Venecian gentleman, who was afterwards one of the most excellent Dukes that haue been in *Venice*, who likewise was prisoner. After this a peace being concluded betweene *England* & *France*, the French King tooke to wife M A R Y the King of *Englands* sister, with whom he liued but a little while after his marriage; for he falling extremely sick, died vpon the first day of Ianuary, in the yeere our Lord 1514. and the 17. of his Raigne; whom succeeded the often named F R A N C I S Duke of *Angulesme*, who after his Coronation, procured a league to be made with the Emperour: whereupon the Earle *Nassau* came to *Paris*, and so a new marriage was concluded betweene C H A R L E S which then was Prince of *Spain*, and R E N A T A sister to C L A V D I A the new Queene of *France*; which Marriage afterwards took no effect. The Emperour consented, and liked wel of the match, as wel by reason of such affaires as he had in *Germany*,

as for the peace & common good which was expected to ensue thereof. And for the better preferuation of the particular peace made with **LADISLAUS** King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, he resolved to marry his niece **MARY**, to **LEVVS**, eldest sonne of the said King, notwithstanding that they both were very young: whereupon in Iuly in the yeare 1515. a meeting and Councell was appointed to be held in *Viena* in *Austrich*, whither came **SIGISMUND** King of *Poland*, **LADISLAUS** King of *Hungarie* and *Bohemia*, with his sonne **LEVVS**, the Emperour, the Dukes of *Bauiere*, and many other Princes of *Germany*, where the said **LEVVS** Prince of *Hungarie* was betrothed to marrie the Emperours niece: and it was also agreed, that the Lord **FERDINAND** of *Castile*, should marrie with his sister **ANNE**, which afterwards tooke effect; who reigned in those kingdomes after the decease of his brother in law **LEVVS**; which mariages were accomplished after the Emperours decease, in the yeare 1521. The French King **FRANCIS** knowing the Emperour to be inclined in peace, to feasting and banquetting; and hauing a little before confirmed a peace with *England*, and with the Venecians, as he had also done the like with the same Emperour; within short space after he leuied a very great armie of *Germanes*, and Lantzknights, with a determination to inuade the Duchie of *Milan*; and being with his armie past the Alpes, neere to *Turin*, hee ioyned with his Vncle **CHARLES** Duke of *Sauoy*; and then comming to *Berselli*, thither came 2000. souldiers sent him by the *Genoies*, at the request of the Lord **OCTAVIAN** **FREGOSO** their Duke; from thence hee went to *Nouarra*, which yeelded without assault; and passing forwards towards *Milan*, and knowing that the Duke had an armie of *Swissers* sent him by the Emperour; and that hee intended to giue him battaile, he sought to haue corrupted the *Swissers* with money, as King **LEVVS** did when he took the said Dukes Father; but failing thereof (for it was reuealed to his enemies) hee fought with them betweene *Milan* and *Marinian*, neere to a village called *Saint BRIGETS*: the battaile was so fiercelie fought, that before any signe of victorie, they were fighting ouertaken by the night, which was so darke, the moone being downe, that when they left fighting, neither partie knew how to retire, and so they stood all the night armed, expecting the day; which being come they againe renewed the battaile: at which time, a rumour was sored ouer the campe, that the Lord **BARTHOLOMEVV D'ALVIANO** was at hand with the Venecian armie, and that he had marched all the night, to come to ioyne with the French King: whereupon the *Swissers* fearing so great succors, fled, and the victorie remaining to the French King: a most cruell slaughter was made of the poore *Swissers*. The King hauing obtained so notable a victorie; Duke **MAXIMILIAN** abandoning the citie of *Milan*, withdrew himselfe into the castle; whereupon the citie yeelded to the King, and the other cities did the like. The Duke being besieged and assaulted in the castell, (notwithstanding that the Emperour certified him that he would speedily send him releefe) compounding with the French King for a certaine somme of money, which the king promised to giue him yearly, he resigned to him the title and state of *Milan*; and so putting himselfe into the Kings power, he went into *France*, where he afterwards dyed. The French king hereupon was receiued into *Milan*, and into all the other cities without resistance; wherewith the Emperour being much displeased, made preparation for his comming into *Italy*: whereof the King standing in some doubt, sought to enter into a league with Pope **LEO**; who seeing him victorious was glad of the match; and appointing to meete him in *Bologna*, the league was confirmed; which being ended, the King returning into *France* left the Duke

The battaile of  
Mavian.

The French  
King in posses-  
sion of the Du-  
chy of Milan.

of

of *Bourbon* with his armie in the state of *Milan*. At this time vpon the five and twentieth day of Ianuary in the yeare 1516, dyed King **FERDINAND** in *Madril* neere to *Guadalupe* in *Spaine*; and to the gouernment of those kingdomes, was called **CHARLES**, (who was afterwards Emperour, being then but sixtene yeeres old) who went thither the yeere following. The Duchy of *Milan* being conquered by the French King, in such manner as is aforesaid, within few dayes after the Emperour **MAXIMILIAN** by the way of *Verona*, came into *Italy* with so flourishing an armie, that he would haue bin glad to haue met the French King: and the Duke of *Bourbon* in *Lombardy* not daring to keepe the field against him, shut vp himselfe in *Milan*: and the Emperour finding no resistance, held on his way vntill he came before the citie, and besieged it: which together with all the rest had bene soone recouered, if he could haue staied in the countrey; but the treasure and reuenues of this great Captaine, were not sufficient to maintaine the warres which he vnderooke, and to pay the ordinarie troupes which he should neede therein: which was the occasion that he oftentimes let passe great matters. Besides this, **LADISLAUS** King of *Hungarie* falling sicke and dying, there arose after his decease, such discord, that to establish peace in that kingdome, and for the defence thereof against the Turks, the Emperour was sent for; for **LEVVS**, sonne of the deceased King, was but a child of little more then thirteen yeeres old: wherefore he being constrained to leaue the warres of *Milan*, and to returne into *Germany*, the French King continued in possession of that Duchy: vntill that afterwards, all that happened which you shall heare.

The Emperour vpon so vrgent occasion being come into *Germany*, could hardlie keepe the peace in *Hungarie*: the occasion whereof was, for that King **LADISLAUS**: before his death nominated for tutors and gouernours for his son, in the kingdoms of *Hungarie*, and *Bohemia*, the Emperour **MAXIMILIAN**, and his owne brother **SIGISMUND**, King of *Poland*: wherewith the Hungars were verie much discontent, for they stood in feare that these two Princes would haue attained to haue had those kingdomes to themselves. But as the Emperours intent was but for the good of the countrey, so he took no so great care to haue the gouernment, as he did that those Kingdomes should be gouerned with equitie, and for the defence of *Hungarie* against the Turke, which was put in effect so long as he liued: for he gaue the gouernment to certaine great personages of those kingdomes: but not without great difficultie and trouble; which plainlie appeared, by the calamities which ensued in those kingdomes after his decease. At this time also it behoued the Emperour to take order for the going of his nephew **CHARLES** King of *Spaine* into his countrey; by reason whereof, he was constrained to giue care to a new peace motioned by the French King, which was concluded; and it was also decreed, that **CHARLES** should take to wife the daughter of King **LEVVS**. This friendship and alliance being made (although the mariage tooke no effect) King **CHARLES** taking shipping Tayled into *Spaine*, where he arriued the nineteenth of September, in the yeare 1517. And so peace being betweenthe Emperour and the French King; and generally through all Christendome, he spent the rest of his time in ministring iustice, and reforming the lawes and customes of the Empire; and so liuing in peace and good estate, he was taken with a *Dysenteria*, which bereaued him of his life vpon the twelfth day of Ianuary, in the yeare of our Lord 1519, being of the age of nine and fiftie yeeres (as saith **CVSPINIAN**) and after others, threescore and three, and in the five and twentieth yeare of his raigne.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Maximilian.

Cccc 3

Thus

Thus haue I briefly past ouer the great actes of this Emperour, (for as I said in the beginning of his life) if I should at large haue described his prowes and excellencie, I should haue bene driuen to haue run a long race, and haue needed an excellent wit and much eloquence, whereof I know my selfe as naked and destitute, as this Prince was abundant in all vertue: for he was so bountifull, that if he had bene Lord of all the rents and reuenues of the world, hee would haue needed them, considering his gifts and expences; according to the greatnes of his mind; and notwithstanding that what hee had was great, yet was it euer too little in regard of his liberalitie. He was endued with such magnanimitie, that he neuer was seene to be timorous, what daunger soeuer he were in; and therewith was one of the most redoubted Princes in the world: he was very deuout, and as he liued so he dyed, he was of a most singular wit, and sound iudgment, as well in peace as in warre: and notwithstanding that he was well able to counsell others, yet he neuer disdained to aske and take counsell of such as he thought loued him, and were able to giue him counsell. And as he loued learning, and learned men, so he gaue great gifts and pensions to such as were well scene in the Liberall Sciences: and it grieued him much that he had not in his youth been instructed in good letters, and in the pure elegant Latine tongue; for as he had a barbarous schoolmaster, so such was that which he learned of him; yet he afterwards, hauing many learned men in his court, came to the knowledge of many things. He was naturallie inclined to poesy, so as he compiled a notable peece of worke in his owne vulgar tongue, of the many dangers wherein he had been, and another booke called the price of honour. Besides his excellent wit, he was of a wonderfull memorie, for he which had once talked and conferred with him about any busines, although in long time after he came not into his presence, yet so soone as he should see him he would know him. He was so honest and so bashful as was strange, for he neuer consented that any should see him naked; neither did hee at any time take the vrinall to make water, in the presence of any his Chamberlaine or Page, or any such like thing: neither would he permit that any should see his vrine, except some few very excellent Phisitions. He was of an excellent and strong complexion, and was seldome sicke, and then but lightly; whereto this was a great help in that he was very temperate in his diet; yet he kept a very bountifull table; and did take his meate so neat and comely that it was a pleasure to behold him. He could so well endure trauaile, that heate, cold, hungar, thirst, or any other want or discommoditie did little annoy him. He much exercised his person in bearing armes, especially at Tilt and Tourney, besides the warres and batailles wherein he fought in person; and aboue all he was exceeding gentle and courteous in his behauiour towards Princes, and towards all his seruants and familiars; and was so friendly to those which had to deale with him, that with his lookes and countenance hee wonne their hearts, which put them out of the feare and bashfulness wherein they were, by reason of his presence: for which excellencies and other which I leaue to write, he attained to bee the most honoured Prince of his time, and was both obeyed and beloued through the whole Empire: and saw all his sonnes and nephewes Lords of the greatest part of Christendome. After his death CHARLES the fifth was chosen Emperour, whose great warres and acts require a more eloquent and perfect writer.

THE



# THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE FIFTH OF THAT NAME, AND CXV. ROMANE EMPEROVR.



Will not take very much paine in writing the life of CHARLES the fifth, for as much as his acts are fresh in memory; and also for that FRANCIS GVICCIARDIN, a graue writer, and PAVLVVS IOVIVS, in their histories write of him at large; and in a manner all the writers of our time, treat of the actions of this Emperour, to which, I referre the reader, wherein he may fully vnderstand the particulars. The Emperour CHARLES then was by his Fathers side, of the royall and Imperiall house of *Austrich*; and by his mother he descended from the auncient Kings of *Spaine*, and his Grandmother by his father, was of the house of *France*, in this manner. CHARLES the fifth King of *France*, surnamed the wise, gaue the countrey of *Burgundy* to his yonger brother PHILIP: from PHILIP which had to wife the only daughter of LEVVES Earle of *Flanders*, descended IOHN, who was father to PHILIP which gat CHARLES the hardy, Duke of *Burgundy*; whose warres with LEVVES the eleuenth, king of *France*, are written by PHILIP DE COMINES Lord of *Argenton*. This CHARLES being slaine at the battaile of *Nancy*, left his onely daughter the Lady MARY heire to his whole estate; which MARY was married to MAXIMILIAN the Emperour, father to PHILIP; which PHILIP tooke to wife the Lady IOANE, daughter of the King of *Castile*, and *Arragon*, and

Cccc 4

by

*The dissent of  
the Emperour  
Charles the  
fifth.*

by her had the Emperour CHARLES the fifth. And forasmuch as FERDINAND King of *Castile* had neuer a sonne, he adopted his sonne in law PHILIP for his sonne, who after the decease of his father in law FERDINAND, became King of *Spaine*: and by these meanes, the house of *Austrich* obtained the dominions of *Burgundie*, *Flanders*, and *Spaine*. As for his mother, her Grandfather FERDINAND King of *Spaine*, had to wife the Lady ISABEL, the onely daughter of JOHN the second, King of *Spaine*, and after the conquest of *Naples*, he gat by her, JOHN, ISABEL, IOANE, MARY and KATHERINE; but JOHN and ISABEL dying without issue, the succession of the kingdome, by the lawes of *Spaine*, came to IOANE, as to the eldest of them; but *Austrich* by the diuision of the inheritance, came to FERDINAND brother to CHARLES the fifth, which FERDINAND was afterwards Emperour also, and father of the Emperour MAXIMILIAN the second. CHARLES was borne in *Gaunt*, a citie in *Flanders*, vpon Saint MATTHIAS day, being the foure and twentieth of Februarie in the yeere 1500. which day was noted to be euer very fortunate vnto him; considering that vpon that day many accidents happened to him in sundrie parts of the world; and he obtained vpon that day honorable victories, as by his actions, written by GVICCIARDIN, and IOVIVS, plainly appeareth. Being come to yeeres of discretion, although but a youth (for his father dying left him but sixteene yeeres old) he was sent to *Mecklin*, a citie in *Brabant*, to schoole, his Masters name was ADRIAN of *Florence*, then whom, none in all that prouince was more famous, for many qualities, as the issue of his life made manifest; for he became a Cardinall, and afterwards being made Pope, after the death of LEO the tenth, was called ADRIAN the sixth. But in his exercise of armes he was disciplined by CHARLES CEVRIO, a valiant man at armes in that age. It seemeth that he profited little in learning, yet he attained to the Spanish, Dutch, and French tongues, the Latin tongue he vnderstoode somewhat grossely. Three bookes onely he loued to reade, which he caused to be translated into his owne vulgar tongue, of which, one was the institution of a ciuill life, which was the courtiour of the Earle BALTASAR DE CASTILLON; the other was of matters of state, which was the Prince, with the discourse of MACHIAVEL: the third was the order of Knighthood, which was the historie of POLIIVS. But he most delighted in armes, which besides religion, are the foundation of kingdomes; and he more esteemed the warres then any man in the world. He was skilfull in the managing of Artillery, and very expert in the marshalling of an armie, and lodged the same very skilfully, and knew all the meanes and deuices how to batter and assault a citie: so as all his attempts, or the greatest part which he undertooke, might well haue good successe. The constitution of his body, was neither fat nor grosse, but of a gallant proportion and strongly sinued; his hands were great and strong, fit to weld weapons, and to manage armes, his legges were faire, straight, and of a due proportion, which chiefly appeared when he was on horsebacke; for he roade with such maiestie when he was armed, and managed his horse so gallantly, that it seemed that no gallanter Knight could be found or more fit to beare armes then himselfe. He was of a faire complexion, with cleere azure eies, which (although he were angrie) were not terrible, but accommodated with a noble bashfulness, and manly modestie. He was somewhat hooke nosed, after the manner of the auncient Kings of *Persia*, which was a signe of the greatnes of his minde. He had a long chinne, and a yellow beard; his haire was yellow of the colour of gold, after the vse of the auncient

The birth of  
the Emperour  
Charles.  
Anno dom.  
1500.

auncient Emperours of *Rome*. It was thought by those which were wise, that neuer man was of a better constitution, better aduised, or of riper iudgement then he: for with a certaine motion which accompanied his speeches, he made men to wonder at his proceedings. He was very curteous in discourse, but double; so as his speeches might haue diuers constructions; and so he euer saued himselfe by the interpretation, fitting it to his purpose; alleaging that his meaning was to be vnderstoode, in this, and this manner. He was neuer throughly angrie, but telling the truth, and grounding his speeches vpon reason, he satisfied the hearers. He was neuer ouer-hastie in his answeres, for he first consulted, and then concluded; but the conclusion must depend of him onely. He made great account of those which might either pleasure, or annoy him; but made no shew thereof in outward apparence, to the end to maintaine his reputation in greatness. He was neither bloudie nor vindicative vpon his enemies, but determined of them without destroying them. He seldome punished his seruants and officers, but vpheld them in their defects. And although that by his enemies he was noted of crueltie, in the matters of *Rome*, and in the death of the children of *France*, yet was he gentle and pitifull, and they of malice slaunder him wrongfully. As for his friends which were made great by him, hee constantly maintained them, and would not endure to heare them ill spoken of; giuing more credit to his owne iudgement then to other mens reports; reuting them to speake of enuie or malice. He was an earnest defender of his Ambassadors, notwithstanding that they did ought that were not tollerable; for he loued to haue good intelligence, and knew all that passed in all parts of the world. He vsed to discourse of his affaires the space of foure or fise houres together, and wrote downe the reasons *pro & contra*, the better to consider thereof; and his arguments were so well compounded, and all of one poize, that who so vnderstood the beginning of the matter, might presently comprehend the end thereof. He well knew the naturall inclination of those Princes with whom he had to deale, and spent much money to haue full notice of them; by reason whereof, hee negociated with them, with liuely reasons and found arguments, and not with generalities; and had his busines, in all parts in a readines, attending opportunitie and fit occasion to put them in execution: hence it grew, that in regard of his affaires, he was mortified in all his pleasures: concerning the lawes, he was iust, and made profession to maintaine and hold his word, and to preferre his honour before all things in the world; wherefore whosoever desired to get his fauour, was to vse the meanes of honour, and of modestie, with shew of religion: whereto he was somuch addicted, that hee communicated foure times in the yeere. He was very patient in hearing causes, and gaue audience aswell to the little as the great, with much attention: and notwithstanding that he was slow to resolute of his owne affaires, aswell as of other mens; yet he concluded very prudently. But he that will blame him may say, that he was remisse and erre-solute; and he that will commend him may affirme, that hee was well aduised, and polike. Touching his liberalitie, he was held rather for niggardly & sparing, then bountifull; especially towards his seruants, which he entertained with hope many yeeres; but when he did rewarde, if enough were enough, he gaue enough; for he had great meanes to giue, of the three orders of Knighthood which are in *Spaine*, besides Bishopricks, Abbeyes, titles, offices, and other reuenues; neuertheless, it seemed that in giuing he much more fauored the Flemmings then the Spaniards, or Italians. He was bountifull to such Captaines as serued him in the

the warres, and to such as he loued; but it came but slowly. He made shew to loue peace, and not to desire warres; but when he was prouoked thereto. Briefly, he gaue example for all to follow, and abstained from all such vices as might staine his conscience, or good name. He effected great matters by negociation, wherein he was more then in armes; notwithstanding that in armes he was inuincible and peerelesse. He rose late in the morning, and after that he was readie (clad in no better then in silke, or cloath, close made, more like a priuate gentleman then a great Lord, but yet very neatly) he heard a priuate Masse for the soule of the Emperesse; and then gaue audience and dispatched much busines; then going out of his chamber, he heard another Masse openly in a Chappell, which being ended, he went to dinner: whereupon they vsed this prouerbe in his court, from Masse to messe. He was a great feeder, and did eate such things as did breede grosse and viscous humours, whereof proceeded the Gowte, and the Pissicke; which infirmities in his later daies greatly tormented him, especially the Gowte; which was of so maligne condition, that it sent the vapour thereof from the stomacke into the head, which put him often in daunger of his life, which he assured himselfe could not be long: but yet when he was well, he made so small reckoning of the Physitions, as though he should neuer be sicke againe. He did eate little at night, thinking to make amends for disordring himselfe at noone. After dinner he gaue audience, and sometime retiring himselfe into some secret place, he passed the time in drawing the plot of some fortresse, or other edifice; but most commonly he vsed to iest with a Polonian dwarfe which he had, or with one ADRIANA groome of his chamber; and often with the Baron of *Montfalcon* Steward of his house, in whose companie he tooke especiall delight, for his readie and quicke wit. He sometimes rode on hunting, but not with aboue eight or tenne horse at the most, and returned oftentimes with a brace of staggess, or wilde boares. And sometimes he vsed to shoote at Pigeons, at Choughs, and such like birds; and in all these his disports he spent not an hundred crownes in the yeere; so much did he applie himselfe to matters of importance. He vsed the like sparing in cladding his court, in his stable, in the furniture of his house, and such other ornaments; in somuch that if in trussing himselfe a poynt brake, he would tie it together, & keepe it, for not to lose so much time as till another were fetcht. His sparing was such, that there was no man that spent tenne crownes by the yeere, but spent more then he: but for other expences, passing thorough other mens hands, he did as other Princes doe, which referre the same to other mens trust; yet he vsed al possible diligence to vnderstand euery particular, and would know how his money was issued, euen to a crowne; so carefull was he for what was his. The vertues and faire conditions of this Prince, together with his power, excelling al the Princes of his time, moued the Electors in *Germany* to create him Emperour. In the yeere 1530, being of the age of thirtie yeeres, he was crowned in *Bologna* by Pope CLEMENT the seuenth; his coronation was most stately, as well for the prouision of most rich pompe, as for the great concourse of people and great Lords which came to see so solemne ceremonies. And this was the more to be noted, in that the Emperour (moued by his naturall clemencie) pardoning the Duke of *Milan* all such offences as were laid to his charge, by ANTHONY DE LEVA, and the Emperours other officers, he restored him to his Dukedome, to the great contentment of all the Princes of *Italy*, which greatly doubted that he would haue made himselfe Monarch thereof. The ceremonies at his coronation were very long, but by so much the more excellent in this Emperour,

Charles the  
fifth chosen  
Emperour, and  
crowned in Bo-  
logna by Pope  
Clement the  
seuenth.

perour, in somuch as hee before this, had abated the haughtie pride of the Pope, and taken the French King prisoner before *Pavia*; by reason whereof, he became feared of all the world, through the felicitie of his high fortune. He was also the more honorable, for that vnder his great name new *Spaine* was found; whereby it seemed that God fauouring him in all parts, his glorie could not be contained in this old world, but must haue an exhalation, and open another new world; not without the wonder of these our times, seeing that therein are found so many countries, nations and cities, which to the glory of Iesus Christ are sealed with the characters of his holy baptism. After the Emperour had intelligence of his election, comming into *Germany* and being crowned in *Aken*, he held a Diet or Councell in *Wormes*; whither was summoned to appeare MARTIN LUTHER; who three yeeres before had preached and written. In this Councell the Emperour ordained that all LUTHERS bookes should be burnt; and with his owne hand he wrote a decree against him, thereby inhibiting all the Princes of *Germany*, neither to relieue him, neither to giue eare to him; and therewithall he banished him from his court, and from all the cities of the Empire. And whilest he was busied hereabouts, he was aduertised, that in *Spaine* was made a great insurrection by reason of his absence; but he writing to the Cardinall ADRIAN, who had bin his schoolmaster, and to the Admirall of *Castile*, those tumults were pacified: then he resolved to take armes against the King of *France*, who was his greatest competitor in his election to the Empire; and making a league against him with Pope LEON the tenth, (vnder pretext of restoring FRANCIS SPORCE to the Duchy of *Milan*) hee recovered the citie of *Turnay* in *Flaunders*, which the French had possessed many yeeres before. But Pope LEON dying, he made a confederacie with Pope ADRIAN who had bin his schoolmaster, and making wars against the French in *Lombardy*, and entring into a league with the King of *England*, he returning to visit *Spaine*, pardoned the sedicious of that prouince, where he with great curtesie entertained FRANCIS CORTES, who for him had discovered the West *Indies*: and then gaue order that the Iles of *Moluccas* should be sought out, and to that effect came to an agreement with the King of *Portugall*, concerning the same discouery. Then returning to the affaires of *Italy*, he made a league with those potentates, in regard of restoring the Duke of *Burbon* into *Italy*, to the reliefe of ANTHONY DE LEVA, who was besieged in *Pavia*; who comming to blowes with the French, FRANCIS the French King was there taken prisoner, together with al the principall Noblemen of his court. The Emperour being very ioyfull thereof, made the King to be brought to *Madrid*; who being there sore sicke, the Emperour going to visit him perswaded him to take it in good part: for he vnderstood by letters from the Marquis of *Piscara*, that all Christendome were ioyned in league against him for detaining the French King. After a new composition made, giuing his sister ELEANOR to wife to the French King, he in consideration of two millions of gold, set him at libertie: and then hee himselfe taking to wife the daughter of the King of *Portugall*, with whom he was at variance for the Iles of *Moluccas*, to whom he afterwards morgaged the same Ilands for a certaine summe of money, celebrated his nuptials in *Seul*, and going with his wife to *Granada*, he had intelligence of a league made against him, by the Princes of *Italy*, and the French King after his deliuerie out of prison: wherewith being highly offended, and hauing made his complaint to sundrie Ambassadors, he provided for the warres;

A decree made  
by the Empe-  
rour against  
Martin Luther  
in the Councell  
at Wormes,  
whereby Lu-  
ther was ba-  
nished the Em-  
pire.

warres; and of his armie in *Italy*, made the Duke of *Bourbon* Generall, who perceiuing how much Pope CLEMENT did crosse the Emperour, hauing led his armie to *Rome*, and being there slaine, his armie sackt the citie. But after that the Pope (who had retired himselfe to a strong castle) was at libertie, and that the Emperour had accepted the challenge to fight in single combat with the French King, and had established the Prince of *Orange* for his Viceroy in *Naples*, he made peace with all Christian Princes. And thence being come into *Italy*, he was solemnly crowned in *Bologna*, by the hands of Pope CLEMENT the seuenth; and the Duchie of *Milan* being restored to FRANCIS SFOURCE, who through suspicion of rebellion had been in disgrace with him, he at the Popes entreatie sent the Prince of *Orange* to the enterprise of *Florence*, which being taken, he frankly bestowed the same vpon the house of MEDICIS. And being returned into *Germany*, he in *Augsbourg* made his brother FERDINAND to be crowned King of the Romanes: and there in the Diet discouering to the Princes the comming of the Turke into *Hungary*, he resolved to goe against the Turke to *Viena*, where, hauing offered to giue him battaile, the Turke basely, to the Emperours great honour, fled out of the countrie. Shortly after he sent his fleet vnder the conduct of ANDREW DORIA, to the reliefe of *Corone*, in the behalfe of the Greekes against the Turkes. And after that he had tamed the Lantzgraue, and punished the Anabaptists, he went to the enterprise of *Tunis*, to the end to restore the expelled King thereof. And *Goletta* being taken, he ouerthrew BARBAROSSA, and set two and twentie thousand captiues at libertie. The King of *Tunis* being restored, he returned into *Italy*, and hauing visited *Naples* and *Rome*, he, contrarie to the opinion of his Captaines, invaded the French King in *Provence*: but being able to performe nought there, he tooke a truce with the King; and speaking with him and with the Pope together at *Nizza*, he returned into *Spaine*. And a league being made with the Pope and the Venecians against the Turke, they came to *Prevesa*, where the fleet (hauing done nothing) was discharged. Departing from *Spaine*, and being come to *Paris*, he being there highly feasted by the King, went thence into *Flanders* to punish the Gantois. But forasmuch as he according to his promise would not inuest the Duke of *Orleance* in the Duchie of *Milan*, they two againe fell out: but the matter being pacified, he attempted *Algier*, where hauing infortunate successe, he againe returned into *Spaine*, where he proclaimed the Duke of *Cleue* rebell. And then making a confederacie with the King of *England*, and hauing made the Spaniards sweare allegiance to his sonne PHILIP, he went against the said Duke. After which enterprise being returned into *Italy*, where he spake with the Pope at *Bussetto*; and afterwards in *Germany* hauing taken *Dura*, appertaining to the Duke of *Cleue*, from whom he had bereaued and againe restored to him his estate, giuing him a generall pardon, and bending his forces against *France*, he besieged *Landres*. But being retired to *Cambray*, and hauing married his sonne PHILIP to MARY daughter of the King of *Portugall*, and againe invaded *France*, taken *Landres*, and put the Parisiens in extreme feare, hee made peace with King FRANCIS. In the meane time, warre was made against him by those Germane Princes which fauoured LUTHERS opinion; against which hauing leuied a mightie armie, and set vpon his enemies, he ouerthrew them: and hauing tamed many Princes and cities, he conuerted his armes against Duke JOHN FREDERICK, whom (hauing past the riuer *Albis*) he encountred in a wood, wherein he miraculously ouerthrew him. And besieging *Wittenbergh*, he condemned the Duke to die, whom he for his wiues sake hauing pardoned, and

and pacified matters in *Germany*, he vndertooke the enterprise of *Africa*. Then making a league with Pope LVI the third, to the end to expell the French out of *Italy*, warres arose betweene him and MAURICE Duke of *Saxony*, for the which, withdrawing himselfe to *Villaco*, and hauing made all sure that the Venecians should not molest him, he leuied a mightie armie: and being returned into *Germany*, and hauing daunted the Princes thereof, he besieged *Metz*. But finding that fortune began to leaue him, after that he had married his sonne PHILIP to MARY Queene of *England*, he renounced to him the kingdome of *Naples*. And finding himselfe tormented with the Gowt, he renounced to him all his kingdomes, and to his brother FERDINAND the Empire. And hauing resolved to giue ouer the cares of this world, he returned into *Spaine*, where (his chiefeest care being for his soule) he liued accompanied by certaine Friers two yeeres after, and died with all the orders of their Church. But forasmuch as the renunciation which he made was one of the most notable matters that haue happened in the world, I will relate the same somewhat the more at large. I say then that it gaue the world great occasion to discourse of the reasons that might moue him to depriue himselfe of so high estate. Some say that his infirmitie being very grievous, and he foreseeing that it would make an end of him, was the cause mouing him to that resolution. Others say, that he did it for anger to see himselfe bearded and ouer matcht by HENRY the French King. And others say, that he to auoide the crosse fortune, which (by the relation of certaine Astrologians) he knew would befall him, he (with great iudgement) resolved to retire himselfe, before it should be of power by any meanes to obscure the brightnes of that glorie, which he with so much trauaile had obtained. There were some also which said, that fortune began to shew him an angrie countenance when he made his retire to *Villaco*, or when he set him downe before *Metz*. In such sort that some commending, and others reproving this his resolution, all iudge diuersly of him. But how soeuer it was, his sonne PHILIP departing out of *England* went into *Flanders* to see his father, who being resolved to put in execution what he before had protested, first made his sonne chiefe of the Order of the golden Fleece. And hauing done this in the morning, in the after noone he solemnly renounced & gaue vnto him *Flanders*, with all the state, right and title to the Duchie of *Burgundie*, which he did in the presence of the said King, of the Queene Regent, of the Knights of his Order, and of all the states of the countrie, which were called and assembled together in *Brussels* expressly to that effect. But forasmuch as this was a ceremonie seldom seene, and therefore very notable, I will at large relate the same.

I say then that the greatest part of this companie being assembled in the Hall of the Imperiall palace, thither came CHARLES the Emperour, accompanied by his sonne the King, the Regent Queene MARY, the Duke of *Saxony*, and many other great Lords; and being set, he commanded the King, the Queene, and some other the most principall to sit also. Which being done, a Counsellor of estate, whose name was BRUSSEL, in the behalfe of the Emperour, making an Oration, in summe shewed that the Emperour being sickly, and therefore vnable in person to endure trauaile as in time past he had done, and being now desirous to returne to see his kingdomes of *Spaine*, where the aire was more agreeable with his health, he had determined to transpore and renounce the countries of *Flanders* to his sonne the King of *England*, who was able to sustaine the charge, and was fit with loue and equitie to gouerne the same. The Counsellor hauing ended his speech, the Emperour taking the word, continued the discourse, with the helpe

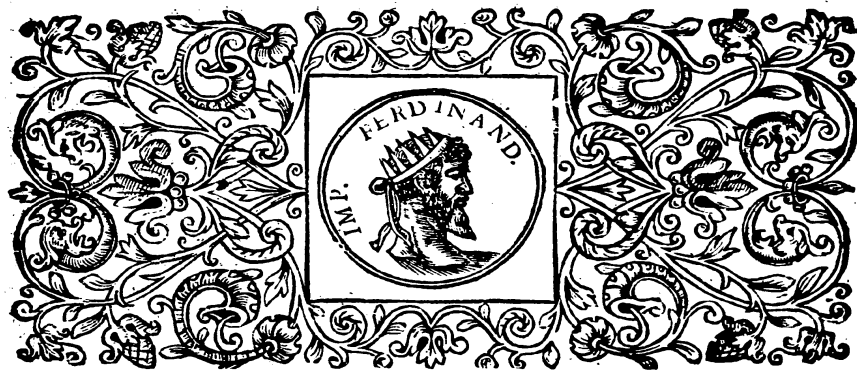
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The renunciation made by the Emperour Charles of all his estates.

of a little memoriall which he had in his hand, containing the principall points of what he had to say. He summarily recited the voyages, and all the enterprises of greatest importance, which he after the yeere 1517. that he departing *Flanders* went for *Spaine*, for the benefit of the common-wealth (as he said) he had vnder-taken; repeating part of what the Counsellor had before declared; and concluding that he of force was constrained to renounce *Flanders* to his sonne, for that he was not able to gouerne the same as in former time vntill then he had done; wherein he said, that (as he thought) he had discharged his conscience: but if in ought he had swarued, he sware by his faith it proceeded not of will, but vniwittingly, for which he desired to be held excused; praying first to God, and then requesting his sonne to recompence the same. These speeches ended, he beginning to weepe made the greatest part of the assistance to weepe for companie. In the meane time, the King kneeling downe before his father humbly said to him, that he was vnworthie such fauour, neuertheless sith it was his Maiesties pleasure, he in the highest degree thanking him, accepted the charge, protesting to take care in such manner to gouerne the people with iustice, that he hoped they should be contented with him, reseruing to shew (by his deedes) the loue which he bare them; and turning to the Concistorie he said in French: I would my Lords that my skill in this language were more then it is, to the end that I might the better make you vnderstand what affection I beare you: but foras much as I cannot doe it so well as is requisite, the Bishop of *Arras* shal speake for me. The which Bishop taking the word openly deliuered his minde. After him Doctor *Iacob Masius* a very eloquent man and of the Kings Counsell, who had the generall charge of the States of the Netherlands prouinces, speaking for them, said in this manner: These Lords, gracious Soueraigne, for the great affection and fidelitie which they beare your sacred Maiestie, doe not onely marueile, but are much grieved, sith they haue serued the same with such loue and faith as is not vnknowne, that it should now in so turbulent times in such manner thus abandon them. Neuertheless, sith it is your Maiesties pleasure, and that the same holdeth it expedient, they are hertoein recomforted, in that your Maiestie hath put them into the hands of the most soueraigne King your sonne, to whom, notwithstanding that they are oppressed with warres, they will at all times, and in all occasions shew themselves most deuout and affectionate vassals, prest with bodie and goods to doe him seruice. Then the Queene standing vp reuerently said to the Emperor, that she had euer endeuoured to gouerne those countries in such manner, as she thought most expedient for his Maiesties benefit and the publike good; but if that peradventure according to his desire, and her good meaning, she had not attained thereto, she humbly besought his Maiestie to pardon her. To whom the Emperor, with both his hand and his countenance, graciously made signe to be well pleased. And then she turning her selfe towards the States, vsed (in a manner) the same words, and the same ceremonies which she had vsed to the Emperor. Then Doctor *Masius* humbly answering her, commended her gouernment; and in the name of them all gaue her great thanks. Not long after continuing in his determination, he gaue and resigned in *Brussels*, in the presence of the Regents, Secretaries, and his others officers of those prouinces, vnto the aforesaid King *Philip*, the kingdomes of *Spaine*, of *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, *Maiorica*, *Minorica*, together with the new countries of the *Indies*, and new world and all other parts appertaining to, or depending of the Crowne of *Spaine*; reseruing onely some reuenues, for the maintaining of himselfe and his familie reduced to a small

small number of seruants. Besides this, before his departure from *Flanders* for *Spaine*, he not onely gaue to his brother *Ferdinand* King of the Romanes full and absolute power and authoritie to gouerne the Empire for him as his Lieutenant, but he also freely renounced to him the title, scepter, and dignitie of Emperour, giuing him place (vsing his owne words) as if his person had been dead and deceased; to as he voluntarily depriued himselfe of his Monarchie. A thing (truly) worthie consideration, and from the time of the Emperour *Lothary* in so many ages vntill this time neuer happened in any so great and so mightie a Christian Prince. As well saith *Leues Gvicciardin* in his Commentaries, out of which we haue drawne this discourse, as from a man who liuing in *Antwerpe*, and being desirous of the truth, hath recounted what he did vnderstand, and (as a man may say) did see.

## THE LIFE OF FERDINAND, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND CXVI. ROMANE EMPEROVR.



### THE ARGUMENT.

**H**is present life of the Emperour Ferdinand, containeth his countrey, his parentage, his education, and where he was brought up; how he became Lord of *Austrich*, *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, and *Transilvania*; his warres with *Iohn Sepusius*, the taking of *Buda*, with the siege of *Viena*; when he was created King of the Romanes, his agreement made with the said *Iohn*, the difference betwene *Frier George* and him; the often coming of *Soliman* into *Hungary*; the Insurrections in *Germany* against the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, the displeasure of *Pope Paul* the fourth, the creating of *Maximilian* for King of the Romanes, his conuersations and behaviour, and the children which he had by his wife *Anne*, sister to *Leues* King of *Hungary*.

**A**mong the many townes worthie respect, in the kingdome of *Toledo* in *Spaine*, it is certaine (as it appeareth by the Chronicles thereof) that *Alcala Denara* in ancient time, euer hath been, and still is, one of the chiefe

The birth of  
Ferdinand,  
when, and who  
was his father.

This Isabell to-  
gether with her  
husband Fer-  
dinand draue  
the Moores out  
of Granada an-  
no dom. 1497.

chiefe, wherein besides the men of singular valour which in time past haue liued therein, in the yeere of the incarnation of the sonne of God 1503, vpon the tenth day of May, in the same yeere; FERDINAND of *Austrich* of that name the first Emperour of the West, was borne; whose father was PHILIP the first of that name King of *Castile*, and sonne of the Emperour MAXIMILIAN; his mother was IOANE, daughter of FERDINAND and ISABEL King and Queene of *Spaine*, who by reason of the vnexpected suddaine death of his father (which happened in the yeere 1506) remaining vnder the tutele of his Grandfather FERDINAND (commonly called the Catholike) was by him (by meanes of the excellencie of his wit, besides the exercise of armes) carefully instructed in diuers languages; principally in the puritie of the Latin tongue, wherein, in short space he profited so much, that to the great admiration of all men, he proued no lesse a most actiue Knight in armes, then a perfect Orator in the Latin, Dutch, Spanissh, Italian, Hungarish and Bohemian tongues; so as all men did prognosticate him to proue a Prince of singular valour: and this made him the more accounted of, for that by all men generally which knew them, he was likened to FERDINAND the third, who by force of armes tooke *Seuil* from the Moores, from whom by his mother, he descended. That FERDINAND for his many vertues, was no lesse numbred amongst the blessed, then reputed happy amongst all the Kings of *Spaine*, for being father of King ALONSO, which for his rare knowledge in Sciences, was surnamed the Sage: who in the long schisme of the Empire, in the yeere 1258, being by the greatest part of the Princes Electors of the Empire chosen Emperour; by the perswasion of Pope GREGORY the tenth, for the common quietnes of Christendome, voluntarily resigned, and gaue vp his right thereto, after that he had enioyed the name of Emperour the space of sixteen yeeres, approouing and ratifying the successiue election of RUDOLPH the first of that name, from whom from father to sonne this FERDINAND lineally descended.

This FERDINAND being brought vp in *Spaine*, vnder the Catholike King, was for his rare qualities so much beloued by the Spaniards, that his brother CHARLES in the yeere 1520. remaining (through the death of his Grandfather FERDINAND, which happened in the yeere 1516.) heire generall of the kingdomes of *Spaine*, of both the *Secilies*, of the *West Indies*, of *Burgundie*, and *Austrich*; and in the yeere 1519. through the death of his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN, chosen to weare the Imperiall Diadem, was by those which (tumultuously mutinying vnder the name of the holy assembly) rebelled against his brother CHARLES, by reason of the vnmeasurable oppressions laid vpon them by his polling officers, instantly requested and entreated to make himselfe King of *Spaine*; whereto not consenting, (much more esteeming the preservation of his faith, by refusing those estates, then the greatnes of them, by violating the same to his eternall infamie) with singular integritie of minde, he not onely refused their offer, but vsed all meanes possible to retaine those kingdomes in his brothers subiection: for which, he was euer after entirely beloued by him. Who returning into *Spaine* in the yeere 1529. not onely reconfirmed vnto him, the donation of the Archduchy of *Austrich* (the ancient patrimonie of their family) made ouer to him by testament, by their Grandfather MAXIMILIAN, by his brother CHARLES his consent, to whom as to the eldest sonne it did appertaine; but he also freely gaue him the dominion of *Stiria*, and *Carinthia*, with the Counties of *Tirol*, *Habsburge*, and *Hassia*: hauing first in the Diet or Councell

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at *Wormes*, declared him (to the good liking of the Princes Electors) his Lieutenant, and Imperiall Vicar in *Germany*; whither within a while after this graunt going in the yeere 1521. he was honorably receiued by the Germanes; as Vicar of the Empire, was with great magnificence, met by all the Potentates: wherewith making no long abode, he went to take possession of his dominions, to the great good liking of that people. In the same yeere he celebrated his contracted nuptials, with ANNE sister of LEVVS King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; renewing the oathes sworne in the yeere 1515. betweene his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN, and LADISLAVS father of King LEVVS; which were, that LEVVS dying without issue, FERDINAND, or any other begotten by him, and his said sister ANNE, should succeed in his kingdomes. But either through the iust wrath of God kindled against the manifold iniquities of the Hungars, or what other occasion I know not, the two brothers in law had scarcely enioyed the beloued fruite of the established succession two moneths; but FERDINAND being molested by the instabilitie of fortune (seldome constant in prosperitie) was aduertised that SOLIMAN Emperour of the Turkes, being victorious for hauing subdued GAZELLES in *Soria* in the yeere 1516. And also for that his father SELIM, had in three seuerall battailes in the field, with incredible fortune, first ouerthrowne CAMPSON, and a little while after TOMOMBEY, Souldanes of *Egypt* taken by the Turkes. GAZELLES giuing place to fortune, and voluntarily yeelding himselfe into the power of his victorious enemy, was with great fauour receiued into grace: so that notwithstanding that the Empire of the Souldanes was extinguished in *Egypt*, yet he hauing libertie was made Gouvernor of *Soria* (not without much murmuring of the Turkish Captaines, his Lieutenants in that countrey.) Neuerthelesse GAZELLES in the yeere 1519. being certified of the death of SELIM, thinking himselfe now discharged of the oath of fealtie which he had sworne vnto him onely (without any mention made of his successors) and therewith earnestly desiring to reuiue the ancient dominion of the Souldanes, leuiued the greatest forces of Mamalukes, Arabians, and Syrians that he possibly could; with which rebelling, he made himselfe Lord of sundrie cities in *Soria*: against whom in the yeere 1520, SOLYMAN sending FARAA† Basha with a great armie; who fighting with him neere to the cite of *Damasco*, GAZELLES being slaine in the battaile, obtained a notable victorie, which happened in the end of the yeere 1520. FERDINAND (as I said) being aduertised that SOLYMAN being puffed vp with pride by reason of his victorie, resolved to warre in *Hungary*; wherein through the negligence of King LEVVS, and want of reliefe from the Emperour CHARLES, or his Lieutenant FERDINAND, the Turkes making sundry roades and incursions into the land; in the end besieged, battered, and tooke the strong cite of *Belgrade*, in auncient time called *Taurinum*, situated in *An- Belgrade in Hungary taken by the Turkes.* gularie *Forme*, betweene the riuers *Sauus* and *Danubius*. But FERDINAND as it seemeth taking more care to suppress LUTHERS doctrine, then for the defence of *Hungary* against the Turkes; in a Councell held at *Norimburgh*, vpon grievous penalties, prohibited the reading of the Bible, which LUTHER had translated; but yet LUTHER neuerthelesse being countenanced by IOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony*, published his booke, wherein he toucht all the Romish Princes of *Germany*, but chiefly FERDINAND. Hereupon FERDINAND summoned a Councell to be held in *Ratisbone* in the yeere 1523, whither from Pope CLEMENT the seventh, who succeeded ADRIAN the sixth, came Cardinall LAWRENCE CAMPEIUS, to procure (although in vaine) the suppression of LV-  
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THEIR doctrine. About which matter FERDINAND hauing spent the yeeres 1523, and 1524, had intelligence that SOLIMAN after the taking of the Ile of *Rhodes* (which he vpon composition entred vpon the five and twentieth day of December, being Christmas day, in the yeere 1522, after that it had been by the Knights of the order, held and valiantly defended against the whole forces of the Infidels, for the space of 214 yeeres, from the yeere 1380, at which time it was taken from the Infidels vntill then; and after that it had been now besieged the space of sixe moneths, in which time the Turke lost the greatest part of his armie, for besides those which were slaine at the many assaults which were giuen, aboue 30000 died of the flux) threatened to bring greater calamities vpon the Christians: amongst which a man would haue thought, the long troubles of the former wars, in the yeere 1525 would haue ended. For the emprisonment of FRANCIS the first King of *France*, who by the Emperors Captaines, vpon the foure and twentieth of Februarie in the same yeere, was taken at the battaile of *Pavia*, made most men to thinke that the Emperour would not haue released him, without an assured peace with *France*; by which meane, he might not onely haue been able to haue performed any great attempt, but also haue made frustrate SOLIMANS designs. But as men in future accidents are most commonly decciued in their opinions; so the affaires of the Christians fell afterwards into farre worse termes; for the most part of the Christian Princes being moued against the Emperour, either through griefe for the French Kings aduersitie (a Prince for the worth of his person, and the greatnes of so flourishing a kingdome highly esteemed) or else for feare of their owne particular interest, doubting that he would haue aspired to the absolute Monarchie; the state of Christendome came to bee so confused and out of order, especially in *Italy*, that mens iudgement proued not onely vaine, but the troubles haue continued a long time after. *Italy* being by reason of the warre, betweene the Emperour CHARLES the fifth, and FRANCIS the French King miserably afflicted, the one enuying the others greatnes; the most of the Princes and states in Christendome were by the one or other (to the great trouble and enfeebling of the whole Christian Commonwealth) drawne into the action; which SOLIMAN the great Turke perceiuing, was thereby encouraged with an armie to inuade *Hungary*; whereinto, hauing *Belgrade*, he had an open passage: against which, in the yeere 1525 he proclaimed open warre. It was reported that he was thereto incited by sundrie principall Lords of the countrie, but chiefly by IOHN TISSI Vaiuode, a great enemy to King LEVVES. Hereupon SOLIMAN in the yeere 1526, with an armie of 200000 men entring that kingdome, by often incursions made into the land, prouoked King LEVVES to fight; who hauing no sufficient army to encounter so mightie an enemy; in the beginning wisely refused to hazard his fortune (for offote and horse he had but 26000 men) but yet in the end through the vnadvised counsell of PAUL TOMOREVS Archbishop of *Colossa*; accustomed of tner by sudden inuasions to annoy the Turkes, then by vnequall battailes, he was rashly induced (notwithstanding that he was perswaded to the contrarie by STEPHEN VERBETIVS Generall of his armie) to his great disadvantage to giue battaile; wherein the credulous yong King hauing made good prooffe of his valour, was so ouercharged by his enemies horse troupes, that he was constrained to shift for himselfe: and hauing no knowledge of the countrie, accompanied with a Page onely, passing through a morish fenny ground, his horse fell with him; and he being oppressed with the waight of his armour, was in water and

Soliman the great Turke entred Hungary with an armie of 200000 men, animated thereto through the ciuill dissention betweene the Christian Princes.

The ouerthrow and death of Lewis King of Hungary.

and mire miserably smothered and drowned. This battaile was fought the 29. of October, in the yeere 1526.

For the infortunate death of King LEVVES, FERDINAND was very sorrowfull; for besides the losse of his friend and brother in law, he was aduertised that SOLIMAN besides other places, without one blow stricken, had taken the citie of *Buda*; and that from thence, besides the most excellent Artillerie which he found therein, he had carried the statues of HERCVLES, APOLLO, and DIANA, most exquisitely made in brasle, and left there by the great MATTHEVV CORVINVS: and that with an infinite number of captiues, and loden with prey and bootie, he was returned to *Constantinople*. After SOLIMANS departure, King FERDINAND went into *Bohemia*, and therein was crowned together with his wife, who a little before was deliuered of a daughter called ISABEL, which afterwards was married to SIGISMUND King of *Poland*: and being in peace, King of *Bohemia*, he challenged to be also King of *Hungary*. But knowing that IOHN SEPVSVS Vaiuode of *Transiluania*, after the celebration of the sumptuous obsequies of King LEVVES, notwithstanding FERDINANDS former election, aspiring to the kingdome, had made himselfe to be crowned King of *Hungary*; & at the same time had bestowed vpon those Lords which had assisted him in the action, the principall estates of that kingdome, to the end that being obliged to him for receiued benefits, they should not after their accustomed manner contriue ought against him; FERDINAND made himselfe in *Bohemia* to be crowned King of *Hungary*, in the presence of Doctor STEPHEN, and other Hungarian Lords his friends, which after the death of King LEVVES came to see him.

John Sepusius Vaiuode of Transiluania crowned king of Hungary.

After this coronation, FERDINAND hauing leuiued an armie, presently marched therewith against IOHN SEPVSVS, who by reason of the inequalitye of their powers standing in some feare of him, departed from *Buda*, which after SOLIMANS departure was againe recovered by the Hungarians; and retiring himselfe on the other side of the riuier *Tissa*, to *Tocay*, a place both by nature and arte very strong; where, sending to his friends in sundrie parts for aide, he wrote two letters, one to the Princes Electors, entreating the to giue no aide to FERDINAND against him: the other to the Emperour, therein exhibiting sundrie complaints against the same FERDINAND. But FERDINAND pretending the kingdome of *Hungary* in right to be his; marching forwards with his armie, without any resistance tooke *Buda*, and other principall places in that kingdome: and being vnwilling to giue his enemy time to recover heart and courage, he without any great difficultie, passing the riuier *Tissa*, vpon a bridge made of boates brought thither for that purpose vpon carts, went to seeke him at *Tocay*, and within sight of the castle making an Alt, made VALENTINE TVRAC Generall of his army; who in the day of battaile diuided the Cauallerie of *Stiria* and *Austrich* into two squadrons, in the middest betweene which he raunged his maine Battaillion, which of both the one and other army, were Hungarian footmen. Which order when FERENC BODO, who was Generall of King IOHNS armie perceiued, he marshalling his troupes in the like manner, perswaded King IOHN with certaine troupes of choise horse, to withdraw himselfe to some place from the army, where he might, notwithstanding any sinister accident, saue himself. After whose example PHVL BARCHITA Seruiian, one of the chiefe Captaines of King FERDINANDS armie, retired himselfe to a close place, a good distance from the armie; with a determination to charge his enemies in flank. To be brieft, the two armies ioyned in a battaile, wherein for a space the fight was very doubtfull, for the

Ferdinand in Bohemia crowned king of Hungary.

Ferdinand entering Hungary with an army against John Sepusius taketh Buda.

The battaile of Tocay fought betweene John and Ferdinand, both pretending to be Kings of Hungary.

left wing of King Iohns battaile charging the right of the Stirian horſe, and gallantly ouerbearing them, had put king FERDINANDs people to rout, had not the men at armes of *Auſtrich* in reſcuing them, with ſuch furie charged the enemy, that they were conſtrained to retire fighting. In the meane time the footemen, which of either ſide were almoſt all Hungarians, fought with ſuch obſtinacie, that it was hard to iudge whether partie ſhould haue the better. So as, if BARCHIT with his troupe, which vntill then lay cloſe in an Ambuſcade, had not riſen and ſuddenly charged at vnawares, FERDINAND (as the report went) had had the worſt of the bargaine; but BARCHIT giuing a valiant ſouldier then a prudent Captaine, often attempting in vaine to haue reformed his ſquadrons, being ouerborne by his enemy, was taken priſoner together with many other very excellent Captaines: and their campe being aſſaulted, their Ordenance and Colours were likewiſe loſt, and the whole troupes were ſo much diſordered, that they running away, left all their baggage to the Auſtrians: Which when King Iohn perceiued, he ſo faſt as his horſe could beare him, fled, and holding himſelfe not to be in ſafetie in his owne countrie, fled into *Poland*, where by IEROM LASKY a Nobleman of that countrie he was honorably entertained. And FERDINANDs Captaines entring *Transilvania*, all the countrie, together with what in *Hungary* held for him, without any reſiſtance yeelded to be at his deuotion. But forasmuch as BODO, vpon promiſe of libertie, would not renounce his oath made to King Iohn, and ſo beare armes againſt him, he was by King FERDINANDs commandement caſt into a dungeon, wherein of griefe and ſorrow he died miſerably.

After this victory FERDINAND made himſelfe together with his wife in *Alba Regalis*, to be ſolemnly crowned King of *Hungary* by the Archbiſhop of *Strigoniū*, who forſaking King Iohn came to FERDINAND, bringing with him the crowne of STEPHEN King of *Hungary*, which amongſt the Hungarians was held in great veneration. Shortly after, FERDINAND leauing STEPHEN BATOR for Viceroy of that kingdom (to be aſſiſted by the Biſhop of *Strigoniū*) went into *Bohemia*, and thence into *Auſtrich*, wherein, vpon the firſt day of Auguſt in the yeere 1527. his Queene bare him a ſonne, who was chriſtened MAXIMILIAN, and in proceſſe of time comming to be Emperour was called MAXIMILIAN the ſecond. FERDINAND hauing ſo happely gotten the kingdom of *Hungary*, was very earneſt with his brother CHARLES the Emperour to releaſe Pope CLEMENT the ſeuenth, taken priſoner by the Duke of *Bourbon* Generall of the Emperours armie in *Italy*, the ſame yeere, vpon the ſixth day of May, a fatall day in ancient time to *Rome*: which he did to the end to auoide further cauſe of diſcontentment amongſt the Chriſtian Princes: for the greatnes of the houſe and ſtate of *Auſtrich* being become odious and ſuſpect to all Chriſtendome, it ſeemed that by long detaining the Pope, the hatred and ill will conceiued againſt it, would daily encreaſe: which reaſons induced the Emperour after ſeuē moneths imprifonment to ſet Pope CLEMENT at libertie, although vpon hard conditions.

King Iohn after the battaile of *Tocay*, being expulſed his kingdom, fled to IEROME LASKY, a Nobleman of great account among the Polonians, by whom he was moſt honorably entertained, not without the knowledge and conſent of SIGISMUND King of *Polonia*, who notwithstanding their affinitie was nothing pleaſed with FERDINANDs greatnes. To be brieſe, IEROME LASKY counſelling King

King Iohn ſlith into Poland.

Stephen Viceroy of Hungary for King Ferdinand.

Pope Clement the ſeuenth releaſed out of priſon.

King Iohn to craue aide of SOLIMAN the Emperour of the Turks, went himſelfe Ambaſſadour (King SIGISMUND winking thereat) to *Conſtantinople*, where he ſo behaued himſelfe amongſt the Baſhaes, that SOLIMAN taking Iohn into his protection, with promiſe to reſtore to his kingdom, proclaimed warre againſt *Hungary*. Wherewith FERDINAND ſeeing himſelfe deſtitute of ſufficient forces to withſtand the Turkiſh power; and that by reaſon of the warres amongſt the Chriſtians, chiefly in *Italy*, he could not haue ſuch aide from his brother the Emperour as the neceſſitie of the cauſe required, he was much grieued: neuertheleſſe to cleere himſelfe from blame, acquainting the Emperour with all matters, he ſought meanes to obtaine of SOLIMAN (according as LADISLAUS and LEVVEs Kings of *Hungary* had done) truce for ſome yeeres; and to that effect ſent Iohn OBERDANSK a very wiſe man to *Conſtantinople*; who after many practiſes could bring no other anſwere from SOLIMAN, but that if FERDINAND did not reſtore Iohn to the kingdom of *Hungary*, he would make him to know how much the Turkes power was to be feared: with which anſwere, OBERDANSK being driuen out of *Conſtantinople* returned into *Hungary*, where relating SOLIMANs proud anſwere to the Councell, he went to *Spire* to FERDINAND, who at that time was buſied in counsell about matters of religion. FERDINAND vpon this anſwere ſtanding in great doubt of the Turkes forces, made all the prouiſion that the breuitie of the time would permit: but the yeere 1529 being come, in the beginning of the ſpring, SOLIMAN commanding his Baſhes to draw his forces to an head, came in perſon with 140000. men to *Belgrado*, where, by meanes of his fauourite LEVVEs GRITTI, ſonne of ANDREVV GRITTI (at that time Duke of *Venice*) and of ABRAIN Baſha, gently receiuing Iohn with many other Hungarian Lords, he againe promiſed to reſtore him to his kingdom: wherewith Iohn being very ioyfull, with many his friends followed the Turkiſh armie; which being departed from *Belgrado* was already before *Buda*. Thoſe in *Buda* being in extreme feare, preſently yeelded to SOLIMAN; who entring the citie, fought with as great ſpeece to haue had the forteſſe, guarded by THOMAS NADASKY a Captaine for FERDINAND; who valiantly reſiſting the enemy, was within ſew daies (to the great reproch of Chriſtian ſouldiers) betraied by thoſe Germanes which FERDINAND left there in gariſon: which perceiuing that the enemy with mines and other militarie ſtratagems ſought to occupie the place, willing to prouide for themſelues, and to the end that NADASKY ſhould be no impediment vnto them bound him, and then yeelding to SOLIMAN, with their liues and goods ſaued, gaue vp the forteſſe. Whereinto when the Turke came, knowing the treaſon of the ſouldiers, and moued with a noble diſdaine, he preſently ſet NADASKY at libertie, and made his ſouldiers cut all thoſe to pieces which had committed ſo ſhamefull a villanie; making no conſcience to breake his faith ſworne to men ſo vile and ſo vnworthie to liue in the world. SOLIMAN hauing (without effuſion of blood) gotten the citie of *Buda*, preſently ſent his armie towards *Viena* in *Auſtrich*; and comming before the ſame vpon the ſixe and twentieth day of September in that preſent yeere, he beſieged the citie in ſiue parts; hauing firſt by the way taken *Altenburg* and the ſiue Churches. From thence with great velocitie he made his horſe troupes to ouerrunne the countrie ſo farre as *Lintz* (many miles diſtant from *Viena*) which doing much harme, and loden with bootie; and many priſoners, returned to the campe; which being diuided into many parts, continually infeſted *Viena*. The Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, with many other excellent Captaines; being therein for the defence thereof in the behalfe of

John Sepius ſueth to the Turke for aide.

Ferdinand ſueth to the Turke for truce, but in vaine.

Ann<sup>d</sup> Dom. 1529.

Soliman with an armie of 140000 men entred Hungary.

Soliman contrary to his promiſe put to the ſword all the ſouldiers in the Caſtle of Buda.

Viena beſieged by Soliman.

FERDI-

FERDINAND, vsed all meanes to frustrate the enemies attempts; which besieging the citie by land, had intelligence that the flecte which came vp the riuer *Danubius* with great store of Ordenance to batter the citie, was for the most part by *WOLFANG* of *Oder* Gouvernour of *Pofon*, beaten and funke in the *Danuby*, which then was swolne extraordinarily high, by reason of much raine which fell at that time. Whereof when *SOLIMAN* was certified, he with the rest of the Artillerie which escaped *WOLFANGS* furie, so thorowly beate *Viena*, vpon the fiftenth day of October, that he mist but little to haue taken it: but being repulsed by the valour of those which had the guard thereof, he was constrained after that he had giuen many fierce assaults thereto, to retire with the losse of 80000. men; and the sooner, hauing intelligence that *FERDINAND* with a great number of Bohemians and Morauians came to the reliefe thereof. Which making him to doubt that his people being weakened with the warres, would be vnapt to make head against *FERDINANDS* fresh troupes, he resolved to raise his siege and to depart. And being departed with so great losse of his people, and hauing in vaine sought to allure those of *Viena* to giue vp the citie vpon composition, he went to *Buda*; where confirming King *IOHN* King of *Hungary*, calling him his friend and vassall, and leauing *LEVVS GRITTI* with him for his counsellor, he with a determination to returne againe the next spring with greater forces, leading with him about some 40000 captiues, returned to *Constantinople*.

*Soliman raises his siege from before Viena.*

Shortly after *SOLIMANS* departure, *FERDINAND* came to *Viena*, from whence aduertising his brother the Emperour of all what had happened, he tooke order for the reedifying of the citie, which together with all the countrie round about was in a manner wholly destroyed, and then shortly after returned into *Germany*, very ioyfull for the newes of the peace concluded betweene the Christian Princes, hoping that the Emperor being free from warres, would now haue suppressed *LVTHERS* supposd heresie, which daily encreasing, was in such manner dispersed, that many Princes of that countrie were of his opinion; by reason whereof there was nothing but Councils in *Germany* concerning religion: which to abolish was *FERDINANDS* chiefest care. But the yeere 1530 being come, and *CHARLES* being with the Imperiall Diademe by the Pope solemnly crowned in *Bologna* in *Italy*, vpon *S. MATTHIAS* the Apostles day (an ominous day to him) and afterwards going into *Germany*, and there celebrating the *Augsburgh* Diet, he tooke such order, that *FERDINAND* by the Electors (after some contradiction) was chosen King of the Romanes; who being crowned in *Aken*, and the Emperour being gone into *Flanders* to visit those countries, went for feare of *SEPVSVS* to *Viena*: for *SEPVSVS* by the counsell of *LEVVS GRITTI*, daily incensing the Turkes against *FERDINAND*, and in the end of the yeere comming into *Hungary*, spoiled such countries as held for him: but King *IOHN* being desirous to bring those troubles to an end, he in such manner solicited *GRITTI* to be an intercessor for him, that *SOLIMAN* in the yeere 1532, much displeased with *FERDINAND*, proclaimed open warre against *Hungary*; and comming shortly after thither with an armie of 300000. men, he did so much harme in the countrie, that more could not be done. Which *Ferdinand* vnderstanding (who at that time being with the Emperour at the Diet at *Ratisbone* about matters of religion) was greatly troubled: and hauing no sufficient power to resist the Turkes forces, imploring aide of all the Potentates in Christendome, he (by the Emperors meanes) obtained some of the Germane Princes: and the Emperour causing a great number of his footmen to come into *Germany*, resolved with the assistance of other Christian

*Soliman came into Hungary with 300000. men.*

Christian Princes, in person to ioyne with him; particularly with the aide of Pope *CLEMENT* the seuenth, who with 9000 men paid, sent his Nephew the Cardinall *HIPOLYTO DE MEDICIS*, with all the succours that possibly in time of such discord (especially betweene *France* and *Italy*) could be gotten. And in such sort the matter was handled, that the Emperour and his brother *FERDINAND* hauing 90000 footemen, and 30000 horse, taking their way towards *Viena*, resolved to fight with *SOLIMAN*; who proudly reiecting *FERDINANDS* Ambassadors sent to treat with him of a league, he with such furie assailed in many parts, such places as held for the said *FERDINAND* in *Hungary*, that he did infinit harmes; for besides the desolation of townes, he in person with such furie bent his forces against the citie of *Guinz*: and *LEVVS GRITTI* left in *Hungary* with *SEPVSVS* after the siege of *Viena*, likewise assailing *Strigonium*, and making incursions by his Captaines into the countrie, did put the Hungars in such feare, that many of them abandoning their houses, retired to the Christians army lying entrenched without the walles of *Viena*; whither it was thought that *SOLIMAN* in the end would haue come: but he failing of his purpose to get the citie of *Guinz*, and fearing the Emperors fortune, after that he had harried the countrie, and taken many prisoners, retired to the other side of the riuer *Mura* into *Carinthia*; and from thence leading his armie in great disorder, with dishonour to *Belgrado*; and there not holding himselfe fully in safetie, he shortly after went to *Constantinople*; being first greatly annoyed by the Christian Cavalery, which following his campe to *Belgrado*, did much annoy him in the arrierguard. *SOLIMAN* being departed out of *Hungary*, *FERDINAND* vsed all meanes to draw the Emperour to attempt the recouerie of *Buda*; but forasmuch as he could not perswade him to stay in that countrie, he obtained of him to leaue the Italian footemen together with Cardinall *HIPOLYTO* there in garrison, against the Turkes: but they vnwilling to stay any longer mutinying, by the perswasion of one *MARKEDA VOLTERRA* putting themselves in order, in a great rage returned into *Italy*: with which their departure *FERDINAND* was so discontented, that comming to a composition with *IOHN SEPVSVS*, he graunted him during his life, peaceably to enioy such part of *Hungary* as then was at his deuotion; by reason whereof the warres for that time being ended in *Hungary*, *FERDINAND* bent his forces against the Lantzgrau *PHILIP*, who being an enemy to the house of *Austrich*, induced *VIRICH* Duke of *Wittembergh* (assisted by *FRANCIS* the French King) to take armes against *FERDINAND*, for the recouerie of his estate by the Emperour taken from him, and giuen to *FERDINAND* at the Diet at *Ratisbone*, in which action the Duke so valiantly behaued himselfe, that to *FERDINANDS* great losse and detriment, he recovered his Duchie: in whose behalfe sundrie Princes in *Germany* in such manner carried themselves towards the Emperour and *FERDINAND*, that they permitted the Duke peaceably to enioy his estate: yet vpon condition, that from thenceforth the Duke should neuer neuer take armes against either *FERDINAND* or the house of *Austrich*.

*The Emperour Charles left the warres against the Turke in Hungary to goe to warre against Christians in Italy.*

After this peace, *FERDINAND* receiued letters from *LEVVS GRITTI*, importing a request, which was, that if *FERDINAND* would be content to permit *GRITTI* during his life in peace to enioy the kingdome of *Hungary*, he would so deal with *SOLIMAN*, that he should confirme the same after *GRITTI* his decease to *FERDINAND* and his heires: which his demaund refused by *FERDINAND* did so thoroughly anger *GRITTI*, that comming with 7000 foote and

The death of  
Emerick Gibac-  
chi Bishop of  
Varadin and  
Paynol of  
Transilvania.

The death of  
Lewes Gritti.

and horse (left him by SOLIMAN into *Transilvania*) he did much harme in FERDINANDS countries; wherein whilest he was with his armie, it was told him that the Bishop of *Varadin*, with a great number of men comming in shew to visit him, had a determination to make himselfe King. Whereupon GRITTI doubting what might follow, commaunded VRBANE BATIAN to giue to IOHN DOCCIA (a great enemy to the Bishop, and by whom the rumor was spread that the Bishop aspired to the crowne) a troupe of horse, to the end that he apprehending the Bishop might send him to *Constantinople* to SOLIMAN. With which horse, DOCCIA went concertly to the Bishops tent, and apprehending him smote off his head, and presented the same to GRITTI. Which fact was so infinitely displeasing to that people, and made GRITTI so extremely odious to them, that they to the number of 40000 men rising in armes against GRITTI, besieged him in *Megeft*, wherein hauing no reliefe either from King IOHN, or from the Moldauians, he was in the end in hope to haue escaped; by a vile drawne out; and being by the Moldauians betrayed, was miserably put to death, in reuenge of the Bishop, of whose death he was most innocent: for he knowing nothing of the hatred betweene DOCCIA and the Bishop, but onely commaunded the Bishop to be apprehended: and so being deceived by DOCCIA, hastened his owne death and his childrens, which together with their father in the furie of the people were miserably slaine. After whose death King IOHN comming into *Transilvania*, within few daies became Lord thereof; but being euermolested by FERDINAND, he was constrained to sue to SOLIMAN for aide; who vnderstanding of the miserable death of GRITTI, was much discontent; but being certified that King IOHN was neither author, nor accessarie thereto; and therewith beleeuing that FERDINAND had procured the same, he sent MAHOMET TATAGOLO, a most expert Captaine in the warres, with expresse commaundement continually to vexe FERDINAND. Whereupon comming into *Hungary*, he with daily incursions spoyled his countries: but FERDINAND being by his subiects aduertised of the great harme done by the Turkes, so well garrisoned his frontiers, that they were not so lightly troubled. And vnderstanding that Pope CLEMENT the seuenth was dead, and that PAUL the third, of the house of *Farnese*, was chosen in his place, he sent to yeeld him such obedience, as to such Princes was then accustomed, and therewith sought in the meane time to haue suppressed LVTHER; whose opinions had already caused much murmuring against the Pope in *Germany*. In which actions that present yeere being spent, and the yeere 1535 being begun, he furnished his brother the Emperour with men; who being called by MULEASSE King of *Tunis*, went to the enterprise of *Barbary*; and helping to bridle the Anabaptists, which had expelled the Bishop of *Munster*, and a long time had defended themselves, he sought to suppress LVTHER. And hauing aduertisement of the Emperours good successe, who to the great annoyance of the Moores, had taken the kingdom of *Tunis*, he made signes of very great ioy. But the yeere 1536 being begun, and vnderstanding that MAHOMET SANIACQUE of *Belgrado*, and IOHN SEPVSIVS continually infested his estate in *Hungary*, he put his armie in a readines for the next yeere, to the end to meete with the Turkes in their so often incursions. And in the yeere 1537, he sent his armie vnder the leading of IOHN CASIMIER, (a famous Captaine for the defence of *Vienna*) to get *Eschio*, which is a very strong place vpon the shoares side of the riuer *Sana*; where after many skirmishes comming to fight with MAHOMET, he was so shamefully ouerthrowne,

throwne, that the greatest part of his armie was taken by the enemy, LEVVS the Earle of *Lodron* particularly remaining dead in the place; a Captaine for his sundrie attempts and seruices much esteemed by FERDINAND. Who being extremely angrie with IOHN CASIMIER, notwithstanding that he had giuen him a safe conduct, yet to the end that he should answer for his base cowardize, he made him to be committed to prison; from whence within few daies after escaping, he gat to MAHOMET, by whom being courteously entertained, he promised that whensoever he would giue him a supply of men, he would make *Austrich* to reuolt, and would draw it to SOLIMANS deuotion; with which promise MAHOMET being highly pleased, giuing him some companies of footemen, he caused him to take the field, to attempt an enterprize so blame worthe; whereupon CASIMIER going to NICHOLAS SIDRIN, (a man of great power in those countries) and seeking to haue induced him to his opinion, he was by him imprisoned, and shortly after put to death; whose head being speedely carried to FERDINAND, SIDRIN obtained for a reward of so notable a deede, all that estate which had been CASIMIERS. And in the beginning of the yeere 1538, DEVELS ASSEMBER (a man of great account in *Bohemia*) seeing the negligence of SEPVSIVS his people, gathered together certaine companies of foote and horse; and going towards the countries guarded by the Turkes garrisons, particularly to the citie of *Tocay*, situate on the other side of the riuer *Tissa*, where he hauing easily surprised those which had it in guard, in few howers he tooke it: and hauing almost wholly sacked it, he went through the Citadel against a Squadron of Turkes horse, which vnderstanding of the surprise of *Tocay*, came to relieue the garrison; and comming to blowes with them, he so brake them, that they were constrained to retire; whereupon returning to the citie, and making an end of lacking it; laden with prey, and hauing gotten certaine peeces of Artillerie, he returned, whereat FERDINAND greatly reioicing bestowed many gifts vpon him. And the Emperour, the Pope, and the Venecians being ioyned together in league against the Turke, he was comprised in the number of the Leaguers. And in the yeere 1539 FERDINAND helping his brother the Emperour to suppress the Flemings, which rebelled against him, and tired with the continuall warres of *Hungary*, he came to an agreement with King IOHN vpon condition, that each of the should continue in possession of what he held in *Hungary*, & that IOHN should freely enioy the title of king: and if that IOHN should haue no heires, that then the kingdom should fall to FERDINAND and his heires: prouided alwaies that King FERDINAND should conceale this agreement from SOLIMAN, of whose displeasure IOHN stood highly in feare. The matter was not so secretly handled, but that SOLIMAN had full notice of all the agreement, whereupon being angrie with IOHN, he oftentimes charged him with ingratitude; and had it not been for his friends, and (that which did more import) the warre with the Persians, he had without doubt troubled him for it: who either for feare of SOLIMAN, or vpon some other occasion, being a while after displeased with FERDINAND, he tooke to wife ISABEL daughter of SIGISMUND King of *Poland*; who within few moneths appearing to be with child, induced him to seeke to driue STEPHEN MAIALTO and BAILASSO out of *Transilvania*, both gouernors of that Prouince: the one of which, which was MAIALTO, notwithstanding that he knew that SOLIMAN deadly hated him; yet he sundrie times instantly sued to haue bin by him crowned King of *Transilvania*: whereof IOHN being aduertised by SOLIMAN himselfe,

Eccc

to

to whom he was reconciled, he vnder colour of certaine tumults risen about *Angharia*, made warre against both the one and other Gouvernour; either of which, by meanes of THOMAS NADASKY, brother in law to MAIALTO, being receiued into FERDINANDS protection, was holpen by him against King IOHN; but neither of them being of equall power to him, they were constrained, the one which was BAILASSO, to retire himselfe; and the other in *Megeft* (a most strong place) was by King IOHNS souldiers besieged: But King IOHN vnderstanding that his wife Queene ISABEL in the meane time whilest he was about *Megeft* had borne him a sonne, and desiring to be present at the publike ioy and feastings which were made; he so much distempered himselfe with drinking, that falling sicke he died within few daies after, leauing that child heire of that kingdome, vnder the protection of SOLIMAN, and of his mother, and of one Frier GEORGE. Who being nobly borne in *Croatia*, after some time spent in the seruice of King IOHN, became a Monke in *Buda*, where he had not long remained, but waxing wearie of the Monasticall life, he retayning still the habit went out of the Couent, and returned to the seruice of IOHN in *Polonia*: to whom (being expulsed his kingdome by FERDINAND, and remayning with IEROM LASKY) he did many seruices of importance; so as being very highly respected by him, he created him after the recouerie of *Transluania*, and the rest of *Hungary*, Bishop of *Varadin*; and at his death, left him together with the Queene (mother to the child) Protector of the kingdome, who in the yeere 1540 compounding with MAIALTO, in the name of the Queene refused to stand to the agreement made betweene IOHN and FERDINAND: and temporising with him, leuied certaine companies of horse and foote: and to the end to be in the more safetie, suing to SOLIMAN for aide, as to the protector of the pupill, he together with the Queene and the young King retired to *Buda*: wherewith FERDINAND being highly offended, and therewith hoping to recouer that kingdome, he leuied an armie: and in the meane time, sending Ambassadors to SOLIMAN, he offered to giue him that tribute which King IOHN was wont to pay: but he first perswaded Queene ISABEL, that she contenting her selfe in peace to enioy *Transluania*, should resigne the rest to him, according to the agreement made betweene him and her husband. But seeing that hee could obtaine neither the one nor the other of his demaunds, he sent LEONARD VELSCH one of his Captaines, with a great number of men of warre to molest the Queene. VELSCH entring the countrie of the young King, went from *Strigonium* to *Visegard*, which he tooke without any difficultie; and hauing taken it, stayed there certaine daies to refresh his armie. Then passing the riuer *Danuby*, and with the like celeritie hauing taken *Pesthe*, and *Vaccia*, he presented himselfe before *Buda*; wherein VALENTINE DVRAC (who in former time had serued FERDINAND) lay then in garrison. This DVRAC to his great credit withstanding VELSCH defended the citie, vntill that constrained by the Turkish souldiers, sent by the Saniaque of *Belgrado* to the reliefe of the young King, and for that it was their intent, VELSCH retired to *Visgard*, where hauing in few daies space taken the Citadel, and garrisoned it, in the name of King FERDINAND; and wintring his people in the same place, without any molestation by the Turkes, vntill the end of that yeere, that in the yeere 1544 the Turkes with so great furie tooke the field; that hauing suddenly taken *Vaccia*, they fundrie times attempted *Pesthe*; where being resisted by the valour of the defendants, they departed, fearing that FERDINANDS armie (which to a good number were

John Vaynoda  
of Transluania  
died of a surfit  
in drinking.

The life of Frier  
George.

were come to make head against them) would haue broken them, whose assaults they could not so well auoide, but that they being in ill plight, they lost many of their Arrierguard: By reason of which good successe, FERDINAND hoping to haue taken *Buda*, gathered together 40000. men, which he sent vnder the conduct of WILLIAM ROCKENDOLPH, a Captaine of great worth, to take that citie: ROCKENDOLPH comming thither, gaue many attempts, but being euer valiantly repulsed by the besieged, so as he saw that by assault he could not take the citie, he resolved to trie what he could doe by a siege: and begirting it round, he so kept victuals from the citie, that had not Frier GEORGE vied great diligence; the citie doubtlesse had yeelded. Neuerthelesse ROCKENDOLPH with words and threatnings frustrating the denices of some sedicious persons, continued the siege, vntill it was vnset by SOLIMAN. Who vnderstanding that *Buda* was in manifest daunger, sent MAHOMET Basha with many men of warre, and a great quantitie of victuals to the reliefe thereof; promising to follow himselfe in person, as within few daies after he did. Which so much troubled ROCKENDOLPH that they forced him to retire into the Ile of *Comer*; for MAHOMET hauing victualled *Buda*, and being encamped within sight of FERDINANDS armie, after many skirmishes, he so much prouoked his enemies, that they ioyned with him in battaile; wherein, after sundry accidents, ROCKENDOLPH being ouerthrown, was constrained to flie, and many of his Captaines were taken prisoners. And MAHOMET Basha sending to visit the young King and Queene Mother, perswaded her to hope well of SOLIMAN the great Turke, who comming from *Adrianople* into *Hungary*, shortly after came to the camp, bringing with him a great number of souldiers, with a determination to free himselfe from troubles, and wholly to put FERDINAND out of all hope euer to recouer that estate. And sending his people to attempt *Strigonium*; after many presents made to the Queene, he caused the young King to be brought to the campe; where receiuing him with great humanitie, within a little while after hee made all those Lords which to doe him honour had accompanied him, to be detained prisoners. After the imprisonment of which, sending MAHOMET Basha to *Buda* to take the citie, he induced the inhabitants (by a vaine protestation) not to trust themselves to be at the deuotion of an Hungarian garrison; which those of *Buda* being vnable to withstand, too late vnderstood to what end the Barbarian was so readie to relieue them; who shortly after sending the young childe backe to his mother, sent her commandement that departing from *Buda*, she should retire her selfe on the other side of *Tebiscus*, to the citie of *Lippa*; wherein liuing in safetie free from FERDINANDS forces, she might quietly make her abode with the young King (whom in steede of STEPHEN in remembrance of his father hee called IOHN) vntill that he came to age fit to gouerne his kingdome without tutors; promising that he should no sooner be able to gouerne, but that hee would restore to him all what was his in his power.

Queene ISABEL departing then from *Buda* and retiring to *Lippa*, left in the Barbarians power all that was held for her sonne in *Hungary*; in vaine repenting that she had not compounded with FERDINAND. Who being aduertised of the losse of *Buda*, was very sorie that a place so fit, and of such importance for all Christendome, should fall into the hands of so mightie an enemy; but vnable to remedie it, he applied himselfe to the fortifying of those townes which he held in *Hungary*. And about the middest of the yeere, he obtained of sundrie Princes aide against the common enemy. And in the yeere 1542 the Councell of *Trent*

Rockendolph  
sent by Ferdi-  
nand to at-  
tempt Buda.

Rockendolph  
ouerthrowne  
and put to  
flight by Ma-  
homet.

Soliman in re-  
membrance of  
John caused his  
sonne whose  
name was Ste-  
phen to be cal-  
led John after  
his fathers  
name.

was assembled, whither FERDINAND sending his Ambassadors, obtained of Pope PAUL three thousand Italian footmen, vnder the leading of ALEXANDER VITALLI, and SEFORCE PALLAVICINA, and getting other succours from other Princes, he made IOACHIM Marquis of *Brandenburgh* Generall in the action; who attempting to take *Pesche* and *Buda*, which were again come into the power of King IOHN (from whence SOLIMAN was a little before departed towards *Constantinople*) but all his attempts proving frustrate, he to his great shame and losse retired, repulled by those which SOLIMAN left there in garrison, together with many of King IOHNS Captaines, left there also by SOLIMAN, to colour the barbarous breach of his faith: from whence IOACHIM retiring, by reason of the cold season of the yeere, that yeere passed: and in the beginning of the yeere 1543, FERDINAND againe tried his fortune, which shewing it selfe no more favourable then ordinarie, so much encouraged his enemies, that they not onely repulled his forces, but within few daies space were masters of *Strigonium*, *Alba Regalis*, and other places in *Hungary*, so as FERDINAND unwilling any further to hazard his fortune, seeing how slackly he was relieued by his friends, tooke a truce with SOLIMAN; and so disbanding his armie, and fortifying those places which remained, he applied himselfe to the repairing of his owne affaires, which by reason of the long continuance of the warres, were incredibly out of order. FERDINAND hauing in this manner accorded with SOLIMAN, vsed all meanes to let the meeting of the Princes of *Germany* in *Smalcalde*, with the Ambassadors of the free townes, which (as the same went) were assembled to the preiudice of the Emperour. Which, for that he could not effect, he assaied to make peace betweene the Emperour and the French King, notwithstanding that in both the one and the other he found great difficultie: neuertheless he so handled the matter, that in the beginning of the next yeere they agreeing vpon sundrie conditions, in the yeere 1544 the articles of peace were confirmed by them both. In the beginning of the yeere 1545, FERDINAND sent his Ambassadors to the Councell of *Trent*, to the end that the disagreement in matters of religion in *Germany* might be redressed, according to the Emperours desire: but he seeing the ill will which the assemblee at *Smalcalde* bare to the Emperour, and that the same encreased, he by his letters perswaded each of them to quietnes: which perswasions taking no effect, the Emperour came from *Flanders* into *Germany*; where obtaining aide from the Duke of *Florence*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and from euery Potentate in *Italy* some, but chiefly from Pope PAUL, who seeing that the warre should be waged against the Lutherans, contemners of his Holines, sent him twelue thousand footmen, and sixe hundred horse, commaunded by his nephew OCTAVIUS FARNESE, the Emperours sonne in law, with his brother the Cardinall ALEXANDER FARNESE, Legate *A Latere* for his Vncle the Pope. With which supplies, the Emperour hauing in the yeere 1546 and 1547 distressed his enemies, he restored the Duke of *Brunswick* to his estate; who from the yeere 1543, had by the Lantzgrau, and IOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony*, liued deprived of his Duchie: and notwithstanding the promise made to Duke MAVRICE, assuring him that the Lantzgrau should be restored to his countries, yet he neuertheless was likewise taken prisoner, the same day, that according to the agreement, they spake together. So as *Germany* being in short space in quiet, and Duke IOHN FREDERICK deprived of the dignitie of Elector, and together with many other Captains of the league committed to prison, in the yeere 1547 FERDINAND went against the Bohemians, which in the behalfe of the Duke of

Anno 1543.

Ferdinand tooke truce with the Turkes.

Peace betwene the Emperour and the French King 1544.

The Pope sent twelue thousand foote and sixe hundred horse to the Emperour to aide him in his warre against the Protestants.

Saxony

*Saxony* rebelled against him; and being come into the kingdome, after much resistance and apparant daunger of his person, he at length gat the castle of *Prage*; wherein being entred, he put the Bohemians in such feare, that notwithstanding the many difficulties, yet he subdued them in such manner that they yielded them absolutely to his mercie. And so hauing accomplished this enterprize, he sent his eldest sonne MAXIMILIAN with certaine gallant troupes of horse to the aide of his brother the Emperour, and he himselfe in the meane time neuer desisting, together with Duke MAVRICE, to trouble Duke IOHN FREDERICK; in the day of the battaile beyond the riuer *Albis*, he not onely assisted his brother with his forces, but with certaine very good troupes of horse came thither in person, where he shewed himselfe no lesse a valiant man at armes, then a most prudent Commaunder. After which victorie returning into *Bohemia*, he celebrated the obsequies of his wife ANNE, which in the beginning of the yeere died in Childbed: which obsequies hee could no sooner solemnize, by reason of the warres in *Germany*, and of the Insurrections in *Hungary*.

FERDINAND hauing ended the warres of *Bohemia*, and holpen his brother to suppress his enemies; in the yeere 1548. holding a Sinode with the Emperour in *Augsburgh*, there were published fiftene Institutions appertaining religion, with expresse order, that the same should be obserued, vntill the dissolution of the Councell of *Trent*; which ordenance was called an Interim; wherein were contained in all what was commaunded to be beleueed, vntill the determination of the said Councell. After which publication, the Emperour willing that his sonne PHILIP Prince of *Spaine*, should be acknowledged by the Netherlanders for their legitimate and naturall Lord, he married his daughter MARY to MAXIMILIAN Archduke of *Austria*, eldest sonne to his brother FERDINAND; to the end that they should make their residence in *Spaine*, vntill the returne of Prince PHILIP; and purchasing a dispensation from the Pope, he publishing the nuptials, sent him into *Spaine*, accompanied by the Cardinall of *Trent*, and the Earle of *Mansfelt*, and many other of the Germane and Bohemian Nobilitie. But first before his departure, he obtained for him of his father FERDINAND the kingdome of *Bohemia*, to the end that hee should come into *Spaine* with the greater dignitie, where as gouernour of those countries he remained vntill the returne of Prince PHILIP.

In the yere 1551, FERDINAND receiued letters from SOLIMAN the great Turke, wherein he shewing himselfe discontented with both FERDINAND and the Emperour also, for that ANDREW DORIA had taken the citie of *Africa* from DRAGVT RATS a Pirat; he protested that if it were not rendred, he would cruelly reuenge the iniurie done to his Captaine DRAGVT. Whereto FERDINAND made answer, that forasmuch as the Pirates were not comprised in the Articles of agreement, neither he neither his brother were bound to any thing. With which answer dispatching the messenger, in the moneth of May, he sent IOHN BAPTISTA CASTALDO into *Transilvania* to assist Frier GEORGE against Queene ISABEL; who hauing in former time drawne great part of the *Transiluanians* to her deuotion, and sought to conferre that prouince for her sonne, fell at open variance with the Frier. Who ambitiously desiring to continue in his gouernment, gaue FERDINAND to vnderstand that the Queene hoping by the Turkes meanes to hold that countrey, was againe risen against him, and sought to driue him out of that estate: which for that he knew to be very preiudiciall to all Christendome, he had aduertised him thereof; therewith entreating him, that for

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Ferdinand gaue the kingdome of Bohemia to his sonne Maximilian.

John Baptista Castaldo sent into Transilvania, to aide Frier George against the Queene.

the preservation of the countrie, he would be pleased to relieue him against the Queenes inuasions, which daily troubled him.

FERDINAND induced by these reasons, sent (as before is said) CASTALDO to the Frier, who as his Lieutenant Generall comming to *Agria*, leuied 5700. footmen and 1700 horse, with which passing the river *Tissa*, he went to *Debrezen*, where finding ANDREVV BATTOR, and THOMAS NACLAI, principall Lords of that kingdome, he went into *Transilvania*: where, whilest he the space of three moneths besieged *Colosuarre* in the behalfe of the Frier, he was aduertised that the Frier through a new composition with the Queene, hauing taken *Alba Iulia*, was retired from the warres; and that he had neuertheless sent him word, that if he would meete him at *Egnet*, he would speake with him. Whither CASTALDO being come, after many discourfes and treaties past betweene them, obtaining of the Frier the citie of *Alba Iulia* to winter his people in; he had word from the Queene, that she would come to an agreement with FERDINAND, according to the couenants made with her husband: so that after many conuentions comming to *Colosuarre*, whither were alreadie come the most part of the Lords of that kingdome, ISABEL in the name of her sonne renounced, and gaue vp the kingdome and estate of *Hungary* to CASTALDO; who in the name of FERDINAND accepted the same. After which renunciation, she granted to the most in-faciable Frier all his demands, which were immeasurable, together with the Archbishopsrick of *Sirigoniun*, being at that time void. CASTALDO accommodating that prouince according to the order receiued from FERDINAND, and as he thought most expedient, celebrated the nuptials betweene one of FERDINANDS daughters, and JOHN the Queenes sonne. But the ambitious Frier not contented with the agreement, by the meanes of a Frenchman, who was a spie for the Turke in that kingdome, he acquainted SOLIMAN with the whole agreement and composition made betweene FERDINAND and the Queene. Where-with SOLIMAN being highly displeased, shortly after sent the Beglerbey of *Grecia*, who passing with great celeritie to *Belgrado*, came to *Beche*, and tooke it, with *Bekerque* and *Senat*. & hauing without any resistance vpon composition taken *Lippa*, he went without any molestation by the Christians, to *Themesuar*, where encamping himselfe, he vnderstood that CASTALDOS armie was come. Who with much ado hauing induced Frier GEORGE, then made Treasorer of that kingdom, & Vayuode of *Transilvania*, to leuie forces against the Turke, he brought it so to passe that he constrained the Beglerbey to raise his siege from before *Themesuarre*; notwithstanding that the Frier euer endeouored to hinder CASTALDOS proceedings. The Frier vnderstanding of the Turkes departure, went to *Lippa*, where he stayed not long before that by Pope IULIUS at the request of FERDINAND being a made Cardinal, he sought to hinder CASTALDOS designs, and to betray him and FERDINANDS whole armie into the hands of the Turkes: hoping by this meanes not onely to reconcile himselfe to SOLIMAN, but to become absolute Lorde of *Transilvania* also. Whose wicked practise being made frustrate, CASTALDO continued the siege of *Lippa*, which after many bickerings comming into CASTALDOS power, was giuen in pray to the Souldiers, which laden with spoyle, presently besieged the Fortresse; about which hauing spent some daies, they had taken the same, together with OLIMAN Gouvernor thereof, if the Friers villanie had not frustrated CASTALDOS purpose. Who desiring by these meanes to obtaine the Turkes good will, dealt so, that he set OLIMAN at libertie: wherewith CASTALDO being infinitely displeased, fought

*Lippa taken by  
Castaldo.*

sought to abate the Friers authoritie: but failing of his purpose, he dissembled the matter. And Winter being come, FERDINANDS forces departing out of *Transilvania* (he being vnwilling that they should remaine there) stayed vpon the frontiers of the enemie. After whose departure CASTALDO conducting the Artillery, discovered to SFORZA PALLAVICINO that FERDINAND had commaunded Frier GEORGE to be put to death; but being vnable without great circumspection to bring it to effect, he willed PALLAVICINO to be in a readines, vntill he gaue him further direction. In the meane time repairing to the Citadel at *Lippa*, he stayed neere to the citie of *Varadin*, and sending his armie before, he ioyned with the Frier riding together in one Coach to *Buise*, in which place being againe solicited by FERDINAND to make away the Frier, CASTALDO speedely wrote to SFORZA PALLAVICINO, that so soone as possible might be, he should with his troupes come to conferre with him, about what course was to be taken in this matter. Whereupon PALLAVICINO comming to *Buise*, and hauing laid the plot for the Friers dispatch, he went to seeke him iust at the time when he should haue said Masse: with whom CASTALDO holding a long discourse, shewed him euer a good countenance, notwithstanding that he was in all occasions crost by him: and his insolencie was such that he forbore not openly to negotiate with the Turkes. Whereupon CASTALDO directing those which should kill him in what manner they should dispatch him; he appoynted his Secretarie MARC ANTONIO FERRARI of *Alexandria*, (vnder colour to get the Friers hand to certaine letters which SFORZA PALLAVICINO should beare to FERDINAND) to come to him, vpon the eighteenth day of December, in the same yeere. Who comming in companie of PALLAVICINO into the Castle with certaine Harcubuzziers, and presenting the letters to the Frier, to the end that he should subscribe to them; after that the Frier had heedely read them, stooping downe to write vpon a little table which was in the chamber, FERRARI drawing his ponyard twise stabbed him, which being of no sufficient force to kill him, it behooued PALLAVICINO (who vpon the noyse ranne into the chamber) to set his helping hand to the worke: for the Frier was a gallant strong fellow, turning to him that smote him, threw him to the ground, and therewith made so great a noyse, that PALLAVICINO comming into the chamber, and seeing FERRARI downe, setting hand to his sword, gaue the Frier so sound a knocke on the pate, that he cleft the same in two: an act truely worthie of great reprehension, if the behauiour of the man had not deserued it. For Frier GEORGE was endued with such excellencie of wit, and therewith was of so generous and great a mind, and so diligent in all matters of importance, that FERDINAND himselfe (who caused him to be slaine) would often say openly, that he enuied the Vayuode for nothing, but for Frier GEORGE. The Frier dying in this manner suddenly, CASTALDO imprisoned his great friend FRANCIS THENDI, who to escape from FERDINANDS forces, had after the Turkish manner clad himselfe in Scarlet, whole imprisonment was a great helpe to CASTALDO, for THENDI being reconciled, was the cause that the *Sicoli*, a most fierce people of *Transilvania*, yeelded obedience to the King of the Romanes; which people with others, through CASTALDOS endeouour, within few daies submitted themselves. But in the yeere 1542, SOLIMAN vnderstanding of the death of Frier GEORGE, sent two armies into *Transilvania*, to the end in two feuerall parts to inuade the same: wherein CASTALDO thinking by fortifying the frontiers, to entertaine the Turkes vntill the comming of an

*Meanes used by  
Castaldo to en-  
trap Frier  
George.*

*The death of  
Frier George.*

Pope Julius ex-communicated those which slew Frier George.

armie out of *Germany*, sent Frier *George* his treasure to *Ferdinand*; and taking *Seghedin*, had sundrie supplies from the Lords of that kingdom; and fortifying *Lippa* and *Themesuarre* he gathered those men together which (to uoyde the rage of the Turkes) came to his campe. In the meane time, earnestly expecting aide from *Ferdinand*, whom Pope *Iulius* commaunding to purge himselfe concerning the death of Frier *George* for that he was a Cardinall: and sending three Cardinals to make enquire of the Homicide, he excommunicated those which had slaine him. And *Ferdinand* vnable to send such succours as he had promised, by reason of the warres in *Germany* betweene his brother the Emperor and *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, perswaded *Castaldo* to beare his fortune in the best manner that possibly he should be able; promising so soone as he could to relieue him. Who perceiuing that the *Moldavian*, and *Mahomet* Basha were with a great armie come into *Hungary*, to the end to inuade *Transilvania*; he sent *Felix* Earle of *Arco*, to hold the Castle of *Brasouia*. And obtaining great reliefe and victuals, from the citie of *Zibonio*, he endeouored himselfe to reinforce his troupes; and to fortifie many places; but this nothing furthered *Ferdinand's* proceedings: for by reason that the articles of agreement were not obserued to *Isabel*, many of those people rebelled against him, and after much contention hee was constrained to come to blowes with them: for spending much time, sometime in losing and sometime in recouering, the Turkes daily conquered more and more. Which taking *Lippa* and *Themesuarre* with many other places, by *Mahomet's* order; the Basha, together with the Basha of *Buda*, marched to the Castle of *Drigall*; before which lay *Sforza Pallavicino* with sixe thousand men, *Germanes* and others: who valiantly assaulting the Castle, was at vnawares set vpon by the Basha; with whom comming to blowes, and performing the office both of a valiant Souldier, and prudent Captaine, he was in the end ouerthrowne, and shortly after with many other Captaines taken prisoner, and brought (by a Turke which charging him in the flanke with his Cimitarre had felled him wounded to the death) to the Basha: from whom he was afterwards ransomed for a great summe of money. After which, *Mahomet* to the great slaughter of his people, tooke *Salonch*, built by *Ferdinand* in a strong place ouer the riuer *Tissa*; the losse whereof greatly troubled *Ferdinand*. Who seeing that his affaires notwithstanding the valour and wisdom of *Castaldo* daily went from ill to worse; and vnderstanding that the people of *Transilvania* were wholly reuolted to the Queene, greatly fauored by *Mahomet* Basha about *Soliman*; and that they had often practised to kill *Castaldo*, he commaunded him that notwithstanding *Mahomet's* retreat, despairing to take *Agria*, long attempted by his people, he should retire. Which *Castaldo* putting in execution, placed the Spanish and Dutch souldiers in *Zibinio*, and other places neere adiacent: and hauing fortified *Deua*, after much prouision made, he went to *Alba Iulia* to winter the rest of his armie. In the meane time, absolution came from *Rome* for those which kild Frier *George*. And the yeere 1553 being come, *Francis Thendi*, fauouring the Queenes cause, brought it so to passe, that notwithstanding the many Councils, wherein *Castaldo* was euer present, great part of the Lords of *Transilvania* in the behalfe of the Queene, tooke armes against *Ferdinand*, and expulsiung *Ferdinand's* forces, reestablished her, together with her sonne in her estate.

That yeere being ended, and the yeere 1554 begun, *Ferdinand* sent his Ambassadors to his nephew *Philip* in *England*, to congratulate his marriage with

*Sforza Pallavicino* wounded, ouerthrowne and taken prisoner by the Turkes, before the Castle of *Drigall*.

with *Mary* Queene of that cuntry, which succeeded her brother *Edward*. And in the yeere 1555 died *Ioane* mother of *Ferdinand*, and of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, in *Spaine*; whose death *Ferdinand* took very grieuouly. And in the meane time, taking a truce with the Turke, he obtained vpon an acknowledgement of a tribute, peaceably to enioy what he held in *Hungary*. In which time *Charles* the Emperour hauing giuen vp the states of the Low Countries, the kingdomes of *Spaine*, and all his other kingdomes to his sonne *Philip* King of *England*; *Ferdinand* sought to suppress and extinguishe the preaching of the Gospell in *Germany*; and receiuing letters of his brothers renunciation made to his sonne, he infinitely commended his resolution. That yeere being ended, and the yeere 1556 being come, he was aduertised that his brother the Emperour hauing renounced the Empire vnto him, was retired into *Spaine*, to leade a solitarie life; for which yeelding him thanks by his letters and Ambassadors, he went to *Viena* to make prouision for the warres, which (as it was said) *Soliman* would make in *Hungary*: where spending the rest of that yeere, he remained vntill the yeere 1557. In the beginning of which yeere, he interposed himselfe betweene King *Philip* and the Pope, perswading them to peace: for the Pope induced by his nephew the Cardinall *Caraffa*, made warre against the King. And that yeere being ended, in the beginning of the yeere 1558, he was by the Electors according to the will of his brother *Charles*, chosen and proclaimed Emperour: no man but the Pope contradicting his election, who affirmed that the resignation made by the Emperour *Charles* could not be done without the Popes consent: but his reproofe being reiected, *Ferdinand* was chosen and proclaimed lawfull Emperour. Not long after he had newes that his brother *Charles* was departed out of this world, for whose death he together with his whole Court was very forie: neuertheless supporting his grieife, hee celebrated the exequies with great pompe, and presently sent his Ambassadors to King *Philip*, to condole the common losse. And that present yeere ending, within a while after the decease of the Emperour *Charles*, and in the beginning of the yeere 1559, *Ferdinand* vsed all endeour to make peace betweene King *Philip*, and *Henry* the French King; which after many treaties being obtained, and alliance made them, he was exceedingly glad, sith that after the space of seuentie yeeres continuall dissention, peace was now made betweene those two most mightie kings, which was proclaimed through all Christendome. A little while after, in the beginning of the yeere 1560, *Ferdinand* obtained to be confirmed in the Empire by the new Pope, who willingly approving his election, deemed it to be ill done, after a peace so long desired, againe to bring *Italy* into new troubles: and so following the will of that Prince, he consented to the calling of a Councell. And in the yeere 1561 he made proclamation to all Prelates and Nations, of a Councell to be held the yeere following, wherein the Articles proposed by the Lutherans should be determined. And in the yeere 1562 a Councell was againe called, to be held in the citie of *Trent*, whither *Ferdinand* sending the Prelates of his dominion, perswaded all the Princes of *Germany* to doe the like: and writing to his nephew King *Philip*, and to the King of *Portugall*, and to all the other Princes of Christendome, he vsed such meanes that al the Princes according to his desire, sent the Bishops of their countries with their particular Ambassadors to that Councell, wherein the matters of greatest importance were handled concerning religion. In which time *Ferdinand* desiring that some one of his sonnes after his decease might succede him

Peace betweene King Philip of Spaine and Henry of France

*Ferdinand* confirmed in the Empire by Pope Pius the 5.

him in the Imperiall dignitie, he called the Princes Electors to a Councell held at *Frankford*, where proponing to them his desire, he alleged that in respect of the Turke it was requisite it should be so; and after the matter had been long debated, he obtained his purpose to his content: which being concluded, he made his sonne MAXIMILIAN within few daies after to be crowned King of the Romanes. After which ceremonies, going to *Isprach* to see his daughters, he understood that the truce lately treated of with SOLIMAN not onely tooke effect for tenne yeeres, but that at his suite DON ALVARO DE SANDE was released out of prison, together with three other principall Knights taken in the yeere 1560 in the enterprile of *Tripoli*, by DRAGVT RAIS. At that time were great warres in *France* betwene the Papiſts and the Huguenots, which the Emperour sought to haue pacified, but that nation was so extremely incensed, that the Emperours perswasions could nothing preuaile amongst them.

Ann 1560.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Ferdinand.

In the yeere 1564, the Councell of *Trent* being dissolved, FERDINAND came to *Viena*, where falling sicke of an Ague, and knowing by the vehemencie of his disease that his life drew neere to an end, he sent for all his children, which then were disperſed into sundrie places, to whom after he had giuen his blessing, together with many good exhortations, he rendred his soule to God, vpon the fifth day of Iuly in the same yeere. He was a Prince by all men reputed to be of singular bountie and pietie, and of a most gentle and pleasing disposition, not very strong of bodie, but replenished with so much maiestie, that whosoeuer saw him could not but respect him: for being of a pleasing and affable condition, he would most curteously encline himselfe to euery one that came to salute him. He was naturally merrie, free from surfeiting, and ware his beard rather short then long, and his haire so long that it couered his eies with some bauldnes. He was in all his actions (prosperous or aduerſe) alwaies constant, holding all things to happen to him by the will of God. He confessed himselfe three or foure times in the yeere, and with great deuotion receiued the Communion, willing that euery one in his Court should doe the like; so that his house seemed to be rather a regular Monasterie, then a Court of Secular men. He left behinde him many children, and had in all fiftene; foure sonnes, and the rest daughters, which were married to sundrie Princes in Christendome. ISABEL which was his first, was giuen in marriage to SIGISMUND King of *Poland*. ANNE was wife to the Duke of *Baniere*. MARY to the Duke of *Cleue*. MAGDALENA chaste Virgin. KATHERINE to FRANCIS Duke of *Mantua*. ELNORTO WILLIAM Duke of *Mantua*. MARGARET was a Nunne. BARBARA was married to ALFONSO the second Duke of *Ferrara*. VRSULA a Virgin and a Nunne. HELEN liued but a little while. And IOANE was wife to FRANCIS the great Duke of *Tuscane*. Of sonnes besides the Emperour MAXIMILIAN, he had FERDINAND and CHARLES Archdukes of *Austrich*, and IOHN which died very young. He had but one onely wife, and (as it was said) neuer before nor after knew any other woman but her: which he loued so intierly, that he would not marrie the second time. He much loued learned men, & gaue them great pensions for their maintenance. He neuer undertooke any warres but for religion: either against the Turke or the Lutheranes, which he vehemently persecuted: FERDINAND hauing bin King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* foure and thirtie yeeres, and Emperour seuen, to the great griefe of his people and of all the Princes in Christendome ended his daies. After whose decease, his obsequies being celebrated with great pompe, sundrie funerall Orations were made by diuers learned men: and his body being

carried

carried through *Moravia* into *Bohemia*, was by his wiues side buried in *Prage*.

## THE LIFE OF MAXIMILIAN THE SECOND, AND CXVII. ROMANE EMPEROR.



### THE ARGUMENT.

**H**is life containeth not ought else, but the countrie, parentage and noble descent of Maximilian, with his atkes in the warres in Germany against the Lantzgrauce, his going into Spaine to gouerne the same for King Philip, his assumption to the Imperiall dignitie, with his warres with the Turkes at Zighet, and the Election of his sonne Rodulph for King of the Romanes.

**H**is house and family of *Austrich* amongst the most principall houses of Germany, is truely euery way very noble, and hath euer been so of long time (as it euidently appeareth) not onely through the (in a manner) hereditarie succession of the Empire from the father to the sonne in tenne Emperours, from the yeere 1273, at that time RODULPH the first was chosen Emperour of the Germanes: but also in that it hath since that time in short space, with admirable felicitie, not onely in Germany enlarged the small confines of *Habsburge* and *Hassia* (the auncient territory thereof) but through the singular protection of the heauens, it hath by enheritance attained to the kingdomes of *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, the Duchie of *Austrich*, the countie of *Flanders*, with the estates of the lower Germany, the kingdomes of *Spaine*, with all those countries of the East and West *Indies*, (to the wonder of the world, by CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS a Genowaies, and AMERICVS SEPVSIVS, a Florentine, newly found and discovered; which for their greatnes, and the noueltie of the action, are called the new world) together with the kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*; and

The dominions  
of the house of  
Austrie.

The lineage of  
the Emperor  
Maximilian.

and lastly the Duchie of *Milan*, farre excelling all other Dukedomes in Christendome. Of which family in the yeere of our Lord 1527, the Emperor MAXIMILIAN the second of that name borne in the citie of *Viena* in *Austrich*, had to his father FERDINAND, brother to the Emperor CHARLES the fifth, sonne of PHILIP the first King of *Spaine*, Nephew of MAXIMILIAN the first, sonne of FREDERICK the third Emperours of the *Almaines*: his mother was ANNE daughter of LADISLAUS King of *Hungary* and of *Bohemia*, Nephew of the great SIGISMUND, sonne of CASIMIER King of *Poland*, and sister to that LEVVE which through the vnadvised counsell of PAVLAS TOMOREVS Archbishop of *Colossa*, in the yeere of our Lord 1526, comming to a field battaile with SOLIMAN King of the *Turkes*, was not onely through the innumerable multitude of the *Ottomans* lamentably ouerthrowne; but also when he sought to haue saued himselfe from his enemies, was through the waight of his armour wherewith he was oppressed, and the stumbling of his horse which fell vpon him in a passage ouer a marish or fenne, miserably drowned.

This Emperor shewing euen from his infancie the excellencie of his wit, was by his father the Emperor FERDINAND committed to very learned men, by them to be instructed in good Litterature, but chiefly in varietie of tongues; wherein in short space he so much profited, that he not onely spake Latin very elegantly; Spanish, French, Italian, Dutch, Hungarish, and Bohemish; but also very perfectly attained to the knowledge of the Sciences, particularly the Mathematices. So that all men did stedfastly hope that he would proue no way inferior to his auncient progenitors. And he no sooner came to yeeres fit to beare armes, but that he sundrie times gaue no lesse iudice and cleere shew of his noble valour therein; earnestly seeking to imitate his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN whose name he bare, which he expressly manifested when in the yeere 1556, in the warres which his Vncle the Emperor CHARLES the fifth made against JOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony*, and PHILIP Lantzgrau of *Hessen*, he went to that warre, sent thither by his father with the commaund of 1200 horse; hauing before that time, been euer present in the warres which his father waged with the *Turkes*. In that seruice of his Vncle the Emperor CHARLES, he so nobly behaued himselfe, that he therein sundrie times deserued to be compared with his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN; for he constantly enduring with the greames of his minde, all those wants and fortunes which the troubles of the warres bring with them, was euer the first man in all seruices, wherein he made no lesse shew of a valiant man at armes, then of a prudent Chieftaine, which made him so deere beloued by his Vncle the Emperor, that that ciuill warre being ended (which continued little lesse then two yeeres) he considering that his sonne PHILIP Prince of *Spaine* was to be inuested in the Countie of *Flanders*, together with the prouinces of the lower *Germany*, and being vnwilling that *Spaine* should remaine without some man of authoritie to gouerne the same, fearing the fiercenes of that nation ordinarily euer desirous of nouelties: notwithstanding that he was his Nephew, yet by the dispensation of Pope PAUL the third he made him his sonne in law, giuing him his daughter MARY to wife, and therewith made him gouernor of those kingdomes. And those nuptiall rites being celebrated, MAXIMILIAN in the yeere 1548 went into *Spaine*, being first by his father FERDINAND King of the *Romanes*, made King of *Bohemia*, to whom the Lords of that kingdome sware obedience as to their King and naturall Lord. Before his comming into *Spaine*, passing through *Italy*, he was by all the Italian Princes

Princes visited and highly honoured; and being arriued at the citie of *Genoa*, and there shortly after embarked in the Galleyes of Prince DONIA, he passed to *Barcelona*, whence taking his way towards *Valiadolid*, where the Spanish court then lay, he was in the name of his espouse and of his cosin germane oftentimes visited by the principall Lords of *Spaine*. Finally, within few daies after his comming to the court, hauing with applause of the Spanish nation celebrated his nuptials, he was established in the gouernment of those kingdomes, in the absence of Prince PHILIP: which he with great quietnes, to the contentment of that people gouerned, vntill that in the beginning of the yeere 1551 the Emperor CHARLES, summoned a Councell to be held in *Augsburgh*, whither being by his father sent for, he came from *Spaine* into *Germany*, hauing first left the gouernment of those kingdomes to his wife Queene MARY, and to the Councell royall: and staying there till the end of the Councell, he went with his father the King of the *Romanes* to *Viena*, where making his abode till the beginning of the yeere 1552, and then passing from *Germany* againe into *Spaine*, to bring his wife into his countries, he came from *Barcelona* (after that he had been molested by the French fleet) to *Genoa*; and from thence comming to *Trent*, he went to *Augsburgh*, where by the Emperor CHARLES the fifth, he was much welcomed, and together with his wife was by the Germane Princes highly honored, but particularly by his father, who then absolutely resigned vnto him the gouernment of the kingdome of *Bohemia*: which to the great contentment of the Bohemians he euer after gouerned so long as he liued. From whence in the same yeere he sent great troupes of men to the Emperor, for his warres against MAYRICE Duke of *Saxony*, who by reason of the imprisonment of the Lantzgrau PHILIP warring against the Emperor, was proclaimed traitor: but it was not long before the Emperor was freed from that trouble. And MAXIMILIAN recalling his forces, peaceably applyed himselfe to the gouernment of *Bohemia*, without that any matter of moment happened, vntill that in the yeere 1554, he together with his father sent his Ambassadors to congratulate the marriage of his cosin King PHILIP to marrie the daughter of King HENRY the eight, then by the death of her brother EDWARD, Queene of *England*. In the yeere 1558 he was present at the Coronation of his father, who by the Emperour CHARLES the fifth was adopted Emperor; and for such accepted by the Princes of *Germany*. Afterwards taking his way with his father towards *Viena*, he returned into *Bohemia*; where within a while after, vnderstanding of the death of his Vncle and father in law the Emperor CHARLES, he with great pompe celebrating his Obsequies; sent Ambassadors to his cosin PHILIP to condole the death of the deceased Emperour. In which actions ending the yeere present and next following; in the yeere 1560, after foure moneths vacancie, JOHN ANGELO DE MEDICIS being chosen Pope, and called PIVS the fourth; he sent his Ambassadors to yeeld his obedience to the Church of *Rome*. And in the yeere 1562, FERDINAND desiring that his sonne MAXIMILIAN should succede him in the Empire, assembled a Councell in *Frankford*; wherein proposing to the Electors his determination, he so handled the matter, that by the common consent and goodwill of all men, MAXIMILIAN was chosen and crowned King of the *Romanes*; with great applause of the Germanes, and of the Italians, which for his rare qualities deereley loued him. Then beeing according to his fathers desire created his successor, he departed towards *Viena*, first visiting his sisters which were in *Augsburgh*, where he remained vntill the yeere 1564, in

Ffff

which

Maximilian  
chosen and  
crowned King  
of the Romanes.

Maximilian  
denied to pay  
the accustomed  
tribute to the  
Turke for the  
kingdome of  
Hungary.

which yeere his father died; whose obsequies he together with his brothers sumptuously celebrated. After which, he receiued Ambassadours from the Princes, which as to the successiue Emperour and King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* came to doe him honour, amongst many which thither came, were the Ambassadours of *Spain* and of *Portugall*. MAXIMILIAN being then receiued and accepted by the Christians for lawfull Emperour; in the beginning of his raigne denied to pay to SOLIMAN the Emperour of the Turkes, that acknowledgement which his father FERDINAND yielded to pay for the kingdome of *Hungary*: and so the yeere 1565 being come, inuading the state of *Transilvania*, he tooke certaine places. Whereupon SOLIMAN sending a great armie against him, in the behalfe of the Vaiuode JOHN, tooke many townes of importance. But CESAR sending LAZARVS SCHVENBY for Generall of his armie, not onely recovered what was taken, but also tooke *Tocay* with some other places, greatly endamaging the *Transilvanian*; who being aided by the Turkes infinitely troubled CESAR, and notwithstanding that by reason of winter, it had been fit to haue retired to haue wintred his armie, yet he desisted not from molesting him. But being vnable of himself to make head against CESARs forces, he procured by the Turkes meanes to cause MAXIMILIAN to retire from that enterprise: for which, being an earnest-sutor, he obtained such fauour, that SOLIMAN in the yeere 1566, with 120000. men inuaded *Hungary*: the forewarning of whose comming, reuealed by a Turke taken prisoner by certaine souldiers seruing his brother CHARLES, was a great furtherance to the Emperours proceedings: for he making prouision accordingly, so ordred the matter that he was relieued by all the Princes of Christendome: particularly by Pope PIVS QVINTVS (who this yeere succeeded PIVS the fourth in the Papacie) and by the Dukes of *Florence*, of *Mantua*, of *Ferrara*, and by many other Princes as well of *Italy* and *France* as of *Germany*: so that he hauing leuiued an armie of threescore and tenne thousand men, made his brother FERDINAND, Archduke of *Austrich*, Generall thereof, who with those forces comming to *Iauarin*, purposed to haue attempted *Strigonium*; but vnderstanding that SOLIMAN departing from *Belgrado* came to *Buda*, and from *Buda* was gone to *Zigbet*; he retiring, perswaded NICHOLAS SIDRIN, a Nobleman of singular valour in *Hungary*, to continue in the gouernment of that fortresse, whereof he was Capitaine, promising that he would not faile to relieue him. SOLIMAN after many difficulties, being come to *Zigbet* (which is situate in a fennie cuntry betweene *Croatia* and *Hungary*) within few daies with continuall assaults both by day and night so opprest it, that notwithstanding the great valour of SIDRIN, who failed in nothing that might concerne himselfe or CESAR, neither left any thing vnattempted that might hinder the purposes of the Barbarian, vsing all meanes to defend that fortresse: in the end with great slaughter of his people it was by the Turke taken. But that Barbarian had not time to enioy the fruites of his victorie, for being loden with yeeres, and ouercome by his disease, which was the bloudie fluxe, he ended his daies before that he was master thereof; MAMOMET Basha with great policie and cunning concealing his death vntill the creation of a new Emperour, and vntill that place being of such importance was taken.

*Zigbet* being taken, NICHOLAS SIDRIN the Gouernour thereof, a man for his worth, his valour, and for his faith and trust incomparable, was slaine. There likewise came into the Turkes power, *Julia*, besides other places which were taken the yeere before, with incredible losse and damage to the Christians, which without effecting any notable matter in that enterprise (the Turkes armie being retired)

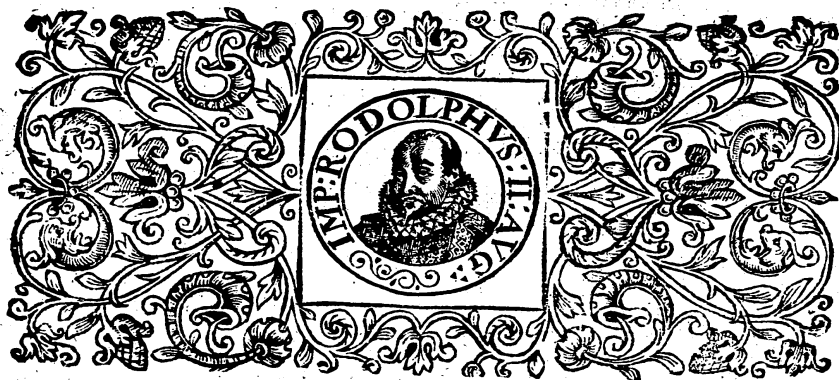
retired) were by the Emperour discharged. And in the yeere 1567, the Emperour through the mediation of MAHOMET Basha, treating with SELIM (who succeeded his father SOLIMAN in his estate) of a truce, hauing first garrisoned *Iauarin*, retired with his Court into *Viena*, and sought to extinguish the new ciuill warre kindled in *Germany*. For JOHN FREDERICK, sonne of the Elector AVGVSTVS Duke of *Saxony* fauouring GROMPACH, a Rebell of the Empire, it seemed that the ciuill warre would haue begun againe: but GROMPACH hauing surprised the Fortresse of *Gotta* from the Elector AVGVSTVS, who would doe nothing contrarie to the decree of the Councell at *Augsburgh*, where GROMPACH being againe proclaimed a rebell: and hauing amassed together a good number of men of warre, which being drawne to an head, after much resistance, GROMPACH together with JOHN FREDERICK the sonne of Duke AVGVSTVS, were taken prisoners, with whose apprehension the ciuill warres of *Germany* being ended, GROMPACH was quartered aliue, and Duke JOHN FREDERICK detained in prison. The Emperour hauing in the meane time relieued *Schuenidi*, who after the departure of the Turkes armie, was by the *Transilvanian* besieged in *Tocay*; and shortly after repelling the enemy, tooke many Holds in *Transilvania*, to the great preiudice of the Vaiuode. But vnderstanding that in the same yeere 1567 SELIM had graunted and confirmed the truce required by CESAR, with the same conditions that FERDINAND obtained the same, and that SELIM retired his armie: MAXIMILIAN accommodating the affaires of his estate, liued all the rest of his life time in peace, hauing in vaine attempted to recouer *Transilvania*, left through the death of JOHN Vaiuode to STEPHEN BATTOR. Who in the yeere 1574, CHARLES the ninth King of *France* being dead, and HENRY Duke of *Aniow* and King of *Polonia*, through his brothers death being called to the Crowne of *Erance*; after much contention was chosen King of *Polonia*; notwithstanding that MAXIMILIAN vsed all meanes possible to haue been King thereof, for many of the Electors fauoured him; which failing, he became so melancholike, that he was neuer after that time seene to be merrie, imagining that the wauering instabilitie of the Polacres had bereaued the house of *Austrich* of that kingdome, but yet he left nothing vndone that might disturbe BATTOR. With which actions comming to the end of the yeere 1577, he assembled the Diet of *Ratisbone*, where vsing all meanes that in him lay, that his eldest sonne RODVLPH might remaine his heire in the Empire, in the end by the consent of the Electors, he obtained his suite. And in the same Diet he confirmed FRANCIS DE MEDICIS with the fauour and consent of those Princes, in the title of great Duke of *Tuscane*, graunted by Pope PIVS the fifth to COSMO the great, in the yeere 1566.

MAXIMILIAN liuing but a few moneths after the election of his sonne, being betweene fiftie one and fiftie two yeeres old, and oppressed with the retention of his vrine, to the great griefe and sorrow of his people, ended his terrestrial life. He was a Prince for pietie and the bountie of his minde, truly so singular, that if the troubles and ciuill warres in *Germany* had not weakened and diminished the forces and power of the Empire, would not haue left any meanes vnattempted to haue repressed the greatnes of the Turkish Empire. His bodie and minde being accompanied with memorable maiestic and iudgement. He was a personage of common stature, had a full face replenished with grauitie, his head was somewhat bauld, he spake readily all the tongues which at this day are spoken in the most pricipall prouinces of *Europe*, so naturally, as if he had bin

The death of  
the Emperour  
Maximilian.

nursed and bred vp in them. He was most diligent and prompt in giuing iudgement, and a great fauourer of men of vnderstanding, to which he gaue great pensions: and particularly loued Mathematicians, and Antiquaries, as a man which was greatly delighted in both those faculties. He was very actiue of his bodie, and therewith very pitifull. He left behinde him tenne children, fixe sonnes and foure daughters. His daughters were ISABEL married to her Vncle PHILIP King of *Spaine*. MARY was wife to CHARLES the ninth King of *France*. ANNE and ELENOR were then but children. His sonnes were RODVLPH, the now Emperour, and MATTHIAS, in the time of the late Prince of *Orange* was chosen by the Estates Gouvernour of the *Low Countries*. ALBERTVS afterwards made a Cardinal and Archbishop of *Toledo*, and since then renouncing his Ecclesiasticall dignities, is married to ISABEL the Infant of *Spaine*, and by her is Duke of *Burgundy*. MAXIMILIAN, and VENCESLAVS. He had but one onely wife, after whose decease he neuer would marrie any other. He was blindly very religious, and with great honour and reuerence obseruing the greatnes of the Popes, he endeouored to haue caused the rest of the Princes of *Germany* to haue done the like.

## THE LIFE OF RODVLPH THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND CXVIII. ROMANE EMPEROR NOW RAIGNING.



**T**He Imperiall Maiestie, being become in a manner hereditarie in the house of *Austrich*, was after the death of MAXIMILIAN the second of that name, with the generall assent of the Princes of *Germany*, confirmed to his sonne RODVLPH King of *Bohemia* and of *Hungary*, chosen a little before at his fathers entreatie King of the Romanes; who assuming (together with his high dignitie) a minde and thoughts worthie an Emperour, hath euer hitherto in his gouernment shewed himselfe in all his actions so rightly honourable, that it is to be hoped (sparing him life) he will not onely in some sort restore to the Empire the

the ancient dignitie and reputation thereof; but also recouer such countries belonging thereto, as are vsurped by such as are enemies to the same. Presently after his coronation, for his better establishment in his new dignitie, he sent to the Pope, to be by him therein confirmed, and therewith to request him to declare him for the eldest sonne of the Church: and then calling a Councell at *Ratisbone*, where vsing all his power, to the end that matters concerning the *Romane religion* might be reformed, he earnestly pressed all the Princes of *Germany* to consent to his new reformation. And then dispatching Ambassadours to the Emperour of the *Turks*, to procure a reconfirmation of the truce taken made betweene him and his father MAXIMILIAN, he in the meane time perswaded his brother MATTHIAS, who was gone into *Flanders* with a resolution to make himselfe Lord of those prouinces; that abandoning what he had vnderaken, he should returne into *Germany*, shewing him how dangerous a matter it would be, if through his fault the troubles of those countries should be encreased: but yet shortly after through discontent betweene the Duke and the States of those countries, he leauing them returned (with little honour) into *Germany*. After this, forasmuch as the Archbishop of *Colen*, one of the Princes Electors, forsaking the Pope, was become a Caluinist, and had married a wife, the Emperour and sundrie Potentates in *Germany* tooke armes against him; but especially the Chanons of that Church of *Colen*, which expelling him, chose another Bishop, so that he was afterwards constrained to come to the States of the *Low Countries* for reliefe. And so for a space in the beginning the Emperour continued very solicitous, to haue aduanced and established the Popes lawes and authoritie; not onely in his hereditarie estates and dominions, but generally through the whole Empire, vntill that AMVRATH the third, Emperour of *Turkes*, after long consultation hauing resolved to make a generall conquest of *Hungary*, together with sundrie countries bording vpon the same, by the ordinarie incursions of the *Turkes*, contrarie to the truce, spoyling and robbing his countries, so awakened the Emperour, that leauing to hinder the preaching of the Gospell, he was constrained to employ his wits together with his whole power for the defence of his estate, against so mightie a common enemy: who enuying the greatnes of the house of *Austrich*, for that it in sundrie parts of the world made head against him: about a people called *Iscochiprenly* picking a quarrell, he first began his warres in *Croatia*; wherein after the spoyle of the countrie, the Basha of *Bosna* tooke the cite of *Wibitz*. Whereupon the Emperour solicited the Princes of *Germany* for aide, who considering the greatnes of the danger, promised their assistance. But before that their forces tooke the field, fixe thousand foote; and fise hundred horse of the Christians, hauing in *Croatia* for their refuge taken the woods, mountaines, and places of hard acceffe, were by the *Turkes* so oppressed, that few of them escaped with their liues. For refelling of which outrage, the Emperour assembling the States of *Slesia* and *Moravia*, perswaded them to vnite their forces with the rest. But the aides from out of *Germany* came so slowly, that after the ouerthrow and slaughter of seuen thousand men in *Croatia*, the *Turkes* surprised the strong Castle of *S. George*; wherein after that they cruelly without respect of age or sexe had put to the sword all that were therein: firing the Castle, they departed: and in their retreat cut off a conuoy of three hundred wagons, laden with prouision for the reliefe of the soldiers garrisoned in that prouince.

After these and many other roades and incursions made in *Croatia*, and in *Hungary*,

*The Emperour Rodulph the second sent to the Pope to be by him confirmed in the Empire, and to be declared eldest sonne of the Church.*

*Duke Matthias Gouvernour of the prouinces of the Low Countries.*

gary, the Turkes aduertised of the preparation made by the Christian Princes; but chiefly for that the plague was false, amongst them, leauing strong garrisons in their Holds, they retired; and so the warres for that winter ended. But the next spring being come, the Emperour writing to the Turke to know the reason of these so hostile inuasions contrarie to the truce, was by the great Turkes owne letter for answer put out of doubt whereto he should trust; who most proudly denouncing warre against him and all his abettors, sent the Beglerbey of *Gracia* into *Croatia*, who with a huge armie besieging the strong Castle of *Siseg*, in short space tooke it, cutting in pieces, and drowning all that they found therein. This happened vpon the third of September 1593. These inuasions caused the Emperour not onely to craue aide of the Princes and free cities of *Germany*, but also of other Princes further remote: which being soone graunted, came so slowly forwards, that *SINAN* Bascha besieging the citie of *Vesprim*, and the defendants seeing no possibilitie long to hold the place, abandoning the citie, were by the Turkes cut in pieces. From thence the Bascha went to *Palotta*, which within few daies siege yielded to the Turkes also.

*Siseg taken by the Turkes anno 1593.*

*The Bascha of Buda overthrown and put to flight by the Imperialists.*

*The Castle of Sabatzka taken by the Christians.*

*An overthrow given to the Turkes by the Christians, the 20. of Nouember, 1593.*

*Filek taken by the Christians.*

But yet a length an armie of the Christians passing the riuer *Danubius*, so met with the Turkes, that making slaughter of a great number of them, they released many Christian Captiues: wherewith encouraged, the Christians presently besieged the citie of *Alba Regalis*: but within few daies after, they were aduertised of the coming of the Bascha of *Buda*, with an armie of 2000 strong, and thirtie peeces of Ordnance, to relieue the citie and to raise the siege; whom the Christians (rising from before the citie) encountering, overthrew and put to flight, and in the chace had the execution of the greatest part of their enemies.

Shortly after the Emperours Lieutenant besieging the Castle of *Sabatzka*, garriſoned by the Turkes, did with the Cannon so soundly beate the same, that the breach being made assailable was entered; and all that there lay in garriſon, were put to the sword; and a strong garriſon left to guard the place: whereby the countrie was freed from their wonted oppressions.

Presently vpon the taking of *Sabatzka*, the Christians besieged the citie of *Filek*, a strong place of great importance in the vpper *Hungary*; for the vnſetting whereof the Turkes drawing their garriſons in that quarter, leuied an armie of 18000 men, and therewith marched by night vntill they came neere to the citie: whereof the Generall of the Emperours armie being aduertised, out of the whole armie made choise of 7000 men: with which suddenly setting vpon the Turkes in their tents, he gaue them such a camizado, that they trusting more to their beeles then their hands were so put to rout, that 6000 of them remained in the fields, foode for the fowles of the aire: and amongst them the Bascha of *Themesuarre*, the Gouvernor of *Filek*, and many of great account. At this overthrow the Christians besides 29 peeces of Artillerie tooke 200 Wagons laden with victuals; with which they returned to the siege of the citie, which they so battered, that the breaches being made assailable, the citie was entered and taken, and the defendants put to the sword: those in the Castle notwithstanding resolute in their defence, within two daies after being by the Christians assaulted, and the Castle entered, had their throates cut also. Yet there remained some 800, which being retired to another Castle, and seeing how the rest of their company sped, yielded vpon composition of their liues saued, and to depart with what they could carrie vpon their backs. The taking of this citie strake such a

fear

fear into the Turkes in *Setſchine*, *Blawenſteene*, *Sallek*, *Dregel*, and *Palanke*, strong townes in *Hungary*, that they abandoning them, retired some to *Hatwan*, and some to *Buda* for their refuge. In the same moneth were also recouered from the Turkes the townes of *Aimacke*, *Sollocke*, and *Wesſke*, by meanes whereof, the countrie was freed round about.

After this, the Turkes in *Siseg*, *Castrowitz*, and *Petrinia* to the number of three thousand, thinking for reuenge to haue done some great exploit passed the riuer *Saua*, with a determination to haue spoiled the countrie: but they were so welcomed by the borderers, that 500 of them remaining vpon the earth for hostages, the most of the rest for haste were drowned; so as few returned to beare the newes of their expedition. The ioy for the good successe of the Christians was this yeere, so stirred vp the harts of the Germane Princes, that souldiers were leuied, Artillerie prouided, and euery where new prouision was made for the next yeeres warres.

*19. December, 1593.*

*An expedition.*

In the beginning of March following, the Emperours brother *MATTHIAS* being Generall of the Christian armie: the citie of *Novigrade* lying neere to *Buda*, was by the Christians besieged; wherein the garriſon fearing their owne weakenes, and doubting rescue: after a battery made, and some assaults giuen thereto, yielded the citie to the Archduke, vpon condition of their liues saued, and to depart with their clothes on their backs, and their Cemitars by their sides. This towne gotten (being a place of great importance) was by the Archduke furnished with a very strong garriſon, vnder the command of *REBEY* a noble gentleman of *Hungary*. But the Turkish Gouvernor of *Novigrade* being retired to *Buda*, was there in reward of his good seruice, by the command of the Bascha thereof, in the night hanged vpon a tree neere to the gate of the citie.

*Novigrade taken by the Christians.*

About this time the Emperor sending his Ambassadors to the Muscouite, implored his aide in his warre against the Turkes: to whom the Muscouite promised 500000 Ducats in hand, and 400000 yeerely so long as the warres should continew, but yet with a request that the Emperor should not conclude any peace with the Turke without his consent.

*1594. The Emperor besought the Muscouite for aide against the Turke.*

The Christians hauing long in vaine besieged *Strigonium* and *Hatwan*, and brought the same to such extremitie that they could hardly haue held out any longer: vpon the report of the coming of *SINAN* Bascha with an armie, they raising the siege from before those cities departed: by reason whereof the poore Christians inhabiting the countrie thereabouts, which had long hoped of libertie, became againe seruill to their insulting enemies; which the Emperor knowing, and therewith considering how hardly of himselfe he should be able to maintaine so chargeable a warre against so mightie an enemy, he by his Ambassadors sued to the Princes of Christendome, but chiefly to those of *Germany*, for aide; and for preuention of the imminent daunger likely to ensue, he summoned a Councell to be hold in the citie of *Ratisbone*; whither he together with the Princes of the Empire being come; after wonted ceremonies, the Emperor manifested vnto them the perfidie of the Turkish Emperor, who contrarie to his oath solemnely sworne, had as an enemy to all Christians, with his armies not onely spoiled all *Hungary*, but sundrie other prouinces of the Empire: for redresse whereof, and the repressing of his insolent pride, he entreated their extraordinary assistance: whereto (although not in so ample manner as he required) they condescended. But through the present want thereof, *SINAN* Bascha, after the taking of *Dotis* (a strong towne betwene *Strigonium* and *Raab*) with an

*1594.*

Ffff 4

armie

*Raab taken by  
the Turkes.*

armie of 150000 Turkes and Tartars besieged the strong towne of *Raab*, which after a most furious batterie with 60 peeces of Cannon, and many terrible assaults, with the losse of many thousands of men giuen, he became Master thereof; not without suspition of treason in the Countie *HARDECK*, who had the commaund of the place: for which his perfidie, he was not long after by the Emperors commaundement committed in *Viena* to prison; and within short space after, his treason being further discovered, he was in the said citie vpon a new scaffold built of purpose for him, iustly executed.

1594.

*The Prince of  
Transiluania  
reueloth from  
the Turke.*

In this yeere the Tartars by the Turkes direction, and not without the consent of sundrie great men in *Transiluania*, lying in the borders thereof to entrap *SIGISMUND BATTOR* Prince of that countrie: failing of their purpose (the treason being discovered and some of the conspirators iustly executed) brake through the countrie. Wherein they vsing all manner hostilitie did irreparable harme, and there went into *Hungary*, where they ioyned with the Turkish armie: hereupon the Prince ioyning in league with his poore oppressed neighbours, the *Rascians*, reuolting from the Turkes, gaue his subiects leaue to take armes against them, and to make boote of them and their goods, wherefoeuer they should finde them. The *Transiluanians* herewith encouraged, and in hope of some rich prey, taking armes, first went to the great riuer *Danuby*, where they rooke certaine Turkes ships very richly fraught, and therewith much treasure, which was bound to the Turkes armie in *Hungary*. The *Moldauians* and *Walachians*, vpon the newes of the *Transiluanians* reuolt, and of the great bootie by them taken from the Turkes; and moued by their example, shortly after resolu'd to doe the like; and therewith ioyned in league with the *Transiluanian* Prince; who alreadie had sent his Ambassadors to the Emperor *RODVLPH* to *Prage* in *Bohemia*; where betweene the Emperor and the said Prince it was concluded; that in both defensue and offensue warre to be made against their common enemy, the one should assist the other; and that no truce, peace, defensue and offensue be made against their common enemy: and that neither of or other composition should be made with the Turke, without their mutuall consent and good liking, with seuerall other articles too long to be recited. The reuolt of these Prouinces was so beneficiall to the Christians, and so preiudiciall to their enemies, that (as it was surmised) *AMVRATH* the great Turke, for anger for the losse of them, and of a seditious tumult of the *Ianifaries*, happened at *Constantinople* in December 1594, fell so sicke that he died thereof. After the taking of *Raab*, *SINAN* Basha thinking to haue made all smooth before him, besieged the citie of *Romara*, from whence after three weekes hard siege, and many terrible assaults giuen, hearing of the coming of the Archduke *MATTHIAS*, he retired to the late gotten city *Dotis*, where he discharged his army. The spring next following at the Emperors especiall request the King of *Spaine* sent to the Emprors warres in *Hungary*, 2000 horse and 6000 foote, vnder the conduct of Countie *CHARLES MANSFIELD*, a man famous in the low countries for his seruice against the States, vnder the commaund of the Duke of *Parma*: who departing from *Brussels* in *Brabant*, in Februarie came to *Prage* in *Bohemia* in March following.

*The death of  
Amurath the  
great Turke  
the 18 of Iannu-  
ary 1595.*

*Sundrie supplies  
sent to aide the  
Emperor in his  
warres against  
the Turke in  
Hungary.*

The same spring also came sundrie good supplies not onely from the Princes of *Germany* but out of *Italy* also, as from the Pope, the great Duke of *Tuscane*, the Dukes of *Ferrara*, and of *Mantua* with others, which together with the aides of *Germany*, amounted to the number of 50000 foote, and about 15000 horse, wherewith

wherewith the Countie *MANSFELD* being made Lieutenant Generall vnder Duke *MATTHIAS*, tooke the field, and besieged the citie of *Strigonium*, which (after a long tedious siege and sundrie bold attempts giuen by the Turkes for the vnsetting thereof) was by the Christians taken, in Nouember 1595. Presently after the taking of *Strigonium*, the Archduke sent certaine troupes to attempt the castle of *Plindenburg*, situate vpon the riuer *Danubie*, betweene *Buda* and *Strigonium*, which without any great resistance they tooke also. The newes of the taking of these places, especially *Strigonium*, caused great ioy in most parts of Christendome; but into the Turkes in *Buda* it strake so great a feare, that the most part of the better sort of the inhabitants were at the point to haue abandoned the citie, and had done so had not the Basha, by commaunding the gates thereof to be shut, staied their flight.

*Strigonium ta-  
ken by the Chri-  
stians, an. 1595*

About the same time that *Strigonium* was taken, *SINAN* Basha with a great armie of Turkes hauing made a bridge ouer the *Danubie*, came into *Walachie*, purposing to haue reduced the same, together with *Transiluania* and *Moldauia* into the Turkes obeisance: but the inhabitants of those countries hauing intelligence of his coming, made such prouision for his entertainment, that after a most doubtfull battaile (continuing from the morning till night) wherein many thousand Turkes being slaine, the rest to saue their liues were driuen to flie, and amongst them the old Basha; who making more haste then good speede, was like to haue been drowned in a ditch, leauing all his Ordenances, baggage and prouision in prey to the Christians.

*Sinan Basha  
ouerthrowne by  
the Transilua-  
nians.*

About the same time, the Turkes to the number of about 20000 men, with fire and sword entring *Croatia*, were by the Christians in such manner encountered and ouerthrowne, that few of them escaped with their liues: with which good successe encouraged, the Christians besieging the citie of *Petroiina*, tooke the same; the taking whereof caused infinite ioy in all that part of the countrie. The old enemy to the Christians, *SINAN* Basha, in hope to haue been reuenged for his late ouerthrow, hauing made a new bridge ouer the *Danubie*, againe with an armie of 70000 men entred *Walachie*: against whom came the Prince of *Transiluania* with as great an armie: but before they two could meete, the Turkes and *Ianifaries* were possessed with such feare, that without sight of the Prince or his armie they retired, together with their Generall *SINAN*, who for haste left his Tent behinde him, with good store of Ordnance, munition and prouision for the warres. Vpon whose hastie retreit, the Prince coming to *Tergouista* (where in lay foure thousand Turkes in garrison) summoned the Castle to yeeld: but the *Ianifaries* therein standing vpon their defence, refused all composition: whereupon the Prince by batterie hauing made an assaultable breach, the place was entered; wherein the Turkes hauing their throates cut, in the Castle were found 42. pieces of Artillerie. Before the Prince his departure from this place, 4000 Turkes, which by *SINAN* Basha had been sent a boote haling, being with 60000 head of cattle returned, and thinking to haue found him where they left him, were for their paines taking all put to the sword. Besides these, many other great exploitcs were performed by this worthy Prince, and more would haue been, had not the Chauncellor of *Poland* (enuying his good successe) sought and practised his ouerthrow; to the great hindrance of the Christians, and aduancement of the Turkes proceedings.

*An armie of the  
Turkes ouer-  
throwne by the  
Christians in  
Croatia.*

*The cowardly  
flight of the  
Turke in VVa-  
lachie.*

*Tergouista ta-  
ken by the  
Prince of Tran-  
siluania.*

The Spring following, the Emperours armie vnder the conduct of the Baron of *Swarsenburgh*, taken the field, marched towards *Vaccia* garrisoned by the Turkes;

Vaccia abandoned and fired by the Turks.

Turkes; which hearing of the approach of the Christian armie, abandoning the citie and setting the same on fire, fled to *Pesth*. After their departure, the Christians besieged *Hatwan*, which being taken by assault, all that therein were, without respect of age, sexe, or dignitie, past by the edge of the sword.

In the meane time while these things were a doing, MAHOMET the Turkish Emperour with an armie of two hundred thousand Turkes and Tartars, and three hundred pieces of Artillerie came into *Hungary*, wherein, within few daies after his thither comming, he besieged the citie of *Agria*, (a place of great importance in the vpper *Hungary*) part whereof after a long terrible siege and many desperate assaults giuen, he tooke by force of armes, putting to the sword all that were therein: the rest fearing the like issue, yeelded vpon composition of their liues saved, and to depart with their baggage, and their swords by their sides.

After the taking of *Agria*, MAXIMILIAN the Emperours brother, and then Generall of his armie, ioyning with the Prince of *Transilvania* (who with 18000 men, horse and foote, and fortie pieces of Artillerie came to his aide) taking the field with an armie of 60000 men, whereof 32000 were horsemen, resolving to giue the Turke battaile, came to the other side of a riuer which parted his and the Turkes armies; where after many bloudie skirmishes and euents of warre, the two armies ioyned in battaile; wherein the Christians fought so valiantly, that hauing put almost all the Turkes whole armie to route; and MAHOMET the great Turke himselfe with the chiefe of his Bashaes being fled: the Christians euen then when they should haue consummate their victorie, by base greedie seeking for pillage, gaue their vanquished enemies time and oportunitie againe to gather head; and by charging them in this their disorder, to ouerthrow them and put them to flight. In this battaile, of the Christians were slaine 20000 men, and of the Turkes 60000. After this battaile, wherein either partie ranne from the other. MAHOMET thinking it honour enough for him to haue taken *Agria*, retired to *Belgrado*, and thence with much adoe to *Constantinople*; wherein he hath euer since kept himself safe enough from any more hazarding his person in any place of such perill. The rest of this yeere and the next were spent of either side for the most part in skirmishes, and sudden inuasions, without ought done of any great importance.

In the yeere following, which was 1598, SIGISMUND the valiant Prince of *Transilvania*, seeing the countrie of *Moldauia* by the Polonian separated from him and made tributarie to the Turke, and himselfe (as it were) left alone to beare the burthen of the warre against both Turke and Polonian, resolved with himself to resigne the possession of *Transilvania* to the Emperor RODVLPH, as to a Prince then himselfe better able to defend the same: and so retired to liue priuate in peace in *Slesia*, with certaine exhibition sufficient to maintaine him in honorable estate.

In March following, the citie of *Raab* one of the most strong cities in *Europe*, situate in the hither part of *Hungary* towards *Austrich*, was by the wise conduct of the Baron of *Swarzenburgh* lying then in *Romana*, in a night surprized, and after a long desperate fight possessed, wherein besides two Bashaes and 6000 souldiers slaine, fourescore and thirtie pieces of Artillerie were taken, to the great ioy of all *Hungary* and *Germany*; and the extreme raging grieve of the Turkes, who for foure yeeres space had been Lords thereof: it being first besieged by SINAN Basha, with an armie of 150. thousand men the space of three moneths; and then betrayed by the Countie HARBAC, who had the commaund of the place.

After

After this so fortunate recouerie of *Raab*, the Christians besieging *Buda*, put the Turkes to such distresse, that they abandoning the citie retired to the Castle, wherein they were so thoroughly assailed by Mines, batteries and assaults, that they could not long haue held out, if the Christians had been able to haue continued the siege: which oppressed by the extremitie of the weather, tired with intolerable toyle, and what was worse, hearing of the comming of a great armie of Turkes to vnset the besieged, they firing the suburbs, with great prey retired to *Sirigomium*: from whence they were dispersed to sundrie places there to lie in garrison, to be in the better readines for the next yeeres seruice. About the same time, the Turkes hauing besieged and battered the citie of *Varadin* in the vpper *Hungary*, were (like as the Christians before *Buda* in the lower *Hungary*) driuen to raise their siege, and to returne to *Buda*. Which citie the Baron of *Swarzenburgh* the yeere next following attempted to haue surprized, and to haue made an entrie thereinto by meanes of a Pettar, as he not long before had done by *Raab*: but failing of his purpose, and being discovered he was driuen to depart: but shortly after, the Basha of *Buda* with a troupe of sixe hundred horse going to bring in a conuoy of victuals for the reliefe of the citie; fell by chauce into an ambush of certaine hazarders which lay for boote: by the which (after a long fight) being ouerthrowne and taken prisoner, he was brought to the Emperours campe. But the aduenturers returning to trie their further fortune, were giuen to vnderstand, that the Basha of *Bosna*, with the Saniaques of *Zighe*, of the five Churches, and of *Coppan*, with 10000 Turks were comming (by cutting their throates) to free the countrie from their incursions: wherewith nothing dismayed, these aduenturers went to chuse a fit ground to fight with them, whom at the first meeting they charged, and after a long doubtfull fight ouerthrew: in which encounter the Basha himselfe with the greatest part of the Turks, ended their daies.

At the same time, in the vpper *Hungary*, IERAIM Basha with an armie of 50000 Turkes came to *Solnack*; where vnderstanding of a small armie of the Christians lying at *Cassonia*, he without daring to attempt ought, retired to *Belgrade*, where he expected the comming of a flete of ships, fraught with victuals and munition for his armie, and for the reliefe of *Buda*, *Alba Regalis*, and other distressed places, conuoyed vp the riuer by 5000 Turkes: whereof the Christians hauing some aduertisement, lay in waite for them; and at their comming, by giuing a sudden v unexpected charge, ouerthrowing them, had the spoile of the ships; wherein the goods were valued to be worth a Millian of gold, among which was to the value of about 20000 pound sterling in readie money; which was shared amongst the souldiers.

In the beginning of the yeere 1600, the Emperor calling a Diet, solicited the Princes of the Empire for supplies for the warres to be made the next spring: which they promising, he made the Duke of *Merqueur*, late Gouverneur of *Brittaine* in *France* (who assisted by the King of *Spainne* with about 4000 Spaniards vnder the conduct of DON IVAN DE LAGUNA, and by the rest of the league, warred against the French King: and now with a great number of French foote and horse, was come to the Emperors seruice) Generall of all his forces.

Not long after, certaine troupes of Wallons and French men lying in garrison in *Pappa*, a strong towne in the lower *Hungary*, mutinying and offering to sell the towne to the Turkes, committed many horrible villanies too loe to be related: whereupon the Baron of *Warzenburgh* vpon intelligence, with assistance of 1000 horse and foote made thitherwards with certaine Pettars, which encouraged the Christians being on either side

Buda besieged and againe left by the Christians.

1598.

1599.

A rich reprisall taken by the Christians vpon the Danubie.

The Duke of Merqueur Generall of the Emperors forces in Hungary.

Wallons and French men mutinying in Pappa, were justly rewarded.

The death of  
the Baron of  
Swarzenburgh  
sometime Go-  
vernour of O-  
denburgh in  
Flanders for the  
King of Spain.

haue surpris'd the citie: but failing, he was in a fallie unfortunately with a Musket shot slaine. But the citie being neuertheless better, the mutiners were so much distressed that they resolu'd to abandon it, and to flie to the Turkes, which being perceiu'd, such order was taken, that they sallying and being disper'd, many of them were intercepted, and according to their deserts iustly after sundrie manners so tortured, that happie was he that had but his throte cut. And thus ended that mutinie.

Babosca taken  
by the Turkes.

Towards the latter end of summer in the yeere 1600, ISRAIM Basha, with a very huge armie of Turkes and Tartars (deemed 20000 strong) came before Babosca, a strong hold in the lower Hungary; which after one daies batterie and a breach made, was deliuered into his power. Thence marching with his armie to Canisfa, a towne in the borders of Stiria, for the situation thereof in a deepe fenne, and the strength of the garrison, held impregnable; where whilest with faggots and earth the Turkes were buied to make passage for their armie ouer the bogges, they might perceiue the Duke of Mercueur, Generall for the Emperour, with an armie of little more then 40000 horse and foote come thither for the reliefe of the place, at their backs readie to charge them: with which the Basha (after knowledge had of their strength) ioynd in bataille; wherein many of either partie being slaine, the night parted the fray. But the next day, the Capitaines of the Christians were so much daunted, that they could not be drawne from their strength: which the encmie perceiuing, the Tartars were sent abroad to forrage, which roaming vp and downe the countrie for prey, met with a conuoy of 200 wagons laden with victuals, comming to the reliefe of the Christians, which they tooke and carried to their campe: the losse whereof added to their former feare, did so much discourage the Christians, that they by night retiring, and being by the Turkes perceiued and followed, lost (besides certaine pieces of Cannon and the greatest part of their luggage) 3000 men of their arrierguard. Presently after this their hastie retreat, the Turkes returned to the siege of the citie, wherein the garrison in despair to be vnset mutinying (and not without suspicion of treason in the Gouvernour, which afterwards cost him his head) came to a composition to giue vp the place, vpon condition freely to depart with bag and baggage. Which being accordingly performed, the Basha made the towne to be more strongly fortified then euer theretofore.

Canisfa yielded  
to the Turkes.

Yet notwithstanding these disasters, the Emperour hauing obtained both out of Italy and Germany new supplies, the Duke Mercueur, Generall of the Emperours forces at the time of the yeere fit for seruice with an armie taking the field, besieged the strong towne of Alba Regalis, which for certaine daies he bearing with the Cannon, thought to haue entred and taken the same by assault; but being by an ouerloper, aduertised, that through a lake on the other side of the city the suburbs might be surpris'd (which being tak'd the towne could not hold out) he sent 1000 chosen men to attempt the same; who notwithstanding that they found greater difficultie in the action then was expected, yet at the length a little before the breake of the day they got ouer, at which time vpon a signe giuen, the Duke on the other side made shew of so furious an assault, as though he would presently haue entred the citie with his whole forces: whilest the Turkes ranne to answere the alarme, giuen by the Duke, those which on the other side had past the lake, entering the suburbs vndiscover'd, with such terrible cry charged the Turkes at thoure yeeres, that they in a tumult amazed, fled into the citie, of which the Christians, with an armie of 10000 men, made a great slaughter. The suburbs wherein consisted the

the chiefe strength of the citie being taken; the Duke the next day with the Cannon hauing made two places assaultable, the citie was entred, and the garrison put to the sword: onely the Basha, Commaunder of the place was taken, and sent prisoner to the campe. Presently vpon the taking of this citie, the Generall of Turkes forces hearing that Alba Regalis was distressed, leuied an army the 60 thousand strong to come to the reliefe thereof, who notwithstanding that he was aduertised that the citie was already taken, yet he neuertheless, in hope to ouerthrow the Christians, or by finding the citie vnrepai'd, held on his way thitherwards: whereof the Duke aduertised, with an armie of a farre lesse number, but much better men (for the most of the Turkes were but Visconios lately taken vp) made towards him: and the two armies drawing neere the one to the other, a hot skirmish was entertained betwixt them; and the Duke being ascertained of the basenes of the Turkish souldiers, resolutely giuing the onser, at the first charge had the execution of 6000 of them, and had ouerthrowne the whole armie, had not certaine great troupes of Tartars appeared at their backs: by which meanes the Christians forbearing to prosecute their good fortune, the Basha had opportunitie to reforme his scattered forces, and so within few daies after to retire to Buda, but in his retreat they following him in the arrierguard, and tooke many prisoners, and amongst them sundrie French men of those which had mutinied in Pappa; which Duke of Mercueur (for that they had for his sake come to those warres) procured to be pardoned.

Alba Regalis  
taken by the  
Christians.

An armie of the  
Turkes slay'd  
by Duke Mer-  
cueur.

Shortly after the Archduke FERDINAND with an armie attempting by siege, battery, and all warlike stratagems to haue recouered Canisfa, lay before it vntill that through the desperate valour of the defendants (the most of which were Burgundians and French men) together with the Frost, Snow, and extreme tempestuous windes which then happened, he was driuen to raise his siege; from which his people made so hastie a retreat, that they could not be induc'd to take their Ordinance with them.

Canisfa besieged  
and giuen ouer  
by the Christi-  
ans.

The taking of Alba Regalis the last yeere by the Christians, being a place of such importance, did so much anger MAHOMET the great Turke, that he resolu'd either againe to recouer the same, or else in the action to hazard the greatest part of his forces, caused to that effect an armie of about 100000 vnder the commaund of MAHOMET Basha to be leuied; who therewith comming from Adrianople to Belgrado, and thence to Buda, about the middest of August sat downe before Alba Regalis; where he hauing plant'd his Cannon, made so terrible a batterie, as the like hath been seldome seene, but by reason of the marishes and fenny groundes, vnder which the citie was enuironed, he could not conueniently bring his people to giue the assault; whereupon he causing with great difficultie those bogges to be made firme ground, brought his men to assault the counterescarp, made without the walles for the defence of the foote of the rampart: in which attempt he hauing lost many men, in the end he constrained the Christians to withdraw themselves within their ramparts; to be briebe, after many fallies and retreats, and many assaults giuen, with the losse of an infinit number of men, and effusion of much blood, the Christians were driuen to giue care to a parley; during the time whereof, a damned villaine (who hauing renounced his faith was become a Turke) brought a battalion of the Turkes to a place which he knew to be but meanely guarded; where they being entred, made such a noise, that the rest of the army thereby perceiuing their entry were therewith so much encouraged, that they againe ranne to the walles, where the poore Christians being on either side

Alba Regalis  
besieged by Ma-  
homet Basha  
1602.

*Alba Regalis  
taken by the  
Turkes.*

side by the multitude of their enemies oppressed, were for the most part valiantly fighting miserably slaine: onely the Gouvernour and some few other, which after the furie were in their lodging found sore wounded, had their lives saved. Thus was the strong citie of *Alba Regalis*, which eleuen moneths before was by surprise taken by the Christians, now againe recovered by the Turkes.

*Pesth taken by  
the Christians.*

1560.

Shortly after the losse of *Alba Regalis*, the Emperours forces to the number of some thirtie thousand men were drawne to an head in *Kemara*, from whence in hope by doing some notable exploit to haue recovered their lost honour, in not relieuing *Alba Regalis*, they went to *Buda*; where after the breaking of a bridge made ouer the *Danubie* betweene *Pesth* and *Buda*, they by a stratagem tooke the citie of *Pesth*, together with the suburbs of *Buda*; from whence (after that they had battered and sundrie waies attempted the castle, and brought the same to the point to haue yeelded for want of victuals) they retired, for feare of an infinite multitude of Tartars, which making passage through *Walachie*, were comming to vnset the citie.

*The Chancel-  
lor and other  
great men in  
Poland, the Po-  
lish King wink-  
ing thereto.*

After this, many seruices were worthely perfourmed by the Christians, which the breuitie of this historie permitteth not at large to be related. And whereas I said in the beginning of this discourse, that when this Emperour was aduanced to the Imperiall dignitie, it was hoped of him that he would not onely haue restored the auncient Maiestie of the Empire, but also haue enlarged the shortened bounds thereof: so without all doubt (as it appeareth by the histories of his time) he would in farre more ample manner haue freed the same from the miserable seruitude wherein they yet languish, if the rest of the Christian Princes would haue aided him with any indifferent assistance: or what is lesse, if some professing Christ had not in the highest of his fortune, by crossing him aduanced the Turks proceedings, raising troubles, dissention and ciuill warres in the countries of *Moldavia*, *Walachia*, and *Transilvania*; which countries so long as they continued firmly vnited to the Empire, did not onely molest the Turkes, and oftentimes defeat whole armies of them, but also gaue the Emperor oportunitie (by his Lieutenants) to recouer sundrie townes in *Hungary*; wherein being in power no way comparable to the ancient Romane Emperors) he hath admirably to his high honor, maintained against the most mightie Monarch of the earth, a long, chargeable and bloudie war; such as no Germane Emperor since the beginning of the Turkish Monarchie hath euer waged the like: and therein notwithstanding the inequalitye of their forces, hath (without diminution) held and yet still holdeth what he inherited, or as much in value. But forasmuch as it is in the mightie hand of God only to redeeme that neuer sufficiently pined kingdom of *Hungarie*, with the confines thereof, from the miserable oppression of the Turkes: To conclude, I humbly beseech his diuine Maiestie to be pleased, so to vnite the hearts and hands of all professing the name of Christ, that they not onely expell the common enemy out of such places as he to the dishonour of all

Christian Princes vsurpeth in *Europe*, but also release from seruitude so many thousands of distressed poore soules, which in extreme miserie in sundry parts of the world groane vnder the slavish yoke of their barbarous tyrannie.

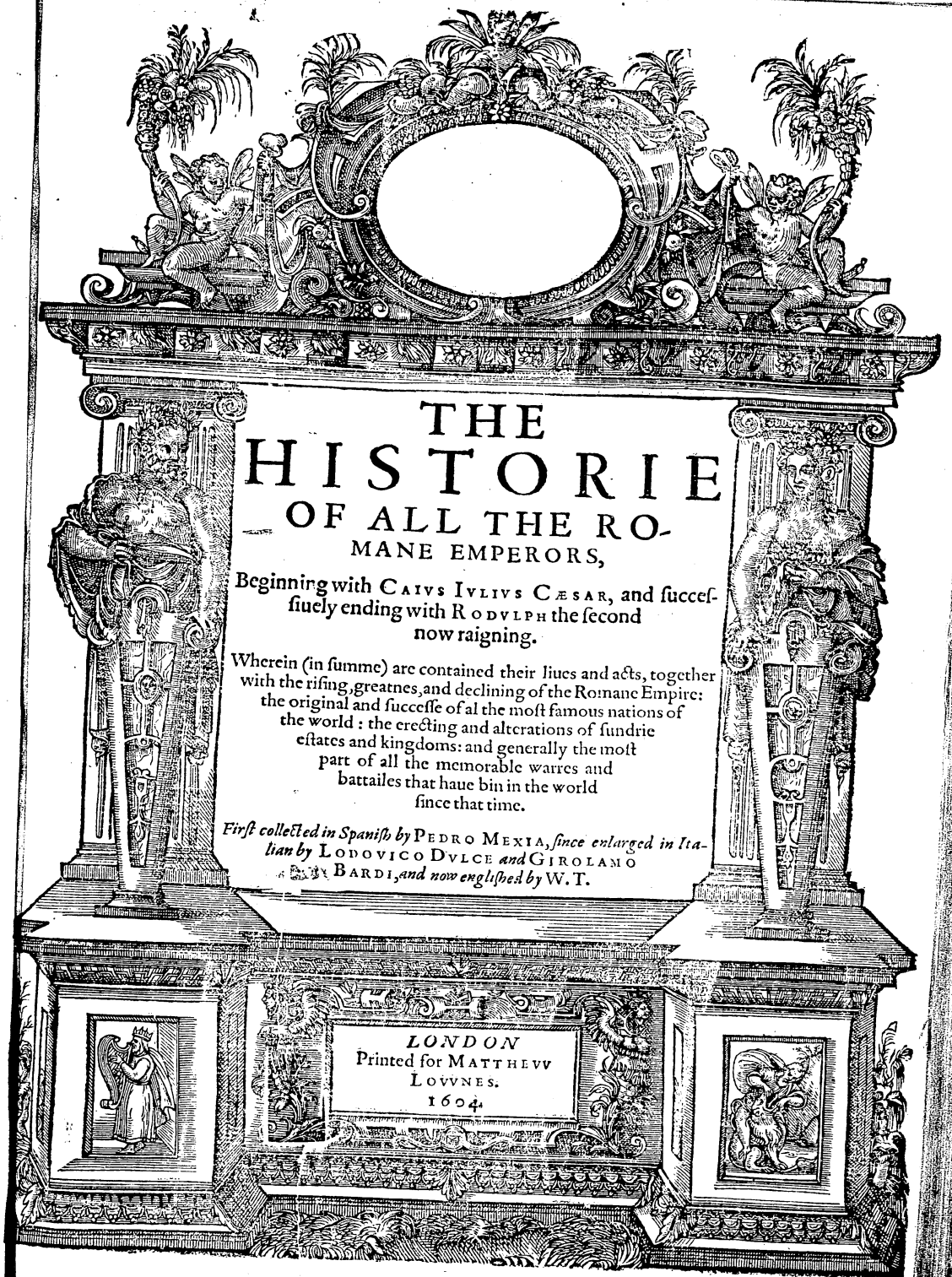
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# TO THE RIGHT VALE- ROVS AND WORTHY KNIGHT

SIR HORACIO VERE, COLONEL  
OF AN ENGLISH REGIMENT  
vnder the States in the Low  
Countries.

**B**Eing through lingring sicknes con-  
strained to leaue the warres, I thought  
it not fit to melt my time in idlenes,  
but to vndergoe some exercise of the  
minde, sith strength failed in my bo-  
dy : and for me I thought nothing  
more fit then to write of warres (vn-  
able to follow them) that it might appeare to the world my  
thoughts had not forsaken Armes, though Armes had cassered  
me. Debating with my selfe, I at last resolued, that to translate  
the liues of Emperors was the truest subiect and most honora-  
ble ; full of vertue and valour, the changes of times, the chaun-  
ces of wars, the instabilitie of fortune, the force of magnanimi-  
tie, and reward of honor. Hauing with no little paines finished  
what I aimed at, there came more paines into my head, studying  
to whom I should dedicate my labours ; for I assured my selfe  
that treating of valour and vertue, it must be to one that had  
both. I needed not to haue past the Seas into Flaunders for a  
Patrone of my paines, knowing that in England there are so  
many of such worthy memory, such exquisit knowledge both for  
counsell and execution, for experience and successe, for disci-  
pline and deserts, as in no age our Iland heretofore hath offered,  
(though in all ages famous :) but it suted with my conceite ra-  
ther

## THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

ther to finde out some that were in present action; to the end that Captaines and Gentlemen after their worthy seruices done by day, might with reading of honorable deedes recreate themselves at night; and seeing the reward of others courage, redouble their owne in hope (although not to come to be Emperors) yet to clime to honors in their life, and leaue to posteritie that which cannot die (though they shall) fame, memorable, and immortall. Nailed (if I may so say) to this opinion, it was easie for me in the Low-countries (without doubt or dispute with my selfe) to finde your selfe as the fittest there, both in regard of your honorable seruices, and vertuous disposition: what I speake is so farre from flattery, that enuie can alleage nothing to the contrarie: besides when I call to minde the honorable seruices of your auncestors, many yeeres famous for the warres: then the liuing patterne of a perfect *Christian*, your renowned brother (whom for honors sake I name) Sir FRANCIS VERE Knight, Lord Gouvernour of the Briell, whom the Low-countries haue found both wise and valorous, and the Spaniards no lesse; (though they wished it had not been so much:) then againe was I enforced to continew in my proposed purpose. To single out your seuerall seruices, the manner, the valour, and the sucresse, were to tell that to the world which it knoweth already. If this in me seeme presumption, excuse it, because it proceedeth from the honor I beare you. If your vertues entertaine my labours: my labours then will easily cleere my errors. So praying to the Almighty to second all your honorable attempts with happie sucresse, I rest wholly in what I shall be able.

Euer ready to doe you seruice,  
humbly at commaund

W. TRAHERON.



## THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

**H**Auing determined, yea and sometime promised, following my course already begun, to write something for the common good of my countrey, as in satisfaction and account for the time which I haue spent in reading: after many considerations had to that purpose, no kind of writing seemed more fit for me, neither did so much please and satisfie me, as to take in hand some great and notable historie. Truly I had reason and sufficient ground to do so, for that indeede no kinde of literature can be written, which may be beneficiall to so many, and be generally acceptable and pleasing to all; neither that hath bin so much extolled and commended by wise and great men, as Historie. ARISTOTLE affirmeth it to be profitable for Councils, Senates, and Assemblies, of whose opinion was the good Emperour SEVERVS, who so often as he had occasion to treat and consult of any important matter concerning the wars, called to counsell and was chiefly aduised by wise men, and such as were well read in ancient Histories. ZENO the Prince of the Stoick Philosophers being demanded by what meanes a man might be made both happie and wise, answered, that he should conuerse with the dead: which is as much as if he should haue said, let him by reading histories vnderstand and know the acts of the ancient. As for CICERO, (before whose iudgement I know not whose to preferre) he discoursing of historie, calleth it the record of times, the light of the truth, the Mistris of mans life, the life of memorie, the messenger of antiquitie. Others call it the ground and foundation of the truth: others, the image of humane life: including in few words great praises and mysteries, and yet true and certaine, if we attentiuely note and consider them. For to the first, it is cleere and manifest that historie is the light of the truth, and a record of ages and generations, sith that the things which in time are consumed and brought to nothing, are thereby kept and preserved, yea and it maketh them (whether they will or no) to liue and remaine in mans memorie: and it doth in such manner represent things past, that it maketh it seeme vnto vs that we see and attaine to those times, as though that such things had happened in the time wherein we liue. If glorie and renowne be so great a good as SALOMON and all the Sages doe extoll the same to be; and if naturally all men desire to perpetuate their name and memorie, tell me what would be become thereof if Histories were not? Truly it had been but as the winde, which passing by is felt, but cannot be kept nor detained. What speech or remembrance had we now had of the great acts of the Greekes and the Romanes, and of other people and nations, if Histories had not been? How had I knowne the clemencie

## TO THE READER.

of CÆSAR, the magnanimitie and largesse of ALEXANDER, the bountie and iustice of TRAIANE, or the vertues and excellencies of these and such other great and noble personages to imitate and extoll them, if not by these meanes? Truly all that is past had bin but as a dreame, which waking, a man hath forgotten, and cannot recite. And our forepassed fathers had not onely bin deprived of their fame and renowne, but innumerable great acts had bin left vndone, but that the emulation of glorie and renowne made them to be vndertaken: for it is certaine, that the Trophees of MILCIADES stirred vp THEMISTOCLES; and the historie that HOMER wrote of ACILLES, ALEXANDER the Great; and of him, IULIVS CÆSAR; and so of others other men to perforce great and noble exploits. The matter resteth not here, that Historie is onely a record and preseruer of humane vertues: but hath also bin very necessarie for the conseruation of diuine matters; for it hath preserued in memorie the liues, martyrdomes, and godly examples of the Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, and the greatest part of our holy law and sacred Scripture is historie, being the ground and foundation whereupon standeth all the rest of the building. If not, I pray tell me (passing ouer the rest in silence) what else is the holie Gospell, but an historie and a true relation?

To returne to policie and humane conuersation, what were it, if the Chronicles and memorie of matters past were wanting? For without them the noble and antiquitie of houses and linages could not be knowne and continued, and as little the right and title to estates; neither should we haue knowne the beginning and originall of people, Kingdomes and Nations, neither the lawes to gouerne them could haue bin preserued: and in all things would haue bin disorder and confusion, as we see to be amongst those Nations which want the same. So that truly and with much reason it is said, that Historie is the schoolemistresse and director of mans life, sith that besides what is already set downe, it is very necessarie and expedient for all estates, qualities, and ages: for to simple young men it giueth the wisdom of ancient old men, and maketh them expert without hauing had experience: for as saith CICERO, for a man not to know what passed before his time is to be euer a child. So that iustly it may be said, that historie maketh men expert, wise, and circumspect: for by examples and demonstrations of matters past, it giueth a rule and direction to determine of matters present (yea and what is more and seeming impossible) that a man may before hand diuine and vnderstand the issue and successe of his actions and attempts: for knowing the beginning and the middle, he may coniecture them to haue the like issue and euent as such other like actions haue had: for as SALOMON saith, sith there is no new thing vnder heauen, and that all that is hath bin, and that which is to come shall be as what is past, it appeareth plainly vnto vs, that he that hath vnderstood, seene, and well considered it, may well perceiue what will follow. And as I say, this fruite and profit is common to all sorts of men: for Kings and Princes in Histories may finde others whom they may imitate, and with whom they may emulate and contend in vertues and excellencies: and other wicked ones, whose fashions and conditions they may shew and abhorre, and by whose ends and fame they may take example: Captaines, aduice, policies, acts of fortitude and magnanimitie, which they may vse and make profit of: and seeing the errors and daungers, may know how to auoide them. Gouernours and Magistrates, lawes, customes, and manner of gouernment, which they may hold for a rule. Finally, there is not any kind of people, but out of Historie may draw a rule and example vnder which they may liue wisely and vertuously, and warning to beware

## TO THE READER.


beware of the contrarie. For the true historie leaueth no vertue without commendation, neither vice without reprehension, and to al indifferently giuing their due place and worth; is a testimonie against the wicked, a reward to the iust, and a treasure and depositorie of heroicall vertues and noble acts. Of all other Artes and Sciences, each of them hath a marke and white whereat to aime: historie comprehendeth the whole, and is the practise and example of the rest. Great and excellent are other Arts and Sciences, but men are most commonly drawne thereto through the couetous desire they haue thereby to attaine to riches and honours: onely historie is read for the loue of it selfe, no other thing is therein expected, but to know which is the true guerdon. Historie of it selfe may liue without the Sciences, and so can none of them without it, for it hath been the preseruatiue and storehouse of them all, and so consequently by this account ought to be preferred before them all. Principally for the vse of historie letters were found out, to the end to leaue to those that were to come, a memoriall of what was past: and as other Arts and Sciences were written, it was but to leaue an historie of them. So as the matter being well weighed, we may say that all that is written, seeing it is written for a memoriall and to be kept in remembrance, is but historie. Another excellencie (besides what is already said) hath historie about all other Artes; for all the Sciences are not generally pleasing to all men; sundrie please sundrie humours: but historie to all wits is indifferently acceptable. The Philosophers sometime haue been driuen out of Rome, and in like manner the Masters in Rhetorike and Art Oratorie, for the dislike the people haue had of them: and in a long time Phisicke was not admitted. The Mathematicians and Astrologians haue sometimes been banished from thence also, and some nations haue not allowed of certaine Arts, neither do they yet at this day embrace them: but the Histories and Annales of times past, neuer hath there been any man but hath loued and desired them, and respected those which haue been the authors thereof. Yea the reading of histories is so delightfull, that we willingly giue eare to fables and tales for the sympathie they hold with true histories. Of all the excellent Kings and Captaines that haue been in the world, I haue not read of any but were delighted with reading the Chronicles, out of which they drew no lesse rule and discipline for what they were to vndertake, then from the exercise and vse of what they did: yea of LVCIVS LVCVLLVS we reade, that reading made him a wise and excellent Captaine. And great men in time past made so great account of histories, that they not onely spent much time in reading them, but did euen glorie, and made no lesse account to write histories, then to atchieue matters worthie to be written: some of which, the histories they wrote made them little lesse excellent and renowned, then the battailes they fought: as amongst the Greekes were HERODOTVS, THVCIDIDES and TIMOTHEVS: and amongst the Latines, MARCVS PORCIVS CATO, QVINTVS FABIVS, ASINIVS POLLIO, and the great Cæsars CAIVS IVLIVS, and his nephew OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS, and some others of the one and other nation. Finally, the benefits and excellencies of historie are such and so many, that as an endlesse peece of work I will leaue to wade any further therein, let this little that I haue recounted serue for an Index of the much that is to be said, which hath induced me in our vulgar tongue to bring to light this historie which is no common matter, but of all the Romane Emperours, wherein all their liues and acts in a meane, betweene fastidious tediousnes, and sterill breuitie, are into one volume briefly digested. And although it be a bold attempt, yet I hold the will and desire there-

## TO THE READER.

to commendable; which is, that through my endeour, what in the Latine tongue lieth secret and hidden from those which vnderstand not the same, may in our vulgar language be found out; and that therein wee may attaine to those benefits which before I haue recited. This is one of the chiefeft reasons whereby I was encouraged to take it in hand, together with what **PLINI** the Orator saith, that Historie howsoeuer it be written, yet is pleasing, for that naturally men are inclined to desire to know new things, as are those which are past to them that haue not knowne them. And although I cannot polish this Historie with other beautifying ornaments, yet will I endeour to write truly; contenting my selfe with what **CATVLLVS** saith concerning **CICERO**; that he of necessitie needeth not to be an Oratour that writeth an Historie; it shall suffice if he be not a lier. And the same **CICERO** in the person of **ANTHONY** saith, that the Greekes in the beginning wrote onely bare naked Annales, and so **MARCVS CATO**, **PRISO**, and other Romane Historiographers. The other lawes and conditions of Historie, in the computation of times, in the description and names of countries, together with the perspicuitie, sentences, counsels and the rest concerning the imbellishing and perfection thereof, is according to the haste and breuitie it behoued me to vse, and as was requisite for the abridgement of so great a matter: and as the weakenes of my wit, and the plainnesse of my stile could attaine vnto. The faults escaped in the whole worke, which cannot be but many, in requitall of my paines taken to please his humour in reading what before he knew not, I in charitie entreate the reader with patience to beare withall, promising to be thankfull to him that shall doe me that fauour.



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*Iustinian*

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## THE



# THE LIFE OF IULIUS CÆSAR, FOUNDER OF THE EMPIRE AND MONARCHIE OF ROME.



## THE ARGUMENT.

**I**ulius Caesar was of a most noble family, and returning to Rome from the Prætorship in Spaine with great renowne, making friendship with Marcus Crassus and Gneius Pompey, which were the mightiest Citizens in Rome, and pacifying the controuersie betwene them, he obtained the Consulship: which he executed with such grauitie and reputation, that his fellow-Consul would not endure to be with him, but liued retired. Afterwards giuing his daughter Iulia in marriage to Pompey, he went into France, which he subdued, and overcame the Germanes. He went afterwards also into Britannie, and by force of armes subdued it to the Romane Empire. Iulia afterwards dying and Marcus Crassus being slaine by the Parthians, mortall discord arose betwene Caesar and Pompey: the occasion whereof was, for that the second five yeares of Cæsars government of France being expired, it was propounded by Pompeyes partakers that a successor should be sent him; and Caesar desiring that his command in the French Warres might be prolonged, and that in his absence he might demand the Consulship: which being denied him, he made another demand, which was, that he would giue ouer his armie in Fraunce upon condition, that Pompey should doe the like by his in Spaine. Which being also denied, and being inioyned to leaue his armie, he passed the river Rubicon (limits assigned him which he was not to passe) and taking the Citie of Ariminum, he went

went with such furie directly towards Rome, that Pompey abandoned Italy; and befollowing him in the end ouertrew him in Pharsalia: whereupon Pompey for refuge repaying to Ptolomy King of Egypt, was in a small barke by that Kings direction, slaine by the hands of Septimius and Achila, whose head being caused to be presented by Ptolomy, Caesar wept. Afterwards bending his force against Ptolomy; and ouercomming him, he passed into Egypt, and tamed the pride of the Egyptians. Thence he went into Africa, pursuing the remainder of Pompeies faction, all which he ouercame; and Cato being in Utica, for not to fall into Caesars hands, slue himselfe. Caesar returning to Rome triumphed, and afterwards going into Spaine (after a most fierce battaile, wherein he was likely to haue been lost) he ouertrew Sextus Pompeius, eldest sonne of the great Pompey: and returning to Rome, he tooke upon him the Dictatorship: where finally, Decius, Marcus Brutus, Gaius Cassius, Gaius Casca, Atilius Cimber, Quintus Ligarius, Marcus Sparius, Cornelius Cinna, with many other principall Romanes conspiring against him, he was slaine in the Senat, being of the age of 56. yeares, upon the fifteenth day of March, with three and twentie wounds. Many prodigious signes of his death appearing both before and afterwards, which letted his passage against the Parthians, and many other high attempts, which he purposed to haue undertaken.



Beginning to write the Histories, and Liues of the Roman Emperours, Monarches of the earth and worldly dominion; or to say better, to bring them to a commendousnes and breuitie, a worke in truth very great and troublesome, and which requireth a farre riper wit, and greater eloquence then mine: I hold it not for the least of the difficulties thereof, but rather for one of the greatest, to proue I V L I V S C Æ S A R to be the first, of whom it behooueth me to treat: For although that

he were Dictator, and was not called Emperour in the signification of Soueraigne Lord, as his successors haue been euer since; yet he was the beginning and originall of this Monarchie, and from whom all the succeeding Emperours haue gloried to take the name of C Æ S A R S, and to be called his successors. The acts and deedes of this man were such, so many, and so great, and bookes and Histories are so full thereof, that it seemeth as hard a matter for me to reduce them to any breuitie, as to write and recite the same: And therefore out of abundance and matter so copious, I will chuse that which (in my iudgement) maketh most to my purpose, and to the subiect and end of this worke, handling it with some expedition and breuitie; although that it being the beginning and foundation of this edifice, it shall be very requisit to dilate and treat more at large thereof, then of those things which follow. In all other matters concerning this incomparable man, I referre the reader to the infinit number of Bookes, wherein C Æ S A R is remembered and extolled, and to the notice and knowledge (which is commonly held) of his excellencies and acts.

Among the great attempts which may be recounted of I V L I V S C Æ S A R (in my opinion) the greatest of all, and which maketh me most to wonder is, how he durst, and had the heart, first to thinke and imagine, and afterwards to attempt, and in the end to goe through with making himselfe Lord of the people and Common-wealth of Rome (which was Ladie and Ruler of the most and best parts of the whole world) and of so much, as it, in feuen hundred yeeres before, had been able to subdue and conquer: for so long was the time and somewhat more, from the foundation of Rome vntill that I V L I V S C Æ S A R possessed that Common-wealth: whereof two hundred fortie yeeres were vnder Kings, and the rest vnder Consuls chosen by the people, which gouerned it; sauing some few yeeres in which the Tribunes and Decemuii ruled. Indeepe a very short

All Caesars successors, haue taken from him the name of Caesars.

Caesars greatest attempts.

short space to conquer and subdue so great an Empire, as that which the Romanes enioyed when C Æ S A R reduced it from free and common, to the dominion of one: which, without all doubt, was the greatest of all that euer haue been in the world or man hath obtained, aswell for continuance of time as for greatnes and power; which is approved and affirmed by all authors and true Histories. For leauing apart the other Kingdomes and Common-wealths now at this present, which are not to be named in this discourse, and examining the greatest and most famous which before it were called the Monarchies of the world; which were the Assyrians, the Persians, and Macedonians; it will appeare that the Romane Empire farre excelled them all. For that of the Assyrians and Babylonians (which was the most auncient of all the Monarchies) in a thousand two hundred and fortie yeeres, which it lasted (as Saint A V G V S T I N reciteth) neuer extended it selfe out of Asia, neither attained to hold any part in Africa, or Europe; neither did the Medes, whose raigne A R B A T V S established by the death and destruction of S A R D A N A P A L V S King of the Assyrians, defeating that first Monarchie: then the Persians, which subuerted the Medes by the hand of the mightie C Y R V S, which is reckoned for the second Monarchie, notwithstanding that they made some incursions and entries into Europe, as vnder X E R X E S and others, and in Asia obtained greater power then any of their predecessors: yet in the end it lasted but two hundred and odde yeeres, and were overcome and subdued (D A R I V S being their King) by A L E X A N D E R the great King of Macedonia, whose kingdome we cannot deny to be greater then any of the forenamed: for he held a great part of Europe, and subdued (in a manner) all Asia, and is accounted for the third Monarchie. But this was but like a flash of lightening, burning whatsoever stode before it, whose fire was soone extinguished: for A L E X A N D E R dying, his power ended; and there was a diuision, and diuers kingdomes were erected thereof. But the dominion and Empire of the Romanes, which is the fourth Monarchie, notably excelled them all, both in time, in greatnes, and in power: In time; for there are few lesse then two thousand and three hundred yeeres since Rome was builded, and the Empire lasteth vntill this day, vnder the name of Romane: whereof in a thousand and three hundred yeeres, it alwayes encreased; and afterwards it neuer left to bee the most high and preminent dominion of all others. Then in greatnes and power; for it is certaine, that putting together all that euer all the rest enioyed, it will hardly amount vnto the one halfe of that which the Romanes possessed. For besides that which their Emperours enlarged, as hereafter shall appeare, before that I V L I V S C Æ S A R enioyed it, they had conquered the greatest and best parts of all the world: for in Europe they held all the prouinces of Italie, and Gallia Cisalphina which wee call Lumbardie, Istria and Illyricum, now called Slaunonia, and vpwards to the riuier Danubius; and subdued all Gracia either by force or friendship, as the Common-wealths and dominions of Athens, Lacedemonia, Thebes, Corinth, Peloponnesus which is now called Morea, and all the other prouinces thereof. The kingdomes of Macedonia and Epire now called Albania, together with Thracia: they had also the Iles of Sicilia, Sardinia, and Creta now called Candia, Cypres, Rhodes, and Eubœa which is now Negropont, with an infinit number of Ilands in the Mediterranean Sea. They possessed also the kingdomes of Spaine, although with greater difficultie and resistance then any of the rest; and the Gallias which are the kingdomes of Fraunce and all the prouinces thereof, with that part of Almaine on this side of the Rhine, called the Lowe, or Gallia Belgica; although this by the hand of C Æ S A R

Dionys. Halicarnassius cap. 1. Sirabo cap. 6. Appian in the first of his triumphes.

Saint Augustine in his booke de ciuitate dei, Iustin in his 43. booke, Titus Iunius Plinius, Solinus, in their comparisons, of other monarchies with the Romane.

Of the greatnes of the Empire, and Monarchie of Rome.

Gallia Cisalphina, Lumbardie, Illyricum, Esclaunonia, Peloponnesus, Morea.

Creta, Candia, Negropont.

Spaine, Gallia, France.

Britannie,  
England and  
Scotland.

Syria,  
Soria.

The Romans  
all other forces  
fighting, were  
overthrowne  
by themselves.

The beginning  
of the ciuill  
warres be-  
twene Cæsar  
and Pompey.

The emulation  
betwene  
Pompey and  
Marcus Cra-  
ssus.

himselfe, as hereafter shall be declared; and in like manner *Britannie* which containeth *England* and *Scotland*. They likewise held in *Africa* (being a third part of the world) all that which was or is fruitfull and habitable thereof, after the subuersion of the proud *Carthage*: then in *Asia*, they subdued the greatest and best prouinces, and made them their vassals and tributaries, among which was *Syria* now called *Soria*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestina*, *Iudæa*, and the holy citie of *Ierusalem*: in *Asia* the lesse, they held the prouinces of *Pamphilia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Cilicia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Bithynia* by the will and testament of *Nicomedes* their King. The Kings of *Egypt* and *Cappadocia* were their friends and allies: in *Armenia*, in *Colchos*, and in other prouinces they set and established Kings at their pleasure; and from *Albania* and *Iberia* they receiued hostages and tributs, wherein they had subdued, taken and slaine a great number of Kings and excellent great capitaines: Finally they were Lords of so many prouinces and countries, that it were an endlesse labour to recite them all; they were then so mightie that no force or power whatsoever (but their owne) was able to offend them. And it afterward hapned that discord and ambition, entring into this Common-wealth which was so free and puissant, seeing that forraigne forces were not sufficient, with their owne forces and armes they subdued and captiuated themselves, which grew through the discord and controuersie betwene the great *Pompey* and *Iulius Cæsar*, two the most famous and most mightie men in *Rome*, although that at that season there were many principall and great men: But the ground of this controuersie tooke roote before, to wit, from the two factions, and ciuill warres betwene *Sylla* and *Marius*; wherein *Marius* being overcome and slaine, *Sylla* made himselfe Dictator and seased vpon *Rome*; neuertheless before his death, he deposed himselfe from his Dictatorship and left it at libertie: *Pompey* was of *Sylla* his faction and had done great exploit in his behalfe; and *Cæsar* followed *Marius*, although then he were very young, to whom he was of kinne and affinitie. This was the roote from whence grew betwene them the ciuill warres, before which passed some matters very necessarie to be remembered: first, to the end that the causes and occasions which happened may be the better vnderstood, and afterwards the proceffe and successe thereof, which briefly recounted, passed in this manner.

These matters concerning *Sylla* being passed, and *Gneius Pompeius*, and *Marcus Crassus* remaining, by meanes thereof in great reputation: for they both followed that faction, and afterwards either of them desirous to haue the preheminance in commaund and gouernment, there was a continuall emulation and competitorship betwene them, which at the death of *Sylla* tooke beginning. *Marcus Crassus* made himselfe very mightie, besides his great wisdom, linage, eloquence, and victories which he had obtained, principally by meanes of his abundant riches, which he had gathered, being of greater value then any other mans of his time. *Pompey* likewise obtained great honour, reputation and power, besides that which he inherited from *Sylla*, by reason of his great victories and aduentures in Armes, in the time of *Sylla* and afterwards both by sea and land in *Africa*, in *Spaine* and in *Asia*, which were such and so many, that I dare not report them. The acts of these two great men being so highly extolled, and the controuersies betwene them encreasing (as betwene the heads of factions) although that at that same time, *Cato*, *Cicero*, and *Lentulus*, and others were vey principall men: It happened that *Iulius Cæsar* at this time came to *Rome* from *Spaine* where he

he had been Pretor, whose credit and estimation was now very great: but his thoughts were much higher and greater, for many causes, aswell for his great linage, being by his fathers side a Patritian and very ancient, and by his mother he came of the Romane Kings which descended from *Eneas* of *Troy*; as also for his great frindes and kindred, together with his singular wit and eloquence, and by meanes of the authoritie wherewith he had obtained and administred the magistracies and dignities which he had held, to wit, the Questorship of *Spaine*, the Tribunate of the Souldiers, the office of *AEdil*, the high priesthood, the office of Pretor; and by meanes of his victories obtained in *Spaine* against the *Gallegoes* and *Lusitanians*, adding hereto his other merits and graces of his person. Besides this, he was very liberall, very wise, and learned in arts and sciences, very expert and actiue in Armes, both on foote and horsebacke, very strong and valiant; and before that he was a Captaine, he had made maruellous prooue of his person in the warres of *Asia*, vnder *Marcus Terminus* Pretor, and *Servilius* the Proconsul, and had obtained the Ciuicall crowne. He was also of a very good constitution of body, tall, faire, comely, and strongly limmed, and could well endure trauell, for which and many other causes, he was much esteemed; but not so, as that in place or authoritie he could in *Rome* compare with *Marcus Crassus* or with *Pompey*: for they were deeply rooted and of long continuance.

*Cæsar* with these qualities being come to *Rome*, with a presumption and conceite (although in secret) to commaund more then all the rest, either of these two, *Crassus* and *Pompey*, desired his friendship, the one against the other. But *Cæsar* very wise and valorous would follow neither faction, because he would not make himselfe subiect or an abbettor to either partie, but rather shewing himselfe neutrall, fought meanes to make them friends, imagining that rather then he should encline to either partie they both would willingly yeeld to what should he require: which policie as *Plutarch* affirmeth, was comprehended by *Marcus Cato* onely. The peace betwene them was made, and concluded by his meanes, both of them remaining bound vnto him for the same; and as the one held the other in suspection, so for feare to lose him, they both fought to please him; and by this meane he made himselfe equall with either of them both, and the power which two held before, was now deuided betwene three, and in the end he alone commaunded all. This league being concluded, *Cæsar* demanded the Consulship which was the highest ordinarie dignitie, and was made Consul: which office he executed with such authoritie, that his fellow in office bare no sway with him, but rather (all the time that it lasted) liued retired, and kept his house. And *Cæsar* the better to confirme himselfe in the power which he had obtained, and to clime to the height of his desires, procured *Pompey* to marrie his daughter *Iulia*, and himselfe married the daughter of *Lucius Piso*, who was to succede him in the Consulship, which being accomplished, he chose the Gallias for his prouince, which is now the kingdome of *France*, whither he went with an Armie, where what he performed, what Battails and victories he there wan, what Countries and Nationes he subdued, what bold attempts, what counsels, what greatnes of minde and fortitude he vied, in little lesse then tenne yeares that this warre lasted, are not possibly by me (which am to vse breuitie, and to touch matters but superficially) to be expressed and declared. He himselfe left most excellent and true commentaries thereof, approoued afterwards by his very enemies themselves: *Plutarch* also and *Suetonius Tranquillus*, *Apianus Alexandrinus*, *Lycan*, *Paulus*, *Orosius*, *Lucan* in his first.

The linage,  
gifts and ex-  
cellencies of  
Iulius Cæsar.

The league be-  
twene Iulius  
Cæsar, Crassus,  
and Pompey.

Plutarch in his  
life.  
Suetonius in  
his first booke.  
Apian in his  
third booke.  
Lucan in his  
first.

Paulus Orosius  
in his sixth.  
Eutropius in  
his sixth.  
Lucius Florus  
in his third.  
Himselfe in his  
103. of his  
Epitomes.

OROSIUS, LUCIUS FLORUS, EUTROPIUS, and many other authors write thereof, to which I referre the reader. In this warre he wanne such estimation and name of a Captaine, that he was held for the best of his time, or before him: for he conquered and subdued all *France* from the *Pyrenean* mountaines, vnto the *Alpes*, and all the rest vnto the *Rhine*; before which, he subdued and ouercame the valiant Heluetians, and Tigurins, now called Swissers, which as *PLUTARCH* affirmeth, were 300000. men, whereof 190000. were trained and exercised to the warres. He subdued the Germanes and *ARIOVISTVS* their Captaine, which came downe into *France*, and draue them out from thence: he tamed and ouercame the Belgians, the Ambians, the Neruians, and other most warlike Nations of the Galles: he shed more bloud then euer was shed in any warre in the world; and passing the riuer *Rhine* with a Bridge made of timber, he ouercame the Germanes, and brought certaine other countries vnder the yoke of the Romanes; and finding no more resistance in that Prouince, he passed with his people into the Isle of *Britannie*, now called *England* and *Scotland*, which was inhabited with a most warlike Nation, and till then vnknowne by any trafficke or other commerce, and by force of Armes compelled them to become subiects to the Citie of *Rome*.

All the time that these warres endured, wherein *I V L I V S C Æ S A R* gat great spoyle and riches, he neuer left to procure friendship in *Rome*, and in all other partes, by letters and gifts, and of Kings and Cities in *Asia*, in *Grecia*, and other countries, with aide of people which he sent them: and this sometime without the leaue or authoritie of the Senate, which he might safely doe, so long as he continued in league and friendship with *POMPEY* and *MARCVS CRASSVS*. He also made himselfe much esteemed and beloued of men of warre, giuing them pensions, and double payes, bestowing vpon them other honours and fauours: by which meanes, before that *POMPEY* was aware thereof, *C Æ S A R*s power and authoritie grew to be so great, that he began to be fraide thereof, when he was not able to resist the same. And the loue and friendship betweene these two, began to waxe colde, and to become suspect: for the pledges and bands which sustained the same, began to faile; the first was the death of *C Æ S A R*s daughter, who was *POMPEY*s wife, which was a great linke and chaine of this friendship. The second was the death of *MARCVS CRASSVS*, the third man of this companie, whom the Parthians slew in *Asia*, whither he went to make warres (as some write) more for the desire of priuate gaine, then of glorie or fame, whose authoritie also continued the concord. These principall causes wherein their amitie consisted ceasing, and being remooued; there ensued discord, and ciuill warre betweene them, which was the greatest and most generall that euer was in the world: for therein were employed and had a hand, all the Senators and martiall men of *Rome*, with all their friends and subiects, Kings and cities of the one part or the other. There were eleuen legions of the one side, and eightene of the other, all *Romane* and *Italian* Souldiers being the whole power of *Rome*, besides the aydes and companies of other prouinces. It was waged in *Italie*, in *France*, in *Spaine*, in *Epire*, in *Thessalia*, in *Egypt*, in *Asia*, and in *Africa*, by themselves and their captaines; and lastly, after fuyeeares continuance, it ended in *Spaine*. Some authors set downe the occasion of this ciuill warre, who although they somewhat varie, yet the truth is, that the causes thereof were enuie, ambition, desire to commaund, and vaine glorie, wherewith they both were infected. *POMPEY* began to haue *C Æ S A R*s power in suspicion;

The cause and  
occasions of the  
warres be-  
tweene Caesar  
and Pompey.

suspicion; it grieved *C Æ S A R* to see *POMPEY*s authoritie and dignitie. *POMPEY* would endure no equall, nor *C Æ S A R* superiour, as though that in the *Romane* Empire there had not been sufficient and enough for two men; and so either of them sought the others ruine, seeking to haue it wholly to himselfe. Whether *POMPEY* intended to make himselfe a tyrant, and absolute, it is incertaine: but it plainly appeareth that he would not that *C Æ S A R* should mount to that degree wherein he was. Some say that *C Æ S A R* was constrained (through feare) to take Armes, to auoyde suppression, and not to be condemned; for *CATO* had threatned to accuse him for leauing his Prouince: others charge him that he had euer procured and practized to vsurpe the dominion of *Rome*; and that his, and *POMPEY*s powers considered, it seemed a fitte match. *CICERO* saith of him, that hee euer had a verbe of *EVRIPIDES* in his mouth, wherein he said: That if lawes and equitie were to be infringed, it was to be done to the end to rule and commaund onely; and that *C Æ S A R* being accustomed to commaund, could not liue without an armie: for my part, I suppose that the causes were those already allcaded.

In the last yeare of the second fuyeeares of the captainship of the prouinces which *C Æ S A R* held, *LENTVLVS* and *MARCELLVS* being Consuls, it was concluded in the Senate, that there should be a successor sent to *C Æ S A R*, and that he should giue ouer his Armie and gouernment: and that if he desired the Consulship, as he had written, he should (to that end) come to *Rome* in person. *C Æ S A R* desired continuance of the Captainship and charge which he held, or that he might demaund the Consulship being absent, and before that he left his Armie: where-to *POMPEY* would not agree, because it was against the lawes, which determined that the Consulship could not be demaunded by any man being absent, little remembring that he was made Consul before he was of lawfull age; and other dignities which by fauour (with dispensation of the lawes) he had obtained. But this is commonly the condition of most men, that to themselves, that seemeth lawfull and tolerable, which they reprove in others. This being then denyed to *I V L I V S C Æ S A R*, he yeilded to leaue his Armie, and to come priuate to *Rome*, so as *POMPEY* should likewise giue ouer his Armie which he held in *Spaine*. There passed many treaties and consultations about this matter, *MARCVS TVLLIUS CICERO* sought meanes to conclude a peace, and to bring them to agreement: which *POMPEY* had not refused, but those of his faction were so hautie and proud (as they were the greatest and best men of *Rome*) so that notwithstanding that *C Æ S A R* dealt mildly and iustified himselfe, yet they gaue no place thereto. And the Senates resolution was, that *C Æ S A R* should giue ouer his Armie within a certaine time prefixed, and that he should not therewith passe the riuer *Rubicon*, which was the bound of his prouince, declaring him for an enemy to *Rome*, if he did the contrarie. And *LUCIUS ANTONIVS*, and *QVINTVS CVRIO*, Tribunes of the people contradicting this determination in the behalfe of *C Æ S A R*, were ill handled, and thrust out of the Senate, who fled from *Rome*, and tooke their way towards *C Æ S A R*; which holpe him much more thoroughly to gaine the goodwill of men of warre, forasmuch as the office of the Tribunes, was held for sacred and not to be touched. *C Æ S A R* knowing what passed, and seeing himselfe voyde of hope of peace, departed from *Rauenna*, whither he came but with fuyee thousand foote, and three hundred horse onely which he had with him, sending commandement to his Legions to march with all speed and to come to ioyn with him. Comming with his people

Men commonly  
iudge that law-  
full in them-  
selves which  
they condemne  
in others.

The determi-  
nation of the  
Senate.

to the Riuer *Rubicon*, which was the furthest of his limits; which passing he was to lose all hope of agreement. Some affirme, that he stayed there a great while, thinking and considering with himselfe how great a matter it was to passe that Riuer, and the euils which would ensue thereof. *PLVTARCH* writeth, that he discoursed thereof with *ASINIVS POLLIO*, and with other his friends which came thither with him: and *SVENTONIVS* saith, that turning his face towards the Riuer, he said to them: Yet is it in our power to returne, but if we passe this Riuer, we must make way with our weapons. And as *APIANVS ALEXANDRINVS* reporteth, he also said, The truth is, that if I forbear to passe the Riuer, it will be the beginning of euill, and my disgrace; and if I passe, it will be to all mortall men in generall. These words being spoken, standing alittle while in a doubt, with a furious determination and a loud voyce, he said, The lot is cast, and with that word he gaue his horse the rayne, and began to march, and to passe the Riuer, all his people following him: and so was the ciuill warre determined, and begun with the seruitude of *Rome*, and the beginning of the Empire and Monarchie, which is as much as, the raigne and dominion of one, which briefly I will declare.

Cæsars val-  
orous determi-  
nation.

Who so desireth to see it handled more at large, let him reade *APIANVS ALEXANDRINVS* in his second booke of the ciuill warres, *SVENTONIVS* in the life of *CÆSAR*, and *PLVTARCH* in the same life, and in the liues of *POMPEY*, and of *CATO* and *CICERO*; and Saint *AUGVSTINE* in his third booke *de ciuitate dei*, and the same *I V L I V S C Æ S A R* in three bookes which hee wrote thereof in his commentaries, and in the rest of *HYRCIVS*, *LVCIVS FLORVS* in the fourth booke of his Histories, and in the Abreuiats of *TITVS LIVIVS*, *PAVLVS OROSIVS*, *EVTROPIVS* in the sixth of his Histories, and *LVCAN* in his tenne bookes, and *PLINIE* in his last *de viris Illustribus*, and the same *PLINIE* and *VALERIVS MAXIMVS* and other Authors which treat thereof, and of *CÆSAR* other actions.

The beginning  
of the ciuill  
warres.

*I V L I V S C Æ S A R* hauing passed the Riuer *Rubicon*, as is afore declared, as saith *SVENTONIVS*, drew his Armie together, and hauing brought thither the Tribunes in such vile and base attire as they came from *Rome*, he made a speech to his people, iustifying his cause and requiring their ayde and fauour, and being by them answered to his liking, he departed presently from thence, & was the next morning by break of day, before *Arimino*, and seased vpon that Citie; and holding his way, did the like by all townes and castles as he passed. *CÆSAR*'s terrible determination being knowne in *Rome*; *POMPEY*, the whole Senate and people of *Rome*, were therewith much troubled; so as it should be a long matter to recite and set downe what they did, and what prouision they made: The truth is, that *POMPEY* found himselfe much deceived, for he neuer beleecued that *CÆSAR* would haue aduentured so farre, or that he should haue wanted meanes to haue resisted him. But it happened otherwise vnto him, for although that to him was committed by the Consuls, and Senate the charge of leuying of Souldiers, and the calling thither of his legions, and that there were Captaines sent to diuers Cities of *Italie* (whereby *CÆSAR* was to passe) for the defence thereof, all sufficed not against the furie and force wherewith he came, and the newes daily encreasing, *POMPEY* and all the Senate abandoned *Rome*: for *POMPEY* went to *Capua*, and from thence to *Brundisium* now called *Brindes*, a place by the Sea side in the confines of *Italie* towards *Grecia*, in the mouth of the Venetian Sea, whither he sent for the Consuls to passe thence to *Dyrrachium* now called *Durazzo*, a place also by

Pompey and  
the Senate a-  
bandoned  
*Rome*,  
*Brundisium*,  
*Brindes*,  
*Dyrrachium*,  
*Durazzo*.

by the Sea side in the prouince of *Macedonia*, a great part whereof is now called *Albania*, there to raise the greatest power that they should be able; being out of hope as then to be able to resist *CÆSAR* in *Italie*, who had already seased on the Citie of *Corfinio*, which *DOMITIVS* held with thirtie of *POMPEY*'s Cohorts; which being taken by *CÆSAR*, he pardoned all those which he found therein, and entreated the gouernour very friendly, and gaue him leaue to depart whither he would, who went presently to *POMPEY*: which truly was an act of great magnanimitie and clemencie, which *CÆSAR* maruellously vsed in all his actions, and chiefly in the victories which he obtained in these ciuill warres, wherewith (in my opinion) he wan no lesse honour, then by his victories.

Clemencie and  
magnanimitie

*CÆSAR* hauing brought *DOMITIVS* his people to his deuotion, he passed forwards, and vnderstanding that *POMPEY* and the Consuls gathered head in *Brundisium*, with the greatest iourneyes that he was able to make, he marched towards them with his legions: But *POMPEY* had sufficiently fortified himselfe for his defence, hauing made the Consuls and the most part of the people to embarke themselves and passe to the Citie of *Dyrrachium* afore said, where the Consuls attended his comming. And *CÆSAR* so remaining in *Italie*, without resistance, being very carefull what counsell he should take; for although that he would haue followed *POMPEY*, yet he had no prouision of shipping thereto, and by reason that it was winter, shipping could not come so soone as was requisite, which he well considered, and how much it imported him not to leaue any enemy behinde him, which might cause any alteration in *France* or *Italie*, in his absence; he determined therefore to deferre the pursute of *POMPEY*, and to take his way towards *Spaine*, which held for *POMPEY*, who had therein his excellent legions, and two Captaines, which were *PETREIVS* and *AFRANIVS*. *SVENTONIVS TRANQVILLVS* saith, that when he had resolued thereupon, he said to his friends, Let vs first goe against the Armie which is without a Captaine; and afterwards let vs returne against the Captaine that hath neuer an Armie: for these Captaines, *PETREIVS* and *AFRANIVS*, were not held for very politike, or expert in the warres. And to the contrarie, *POMPEY* was most wise and a very valiant Captaine: but the people which he had with him, were newly leuiued and of small experience.

Returning from *Brundisium*, in sixtie dayes without bloodshed or battaile, *CÆSAR* became Lord of all *Italie*; and comming to *Rome*, they were in incredible feare, remembring the cruelties committed in the time of *SYLLA*: But *CÆSAR* vsing his naturall clemencie, did hurt no man of any degree high or low, but rather called to the Senate those Senators which remained, and which came with him, whom with very good words he comforted and encouraged: and laying the whole fault vpon *POMPEY*, accusing him of all things present, he sought by all meanes to iustifie his owne cause, and declared how much he did then, and euer had desired peace, and therewith requested that messengers might be sent to *POMPEY* to procure the same: and making himselfe to be presently chosen Consul, he opened the Romane treasure, notwithstanding that *METELLVS* one of the Tribunes of the people was desirous and went about to haue hindred and letted the same, and that he should not haue done it. The treasure which he tooke from thence, he payed and deuided among his people, which as *PLINIE* in his three and thirtieth booke reporteth, was very great, which *LVCAN* also affirmeth. These things being ended, and *CÆSAR* desirous to goe from *Rome* into *Spaine* (like a wise and excellent Captaine) first tooke order aswell for the ciuill

Macedonia  
Albania.

Cæsar seased on  
Rome and all  
Italie.

Cæsar Consul  
by force.

ciuill gouernment, as for the warres; and making choise of the legions which were to goe with him, he left part of his people in *Brundisium* and *Otranto*, and in other strong places vpon the Sea side, to keepe *POMPEY* from landing if he sought to returne into *Italie*. He also nominated *HORTENSIVS* and *DOLABELLA*, for his Captaines, to make prouision of shipping to be brought to the port of *Brundisium*, there to be in a readines against his returne from his journey. *QVINTVS VALERIVS* he sent with a legion to *Sardinia*, against *MARCVS COTTA* which held the same for *POMPEY*: To *Sicilia* he sent *CVRIVS* against *MARCVS CATO*, with direction that hauing taken the same, he should passe ouer into *Africa*: *LEPIDVS* he left in the Citie of *Rome* as Prefect thereof, and *MARCVS ANTONIVS* for gouernour and Captaine of all *Italie*; and determining to leaue *LICINIVS CRASSVS* in *France*, with his accustomed celeritie, he went on his journey, and found no resistance, neither in *Italie*, nor in *France*, but onely in the Citie of *Marselles*, which held for *POMPEY*: which rather (in my opinion) more like bold and aduenturous friends, then wise men, would not receiue nor lodge him in their Citie, but put themselues in Armes against him for their defence. *CÆSAR* comming thither besieged the Citie, and to auoyde losse of time, left there *DECIVS BRVTVS* and *CAIVS TREBONIVS* with sufficient forces, which continued the siege and performed great matters; and himselfe followed his way into *Spaine*, where his comming was alreadie knowne, and *AFRANIVS* and *PETREIVS* attended him, with the ayde of their friends, and foure Romane legions; betweene which and *CÆSAR* the warres continued many dayes, and that chiefly neere the Citie of *Lerida*. In the beginning *CÆSAR* was in great danger and much distressed, as well through want of victualles, as by reason of the winter being come, which annoyed him with riuers and waters; before and after the which, there passed many great skirmishes and conflicts betweene the two armies, and other chaunces and aduentures, too long to be recounted. Finally, *CÆSAR* knew how to warre in such sort, that without giuing oportunitie to come to a battaile, he brought his aduersaries to such extremitie and distresse, that perishing with hunger they came to a composition: which was that to the legions (who now were able neither to offend nor defend) should be graunted libertie to depart and to goe whither they would; which was performed accordingly, and *PETREIVS* and *AFRANIVS* went to *POMPEY*, and part of the legions which would not abide with *CÆSAR*, had leaue to doe as they listed: *CÆSAR* still perseuering in his clemencie and gentlenes.

This being ended, and sommer being come (to the end not to leaue any thing in *Spaine* to be subdued) he passed forwards, and came into the prouince of *Betica*, now called *Andaluzia*, with part of his forces, leauing commaundement with the Armie, to march whither he had appointed, and there to stay for him, because that *MARCVS VARRO* being *POMPEIES* Lieutenant in that prouince held it for him, with one legion of good Souldiers; but daring not to oppose himselfe against *CÆSAR*, he peaceably deliuered vp vnto him both the countrie and the legion, and so all was plaine before him and at his commaund. Thence he went to *Cordoua*, where he called a parliament, and an assemblie of all estates of that prouince: wherein among other things which there were treated of, highly commending the *Cordoueses* and *Seuillians* which had taken his part (as himselfe writeth) he marched forwards and visiting the prouince, he came to the Isle and citie of *Cales*, and prouiding there certaine things, he tooke the

Cæsars going  
into Spaine a-  
gainst Petreius  
and Afranius.

Cæsar subdued  
all Spaine.

the ships and galleys which *MARCVS VARRO* there had left, and such other more as hee could get, and embarked himselfe therein. And leauing *QVINTVS CASSIVS* with foure legions in that prouince, he tooke his passage by sea to *Tarragona*, sending commaundement by land to his legions to march thither: where being arriued, and in few daies, prouiding and taking order for that prouince, he departed with his armie towards *Narbona*, and from thence to *Marselles*, which yeelded vnto him, after that in the siege and assaults, it had endured many calamities. And *CÆSAR* nothing respecting the small regard and ingratitude of that citie, but the antiquitie and fame thereof, would not permit any hurt to be done to the citizens and inhabitants; but leauing a sufficient garrison to guard the same, commaunding his legions by appointed iourneys, to march towards *Italie*, himselfe with a necessarie guard for his person and others in his companie, tooke passage for *Rome*; all things succeeding prosperously with him, although that some of his Captaines had ill successe. For *CAIVS ANTONIVS*, whom (we said) he left with *DOLABELLA* for Captaine of his Nauie, was ouerthrowne and taken prisoner in the gulf of *Venice*, by *OCTAVIVS POMPEIES* Lieutenant; and *DOLABELLA* was likewise overcome neere to the Ile of *Corcyra*, now called *Corfu*: and *CVRIVS*, which (according to *CÆSARS* commaundement) went into *Africa* with two legions, hauing in the beginning good successe, was afterward ouerthrowne, and the most part of his people slaine by *POMPEIES* friend, *IVBA* King of *Mauritania*, which is now the kingdome of *Fez*.

*CÆSAR* being come to *Rome* and made Dictator (as *PLVTARCH* & *APPIANVS* testifie) new Consuls were chosen, and he being one of them deposed himselfe from his Dictatorship, and so chaunging and prouiding Pretors for the Prouinces at his pleasure, sending *MARCVS LEPIDVS* into *Spaine*, and *AVLVS ALBINVS* into *Sicilia*, *SEXTVS PEDVCEIVS* into *Sardinia*, and *DECIVS BRVTVS* into *France*: and taking such further order as he thought good, he departed from *Rome* in the moneth of December towards *Brundisium*, whither he commanded all his forces to march, there to take passage for the prouince of *Macedonia*, the greatest part whereof (as I said) is now called *Albania*, where he knew that *POMPEY* staid with his armies. Who all one whole yeere, which *CÆSAR* spent in his journey into *Spaine*, busied himselfe in prouiding a Nauie to returne into *Italie*, and to gather treasure and to leuie souldiers for that purpose, and had prepared and made a wonderfull great prouision of all things: For there came to him, ships, money, and men, from many kingdomes, prouinces and cities of *Asia*, and *Græcia*; from *Syria*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cilicia*, *Phœnicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Pamphilia*, *Armenia* the lesse, *Egypt*, *Græcia*, *Thessalia*, *Boëtia*, *Achaia*, *Epire*, *Athens*, *Lacedemonia*, and the Iles of *Creta*, *Rhodes*, and many other parts and countreys: there came also to his aide in person, the Kings *DEIOTARVS*, and *ARIOBARZANES*. Of which people and of those which he brought with him from *Italie*, *POMPEY* had a great armie by land, and an exceeding great number of ships and galleys by Sea, which I doe not set downe, by reason of the diuersitie of opinions, betweene authors in the number of his people, and of *CÆSARS*: for certaine, they were very mightie armies, but the greatest number were of *POMPEIES* side. Who imagining (because that it was in the hart of winter) that *CÆSAR* should not be able and haue time commodiously to passe the Seas: and hauing (as indeed he had) aduertisement that *CÆSAR* was in *Rome*, he diuided and lodged his people in *Macedonia* and *Thessalia*, retiring himselfe from the Sea, commaunding and charging his Captaines by Sea (of which *MARCVS BIBVLVS* was chiefe) that they should guard and

The taking of  
Marselles and  
Cæsars re-  
turne to Rome.

Corcyra.

Pompeies peo-  
ple and prou-  
ision.

*Opportunitie lost  
is seldom recovered.*

*Cæsars passage  
to Greece a-  
gainst Pompey.*

and defend the coast. But CÆSAR knowing that in the speedie execution, consisted the principall point of his victorie, and that occasion which is let slippe is seldom recovered; being departed from *Rome* and arrived at *Brundisium* (as we haue before said) notwithstanding that all his legions were not yet come, yet he embarked aboarde those shippes which he had there in readinesse, so many men as they could containe, which were seuen legions of chosen men (as he himselfe recordeth) and sent commaundement to those which were comming, to make haist, to the end that they should ioyne with the rest which there remained, which he would speedily send for. And so he departed from *Brundisium* now called *Brindes*, in the beginning of the moneth of Ianuarie, and crossing the Seas with prosperous weather, the third day after he arrived in the coast of *Macedonia*, before that POMPEY had any intelligence of his embarking: and setting his people on shore in the despite of POMPEIES Captaines, he commaunded the shippes and gallies presently to returne to *Brundisium* to fetch the rest of his armie, which he had there left, and commaunded to come. And the warres beginning, he presently seased vpon the cities of *Apollonia*, which is now called *Bellona*, and *Erico*; driuing from thence LVCIVS TORQVATVS and LVCIVS STRABERIVS which held the same for POMPEY: who so soone as he was aduertised of CÆSARS comming, with the greatest speede possible, sending for his troupes (such as were neerest hand) he marched towards *Dyrrachium* where lay all his victuall, munition, and prouision for the warres, doubting that CÆSAR would come to surpris the same, as in truth he did.

POMPEY being come, their Campes were lodged within few forlongs the one of the other, and a riuer running betweene them; there passed many aduentures, skirmishes, and also some treaties of peace, which CÆSAR offered, which were not accepted by POMPEY, so much he assured himselfe of his power: and CÆSAR daily expecting the comming of his other legions, which stayed longer then he thought they ought to haue done; without the which, he thought it no wisdome to come to a battaile; and being much grieued and very carefull for the same, he determined in person with three seruants only, secretly to embarke himselfe in a Brigandine, and to passe that streight of the sea, to fetch them, thinking to be able to performe the same without being mist; and putting it in execution accordingly, he passed downe the riuer to the Sea, which he found so troubled and tempestuous, that the Maister of the Brigandine (not knowing whom he carried) nor daring to passe any further, would haue returned. Then CÆSAR discouring his face, as it is reported, said, be not afraid friend; for thou carriest with thee CÆSAR and all his fortune: the Maister herewith encouraged, strived to hold on his voyage, but at length, the force of the tempest was so great and the season so contrarie, that (notwithstanding CÆSARS couragious words) they were constrained to returne, vnable to passe any further forwards: which being vnderstood in his Armie, they much wondred, grieued, and murmured thereat, praising him more for a valiant Knight, then a wise Captaine; and so VALERIVS MAXIMVS recounteth it for a rash aduenture, which in my opinion was the occasion why IVLIVS CÆSAR recordeth it not in his Commentaries.

This being past, within few dayes after, ANTONIVS arrived with foure of those legions which were left behinde in *Italie*, presently returning the shippes backe againe for the rest, and (after some aduentures which happed) ioyning with CÆSARS Armie, and all things set in good order, and the like being done on POMPEIES side; there passed some things betweene them, which for bre-

*The rash ad-  
uenture of  
Cesar.*

uitie I omit, vntill that neere to the citie of *Dyrrachium*, whither CÆSAR went with a determination to haue surpris'd the same, and POMPEY to relieue it. The two Armies lodged themselues in the fields, the one so neere to the other, that there were daily skirmishes and slaughters of men of either partie, vntill that one day a skirmish waxing hot, and rescue comming from either Armie, it came to a battaile: wherein the matter was handled in such sort, that CÆSARS troupes began to flie, and could not be made to stand, vntill they came to their campe which they had fortified, and yet some abandoned the same and durst not defend it. But POMPEY, either for that (as some thinke) he imagined their flight to be feined, or that there was some deccit or ambush, or that he supposed that there was no more to be done, and that CÆSAR might easily haue been ouerthrowne; did not prosecute the victorie, neither followed the charge, but rather caused a retreat to be founded, without assailing his enemies camp: Whither when CÆSAR came, he tooke such order as was most conuenient, as he, who was no lesse couragious and politike in time of aduersitie, then of prosperitie; and it is reported that he said to his friends, Truly this day had ended our warres, if our enemies had had a Captaine, which had knowne how to haue overcome. This day IVLIVS CÆSAR lost a great part of his people, among which, were foure hundred Romane Knights, and tenne Tribunes, and two and thirtie Centurions, and his enemies tooke from him two and thirtie ensignes. This battaile ended, POMPEY sent the newes thereof to diuers parts of the world, holding himselfe for victorious. And IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing punished some of his Captaines, and ensigne bearers, notwithstanding that all his whole Armie displeased and ashamed of their late losse, againe desired the battaile: yet he would not then fight with his Armie being timorous, against those which were in heart and victorious; but rather tooke a new course, and sending his sicke and hurt men to the citie of *Apollonia*, departed by night with the greatest silence that could be, from the place where he was, and tooke his way towards *Thessalia*, with intent to refresh and encourage his Armie, and to draw his enemy further from the Sea coast, where his chiefe force lay, and where his campe was fortified and victualled; or at the least, to goe to meete and overthrowe SCIPIO, whom he well knew, came to ioyne with POMPEY.

POMPEY seeing CÆSARS departure, after that he had followed him some few dayes, tooke counsell, and as APPIANVS testifieth, was determined (leaving so sufficient a nauie at Sea, as CÆSAR should not be able to make any benefit thereof) to passe into *Italie*, and to recouer the same, with *France* and *Spaine*, and then afterwards to returne against CÆSAR, but being oppressed and ouerruled by the Romane Lords which came with him, he altered his determination, and presently departed to pursue CÆSAR, who made a stay in the fieldes of *Pharsalia* which are in *Thessalia*, and made his retreat with such discretion and in so good order, that in all occasions that were offered, he had euer the better, vntill that at length he saw his people so furious and of such force and courage, that it seemed to him very requisit to fight: and therefore cared not any more to refuse the battaile, but rather daily presented the same to POMPEY. Who knowing (as indeede it was true) that CÆSAR began to want many necessaries, and that his armie began to weaken and diminish, he deferred the same and would not fight, and as a wise and an experimented Captaine, as he was, would haue prolonged the warre, defeating his enemy without putting his owne state in hazard: and although that POMPEY were of this opinion, yet so much did the voices, opinions

*A battaile be-  
tweene Cesar  
and Pompey  
neere to Dyrra-  
chium.*

Pompey fought  
contrarie to his  
owne opinion.

and murmurings of those which were with him preuaile, (as LVCAN, PLVTARCH, and the same CÆSAR himselfe report) that they made him yeeld to giue the battaile, euen contrarie to his owne opinion and will, as he did: wherein met and ioyned of the one side and of the other all the flower and force of Rome; and although that CÆSARS forces were fewer in number (for all writers affirme, that POMPEIES armies were twise as great) yet CÆSARS were more actiue and better trained. How many there were of the one side and of the other, I cannot certifie; the authors doe so much differ among themselues therein: APPIANVS setteth downe the diuers opinions which are thereof, some raise the number to three hundred thousand men, whereof LVCIVS FLORVS is one: others to threescore and tenne thousand: and some set downe somewhat lesse, among which is PLVTARCH, who saith that POMPEY brought to this battaile 45000. men, whereof 7000. were on horsebacke, and IVLIVS CÆSAR two and twentie thousand a foote, and of horse men few more then one thousand. But APPIANVS vnderstandeth, that this lesser number of these armies, was to be vnderstoode of Romanes, which were the force and hope of both these captaines: for it is not likely, that of all nations, there should be so small a number in a warre so long prepened and preparing, and in my opinion, this is most likely to be true. But howsoeuer it was, this battaile was betweene the best captaines and best souldiers, as well for experience, as for force and valour, that euer were in the world; and yet being so, it was not much fought, neither did it long continue: So strange and variable are the aduentures which happen in warres and battailes: for where there seemeth to be the greatest force and assurance, oftentimes is found the greatest weaknes; and that which is least feared, doth sometimes annoy most.

The battaile of  
Pharsalia,  
wherein Pompey  
was overcome by Cæsar.

Either of these two captaines, hauing resolued to giue battaile, ordred his battalions and squadrons, as to him seemed most expedient, making their speeches and orations to their people; and the accustomed signe being giuen, the battaile presently began on either side: in the beginning whereof POMPEIES horsemen, (wherein he reposed his greatest hope) which were all of the Romane Nobilitie, and of the order of Knighthoode, and alwayes euerie where had the better; began to come where CÆSARS Cauallery was, and forced them to forsake the field. Which CÆSAR perceiuing, losing nothing by ouersight, made a signe to a battalion, which for that purpose he had left apart from the other squadrons, to charge POMPEIES Cauallerie; which charged them with such force and furie, striking them according to CÆSARS direction, no where but in the face, which POMPEIES horsemen either vnable or vnwilling to endure, began to retire, in such sort that from that part whence POMPEY thought to haue obtained the victorie, from thence sprang the beginning of his perdition. For notwithstanding that they had already charged, and the other battalions continued still fighting, and that they maintained the same with great resolution; yet seeing that POMPEIES Cauallerie fled, and that CÆSARS came to charge them afresh, they all did the like in such manner, that in short space the victorie plainly appeared for CÆSAR: and POMPEY hauing lost all hope to preuaile, fled to his campe, leauing the field and victorie to his enemy. Who letting slippe no occasion, seeing that he found no resistance in the field, assembled his forces together to assaile POMPEIES campe, which with small difficultie he entred: which POMPEY perceiuing, leauing his ensignes and robes of generall, and putting on other apparrell vpon the first horse that he could get, with foure on horsebacke

backe only, which accompanied him, which (as VELLEIVS PATERCVLVVS saith) were his sonne SEXTVS POMPEIVS, and the two LENTVLL, and FAVONIVS of the Pretorian order: he fled so fast as he could, and neuer staied vntill he came to the citie of Larisa, where ioyning with some thirtie other horse, which fled, without any stay he continued his flight, vntill he came vnto the shore side of the Egean sea; where finding a certaine Merchants ship of Rome, he embarked himselfe therein, and sailed to the Ile of Lesbos, which is in that sea, which now is called Archipelago, to the citie of Mytilene. For in that citie were his wife and familie, which he tooke with him, and gathering together such ships and men as he was able, he departed from thence, very doubtful, and without any determination whither to goe. Some counsailed him to saile into Africa, for that King IUBA was his friend and very mightie. Others were of opinion that he should retire himselfe to the Parthians: finally, he resolued to goe into Egypt, for the friendship which he held with King PTOLOMY, father of that PTOLOMY then raigning; and did so. Hauing first touched in the prouince of Cilicia in Asia, and in the Ile of Cyprus, and sayling to Egypt, and arriuing at the citie of Alexandria, he had such an end as we will presently declare.

Pompeies  
flight.

IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing obtained so great a victorie, as is aforesaid, vsed therein his accustomed clemencie, not suffering any Romane to be either slaine or hurt after the battaile was ended, and pardoning all those which were taken therein, or found in the Campe; among which was MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO. And although that in the battaile were slaine of POMPEIES side fiftene thousand men, and of the conquerors lesse then two thousand, as the same CÆSAR writeth: yet vnderstanding which way POMPEY fled, to the end to giue him no place or meanes to returne and repaire himselfe, without losing any time, he pursued him with the lightest and swiftest of his armie. And comming to the sea side, bringing to his obedience in his way all the cities whereby he passed, and gathering together such shippes and galleys as he then could, and with those which CASSIVS had deliuered vnto him, who was receiued to his grace and seruice, he therein shipped such troupes as he was able, and passed into Asia the lesse; where being aduertised that POMPEY had been in Cyprus, he presumed that he tooke his way towards Egypt. For which cause hee tooke the same course, taking with him two whole legions of old souldiers onely; and arriuing in safetie at Alexandria in Egypt (where wee said that POMPEY had lately taken port) he vnderstood that POMPEY was arriued there: who presuming of the benefits and good entertainment which this King PTOLOMIES father had receiued in his house, he sent to request PTOLOMY to harbour and assist him. But as with men which are fallen and decayed, few men hold faith and friendship, and in their aduersities the benefits and good turnes receiued from them are commonly forgotten: so the King sent him his promise to performe what he required: and comming vpon safe conduct, in a small boate towards the shore, he was murdered before that he came to the land, by the Kings commandement, by the hands of one called SEPTIMIVS, and another called ACHILA; thinking by meanes hereof to winne CÆSARS friendship, which was done by the perswasion and counsell of FOTINVS an Eunuch, who was of great authoritie in the Court, and by whom the King was much ruled. He vnderstood also that CORNELIA POMPEIES wife, and his sonne SEXTVS POMPEIVS were fled from that port in the same ship, wherein they came. CÆSAR being landed and receiued into the citie, they presently brought him, for a present, the great POMPEIES head, which he would not see:

The clemencie  
of Cæsar.

Cæsar pursued  
Pompey.  
The death of  
Pompey.

Septimius.

Cæsar's report  
for the death of  
Pompey.

and his ring and seale of Armes being presented vnto him, he wept a great while for pitie, considering the end and successe of the great aduentures and prosperities of P O M P E Y, who with such honour and fame had three times triumphed, and been so many more times Consul in Rome, and had commanded the same, and had been the most principall man therein for so many yeeres, and had obtained so many victories and dignities.

Cæsar's warre  
in Egypt.

When I V L I V S C Æ S A R landed in *Egypt*, he found the countrey infested with ciuill warres, and great discord between the yong King P T O L O M Y and his sister the faire C L E O P A T R A, about the diuision and inheritance of that kingdome; wherein I V L I V S C Æ S A R (as a Romane Consul) tooke vpon him to entremiddle. For which cause (as C Æ S A R himselfe writeth) or because that their guiltie conscience, for the treacherous murder of P O M P E Y made them to feare (as P L V T A R C H affirmeth) the before named F O T I N V S, which had been the practiser of this murder, and A C H I L A which had been the actor thereof, both which were in great authoritie in the Court and with the King, imagining that C Æ S A R enclined to fauour C L E O P A T R A's faction, amassed and sent for the armie which the King had neere the citie, consisting of 20000. good men, purposing to doe by I V L I V S C Æ S A R as they had done by P O M P E Y; and so within few daies there began betwene C Æ S A R and the small forces which he brought with him, both within the citie, and in the harbour, betwene the ships and galleys, the most cruel warre and fight that he euer had, which I cannot distinctly set downe, for the many aduentures that passed therein. But let this suffice, that I V L I V S C Æ S A R fought therein many times in his owne person, both within the citie, whereof his enemies held the greatest part, and also in the harbour with his ships, and was sometime in such peril and danger, that he was driuen to leape out of the boate wherein he was, into the water, and by swimming to escape into one of his galleys. But at length his forces and aide being come from *Asia* and other parts, he at the end of nine moneths (for so long lasted these warres) remained victorious, as in all others he had been, and the yong King P T O L O M Y was slaine in a fight. In this warre C Æ S A R did such exploits, and shewed such valour and wisdom, that for the same onely he did well deserue the fame and renowne of a most excellent Captaine.

The death of  
Ptolomy king  
of Egypt.

Cleopatra  
Queene of  
Egypt.

C Æ S A R hauing tamed the pride of the Egyptians, and put to death the murderers of P O M P E Y, and established C L E O P A T R A for Queene and gouernour of that kingdome, whom the while that he remained there, he held for his friend, and she by him conceiued and had a sonne called C Æ S A R I O; all things being established: he departed from *Egypt* towards *Asia*, traouelling through *Syria* now *Soria*, by reason that he was giuen to vnderstand that while he was busied in the warres of *Egypt*, the King P H A R N A C E S, sonne of the mightie King M I T H R I D A T E S, thinking it now a fit time (seeing the ciuill discord betwene the Romanes) to recouer that which his father had lost: And hauing ouerthrowne D O M I C I V S, whom C Æ S A R had sent to gouerne those parts, and also had taken by force of armes, the prouinces of *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, expelling thence the King A R I O B A R Z A N E S, a friend and subiect to *Rome*, and had began to doe the like in *Armenia* the lesse, which King D E I O T A R V S had made subiect to the Romanes: I V L I V S C Æ S A R comming with his armie sooner then King P H A R N A C E S imagined, although that with his he had expected him, & hauing intelligence of his approach, within few daies they came to a battaile, in which (not without great resistance) the King was ouerthrowne and put to flight, with great slaughter of his people,

people, from which he escaped by flight. Great was the ioy that C Æ S A R conceiued of this victorie, for the great desire that he had to returne to *Rome*, where he knew that many scandales and insolencies were committed, by reason of his absence: he knew also that P O M P E I E S eldest sonne had seized on a great part of *Spain*, and had raised great power of those which M A R C V S V A R R O had there left, and of his fathers troupes: he also vnderstood that in *Africa* many principall Romanes, which had escaped from the battaile at *Pharsalia*, were gathered together, whereof M A R C V S C A T O was the chiefe, who is called V T I C E N S I S, (because that in *Vtica* he slew himselfe) and S C I P I O P O M P E I E S father in law; and that these went thither with a great part of the galleys & ships of P O M P E I E S Nauie, and with the greatest power they were able to leuie, ioyning with I V B A King of *Mauritania*, they had subdued all that countrey, and had a great armie in readines against C Æ S A R, hauing chosen S C I P I O for their Captaine, because that C A T O would not take that charge vpon him, and for that, the name of S C I P I O was very fortunate in *Africa*. C Æ S A R hauing intelligence of all these things, within few daies with great celeritie and diligence, he recouered all that which P H A R N A C E S had vsurped, and chasing him out of *Pontus*, he recouered all those countieys forwards, and leauing C E L I V S M I N V C I V S for Captaine with two legions to guard that prouince, pacifying the contentions and controuersies in the rest, rewarding the Kings and Tetrarches which had continued firme in league and amitie with *Rome*, without any longer abroad he departed from *Asia*, and in short space passing into *Italie* came to *Rome*, within little more then a yeere after that he departed from thence; a short time in truth, for the performance of so great matters and so long a iourney.

Cæsar's victorie  
against Pharnaces  
king of Pontus.

Within few daies after his comming to *Rome*, he made himselfe to bee chosen the third time Consul, and reforming (the best that he could in so short a time) all disorders in *Rome*, being grieved and not able to endure that his enemies should possesse *Africa*, with great expedition he prepared all things necessarie, and from *Rome* tooke his way thitherward, commaunding his forces to follow him. First he went into *Sicilia*, and there shipped himselfe, and thence passed into *Africa*: and notwithstanding that, neither his Nanie nor Armie arriued with him, trusting in the valour and goodnes of his people, and his owne good fortune, he tooke land with those small forces which he brought with him, neere vnto the citie of *Adrumetum* in the prouince of *Africa*; and from thence marched to another citie called *Leptis*, where hee was receiued: and after some conflicts which passed, his legions being come, and certaine troupes both on foote and horsebacke, he began the warre, which lasted foure moneths, viz. from the beginning of Ianuarie till the end of Aprill, beginning first against P E T R E I V S and L A B I E N V S; afterwards it was continued against S C I P I O and King I V B A, which assisted the contrary faction with 8000. men, the one halfe whereof were horsemen, whereof the prouince of *Africa* did then, and to this day doth abound; among all which were leuied against C Æ S A R eight legions of footmen and 20000. horse. In this warre were many encounters, skirmishes and battailes, which Hyrcius in his Commentaries, P L V T A R C H, L V C A N, L V C I V S F L O R V S & others write of at large, in which C Æ S A R was in great daunger: but at the last with his force and good fortune, he ouercame them all in a great battaile; wherein, of the enemies, were slaine tenne thousand men, and C Æ S A R remained master of the field, and in few daies after of all the land: and S C I P I O and all the principall Capitaines which were his aduerfaries, died sundrie deaths within few daies; and king I V B A

Cæsar's warre  
in Africa against  
Scipio.

Hyrcius lib. 5.  
Appian lib. 2.  
Lucan lib. 3.  
Lucius Florus  
lib. 4.  
Titus Livius  
lib. 114.  
Plutarch in his  
lines.

The strange  
death of King  
Iuba and As-  
trinus.

by flight escaping from the battaile, and finding no place of refuge, in despaire, he and AFRANIVS determined to die fighting, the one against the other, vntill they were both slaine, in which combate King IUBA being of greater strength then AFRANIVS, slew him; and afterwards commaunded a slaue of his owne, to kill himselfe, and so he died desperately.

Cato's Tiberius  
slew himselfe.  
S. Augustine in  
his booke de ci-  
uitate dei. l. 1.  
Scipio slawe  
and drowned  
himselfe.  
Tacitus Fir-  
minus, Aulus  
Gellius in his  
twelfth booke.  
Cicero in the 3.  
of his offices.  
Valerius  
Maximus  
cap. 3.  
Cæsars tri-  
umphes.

The good MARCVS CATO which was in the citie of *Vtica*, knowing that CÆSAR marched thitherwards, and notwithstanding that he knew that he would not put him to death, but had rather a desire to pardon him, and to doe him honor; yet to the end that he would receiue neither life nor honor from his enemy, he killed himselfe: in whose death passed many notable things, recorded by many authors both christian and heathen. SCIPIO who had been generall in this warre escaped from the battaile by flight, and shipping himselfe in certaine galleyes wherein he fled, was met withall, by CÆSARS nauie; and he to the end that he would not be taken, giuing himselfe certaine woundes, cast himselfe into the Sea, and so was drowned. CÆSAR hauing obtained so great and so entire a victorie, spending some few dayes in ordering the prouinces of *Africa*, confisking and reducing the kingdome and countrie of King IUBA into a prouince, came to the citie of *Vtica*, where he embarked himselfe the third day of Iune, and came to the Isle of *Sardinia*, wherein he stayed some few dayes, and arriued at *Rome* the five and twentieth day of Iulie. At his comming (as SVETONIVS, APPIANVS, and PLVTARCH record) there were graunted vnto him foure triumphes, the first triumph was for his conquest and victories in *France*, where were set the portraictures of the riuers of *Rodanus* and the *Rhine*, wrought in golde: and in the second triumph of *Egypt*, and of King PTOLOMEY, were set the riuers of *Nilus* and the *Pharus* of *Alexandria* burning. The third triumph was of the prouince of *Pontus* and of King PHARNACES, wherein for the speede wherewith he prosecuted the victorie, was placed a brieft writing which signified as much; which was, *veni, vidi, vici*, which is to say, I came, I saw, I ouercame. The fourth triumph was of the prouince of *Africa*, wherein was placed King IUBA his sonne, as a captiue, and in this triumph (as SVETONIVS writeth) were giuen iewels and armes to OCTAVIVS CÆSARS Nephew, which afterwards was Emperor, as we will declare hereafter, notwithstanding that he was not present in those warres by reason of his small age: for he was not then fully sixteene yeares olde. As for the battaile which CÆSAR wanne against POMPEY, he would not triumph thereof, because it was against Citizens of *Rome*.

Veni, vidi,  
vici.

Cæsar would  
not triumph for  
his victory a-  
gainst Pompey.

These triumphes being ended, giuing great rewards to his souldiers, and entertaining the Romane people, with feasts, gifts and other very great larges, he caused himselfe to be chosen the fourth time Consul: and to the end that there should be no place in the world wherein he would not be obeyed, he resolved to goe into *Spaine*, where he vnderstoode that GNEVS POMPEIVS (POMPEIVS sonne) with the remainder of the armie which had escaped out of *Africa*, was gone to ioyn with his brother SEXTVS POMPEIVS, who alreadie was there, as I haue said, and was in possession of a great part of *Spaine*, with the cities of *Seuill* and *Cordona*, and many other in that coast, and many Spaniards were come to their ayde. CÆSAR departing, carried with him his most experienced and chosen souldiers, and made so good speede that within few dayes he arriued in *Spaine*, and in this iourney (as SVETONIVS and VELLEIVS PATERCVLVUS recorde) his Nephew OCTAVIVS followed him.

CÆSAR being entred *Spaine*, came into the prouince of *Betica*, which is *Andalusia*,

*Andalusia*, where SEXTVS POMPEIVS and his brother GNEVS POMPEIVS were with such legions and people as they had gathered together; and so there began betweene them a cruell and bloudie warre. The ende whereof was, that nere to the citie of *Munda*, CÆSAR and GNEVS POMPEIVS, (for SEXTVS POMPEIVS was in *Cordona*) ioyned battaile; which was one of the most obstinate and cruell, that euer was in the world. For CÆSAR being the most excellent captaine, and the people which he brought with him, the most valiant souldiers and accustomed to ouercome; the resolution and courage of POMPEY and his people was such, and they fought in such manner, that CÆSARS esquadrons began to giue ground and were readie to forsake the field, and at the very poynt to haue been wholly ouerthrowne. And the matter came to this issue, that (as SVETONIVS and EVTROPIVS doe write) CÆSAR was about to haue killed himselfe, because he would not see himselfe ouercome: and that he tooke a target from one of his souldiers and rushed in among his enemies, saying with a loud voyce (as PLVTARCH reporteth) If you be not ashamed, leaue me and deliuer me into the hands of these boyes: for this shall bee the last day of my life and of your honour. With which words, and his example, his people tooke heart in such manner, that recovering the ground which they had lost, the battaile became equall, which as APPIANVS affirmeth, lasted the most part of one whole day, without shewing any signe of victorie, sometime seeming to encline to one partie, and sometime to the other, vntill that at length CÆSAR and his people did so great matters, that the euening being come his enemies became faint, and began to flie, and the victorie was apparantly CÆSARS: and there dyed of his enemies about 30000. men in this fight, and of CÆSARS part, were slaine a thousand principall men and of account, besides many other of lesser estimation. CÆSAR esteemed this victorie so much, and so gloried in the daunger wherein he had been, that after the victorie he vsed to say, that only that day he fought for his life, and in all other battailes euer for honour and victorie. He then remaining maister of the field, his aduersarie POMPEY, who in nothing had failed of the office of a valiant and good captaine (after that he saw no other hope) escaped by flight, and wandering through many places was afterwards taken and slaine by CÆSARS friends, whose head was brought vnto him; the like hapned vnto TABIENVS. His second brother SEXTVS POMPEIVS fled from *Cordona*, and in the end forooke *Spaine*: hereafter more mention shall be made of him. IVLIVS CÆSAR recouered the cities of *Seuill* and *Cordona*, and all the rest, and disposing of all things in *Spaine* at his pleasure, returned to *Rome*, and entred therein, in triumph for the warres in *Spaine*, which was his fifth and last triumph: in this place LVCIUS FLORVS and PATERCVLVVS make mention of all his triumphes.

Cæsars going  
into Spaine a-  
gainst Pompeius  
sonnes.  
Betica, And-  
alusia.

Cæsars cruell  
battaile and  
victorye against  
Pompies sons.

Cæsars triumph  
for his victories  
in Spaine.

CÆSAR came to be the most mightie, the most redoubted, and most highly esteemed man that euer had been in the world, hauing subdued and conquered the greatest part thereof, with armie and by force of armes, in as little time, as it might seeme, that another man might be able to trauaile those countries by reasonable iournyes; all which being in obedience and subiection vnto him, he made himselfe perpetuall Dictator of *Rome*; and so without contradiction he finished the making of himselfe soueraigne Lord and Monarch of the Romane Empire, within little lesse then five yeares after that he began the same. And this was the original and beginning of the Romane Emperours: for IVLIVS CÆSAR would not be called King: for the name of King was abhorred, and odious to the Romanes about all things in the world, after that the Kings were chased from

The beginning  
of the Romane  
Empire.

The original  
of the name of  
Emperour.

*Rome*, but contenting himselfe to be called perpetuall Dictator and also Emperor, although not with a name of such dignitie, as his successors haue done since, but as by a name which signified that hee had been a conquerour in battailes in the warres, which in this sense was giuen to the Romane Captaines, when they had obtained any notable victorie: but after I V L I V S C Æ S A R, all his successors tooke that name, and gloried to be called Emperours, which was sacred for the most high title and dignitie in the world.

The clemencie  
and bounty of  
Cæsar.

I V L I V S C Æ S A R hauing obtained the dominion which he so much desired, shewed in all things great clemencie and magnanimitie, honouring and rewarding his friends, and easily forgiuing and very cheerefully pardoning all those which had bin his aduersaries; and so he not onely pardoned B R U T U S and C A S S I U S, C I C E R O, M A R C E L L U S, and many others: but also some of them he admitted to his companie and priuate familiaritie, and to offices and dignities. It is certaine that among all the many vertues and singularities wherewith C Æ S A R was endued, his clemencie and liberalitie were most glorious. But this sufficed not to extinguish the desire to recouer the losse of libertie, neither to assuage the hatred and malice conceiued against him by his aduersaries, as in time did appeare.

The names and  
high titles  
which were  
giuen to Cæsar.

And notwithstanding that many were grieued, yet some for the loue which they bare him; others for feare or dissimulation; the Senate and people of *Rome*, and finally all, gaue him names, preeminencies and titles of honour, such as neuer had been giuen to any other; neither ought he to haue accepted the same, as P L Y T A R C H, A P P I A N and others doe report. But C Æ S A R S minde and ambition was so great, and his thoughts so eleuate and so high, that he held nothing for so great, but that he was worthie thereof and had deserued the same: and so he not onely accepted that which they offered him, but many more were offered, because they knew that he desired the same. Whereupon they gaue him the name of Emperour, Father, restorer and conseruer of his countrey: he was created perpetuall Dictator, and Consul for tenne yeeres, and perpetuall Censor of their customs. His statue and image was erected among the Kings of *Rome*, and a chaire and throne of Iuorie in the Temples and Senate, and a high pulpit and throne in the Theatre, and in the place where the Senatours did vse to sit, his pictures and statues were set vp in all the Temples and publike places. But here the matter ceased not, which they gaue him, and he accepted of some things which only to those whom they held for Gods, ought to haue been attributed, the moneth which they called Quintil, they called I V L I V S after his name, as March of their god M A R S, and Iune after the goddesse I V N O: they did also consecrate and build Temples vnto him, as vnto I V P I T E R, and their other gods: and gaue him certaine honours which they held particularly for their gods, which they call Thenfas: and so they did many other things to his honour, which exceeded all measure.

I V L I V S C Æ S A R enioying such honour and power, so as he had no equall or second in the world with whom he might contend; it seemeth that he would contend with himselfe, and imagine and attempt something wherein he might excell himselfe: for he was not contented with all the victories which he had obtained, neither (as P L I N I E and S O L I N U S and other report) to haue fought for them in fiftie seuerall battailes (in all which he ouercame) sauing in that one at *Dyrachium* against P O M P E Y; where, as we haue already said, he was not wholly ouerthrowne, neither (according to the same authors) to haue slaine in the warres and

and battailes which he fought, a million, ninetie and odde thousand men; and yet they say that they reckon not those which died in the ciuill warres: but that as he was a man of a most high minde, he sought to doe greater matters, if greater might be. For first he determined to passe into the East, there to conquer and subdue the fierce nation of the Parthians, and to reuenge the death of M A R C U S C R A S S U S, and to passe thorough *Hircania* and other countries, vntill he should come to the Caspian Sea, and so thorough all the prouinces of *Scythia Asiatica*; and passing the riuer *Tanais*, to returne thorough *Scythia* in Europe, and in this reitret to come into Germany, and other prouinces bordering thereupon, conquering and subduing them all to the Romane Empire: for the which conquest he presently caused to be leuiued in sundrie places, tenne thousand horsemen, and sixtene legions of chosen footmen, and appointing the time wherein he thought to depart, he commaunded them to march towards their Rendezvous. And besides all this, he sought not onely to subdue and overcome all the nations of the world, but to correct and reforme nature it selfe: for he purposed to haue made an Island of *Peloponessus*, which now is called *Morea*, by cutting the necke of the land which is betwene the *Egean* and the *Ionian* Seas.

The high  
thoughts and  
purposes of Cæsar.

Of the Riuer *Tiber* and the Riuer *Anien* (as P L Y T A R C H saith) he purposed to haue altered the courses, and to haue opened new channels, through which they should run into the Sea, making them to leaue their naturall course, and capeable to beare great ships. He commaunded and already began to digge downe, and make plaine many hills and high mountaines in *Italic*, and to drie vp and to dreine some of the great lakes and marishes which are therein: and in this manner, hee thought to haue done other things more then a man, which seemed to be possible to none but to God alone. He amended and corrected (as many authors ascribe) the account and computation of the yeere, conforming it with the course of the Sunne, and brought it to that rule which is yet held: for before that time it was much out of order. He did the like in the account and course of the Moone, and the coniunctions and oppositions of her and of the Sunne: and this was attributed to him for tyrannie, by those which did emulate and hate him: For one day in a discourse in the presence of C I C E R O, it was said, that the next day there should be an Eclipse of the Sunne; yea (quoth he) it is so, for C Æ S A R hath so commaunded. Many other things C Æ S A R began, which were very great, in reforming the lawes, customs and offices, which for breuitie I omit: among which the reedifying of the destroyed citie of *Carthage* by S C I P I O (as all the world knoweth) was one; and he sent thither Colonies and Romane citizens to inhabit: the like he did by *Corinth*. But all these deeds & these so high thoughts and determinations were abridged by death, which within few daies ensued: & this man which no force could resist, a few men, yea & those disarmed, were of power to bereaue of life, as hereafter we will declare. Five moneths only he liued a foueraigne Lord in peace (as V E L L E I U S P A T E R C U L U S hath noted) when those in whom he reposed greatest trust, conspired his death.

Cæsar corrected the computation of the yeere.  
Suetonius,  
Plutarch,  
Censorinus.

Carthage re-peopled by Cæsar.

Some write that C Æ S A R was counselled to haue had a guard alwaies about him: whereto he answered, that he would haue none, for hee would rather die once, then liue continually in care and feare. Many set downe the causes wherefore they desired to kill him: Some say that it was of hatred which they had long borne him: some others say, that it was for the desire of libertie, holding him for a tyrant: But the most part are of opinion, that it was of suspicion that hee would haue caused himselfe to be called and made king of *Rome*, a thing in the highest degree

The causes of the conspiracies against Cæsar.

degree hatefull to the Romanes: whereof hee gaue many signes and causes to suspect, which PLVTARCH and others write at large. Hereunto was added, that he began to haue men in contempt, and all other things, whereby he became hatefull to many. For he vsed to say, that the Common-wealth was but a voyce and a name without a bodie, or substance; and that it well appeared that CORNELIVS SYLLA had no learning, seeing that he resigned the perpetuall Dictatorship. All the whole Senate, comming one day into the Temple of *Venus*, wherein he was, he attended their comming, sitting still, and rose not, as hee was wont to doe; notwithstanding (as some say) that CORNELIVS BALBUS counselled him to rise: which was a thing much noted and odious to the Common-wealth. His friends and fauourites began also to say and to publish, that in the bookes of the *Sibyls* (which in *Rome* were held in great veneration and for a true propheticie) it was written, that the Parthians could neuer bee overcome but by a man which should haue the title of king, and they practised that CÆSAR should take this name, for that conquest, whither he had determined to goe: and although that he made shew to be grieved and much moued thereat, yet they suspected the contrarie, which suspition encreased (besides that which is already said) for that, that the Tribunes of the people commaunded a man to be apprehended, which had set a Diademe (which is the ensigne of a king) vpon the head of one of CÆSARS statues. Whereat CÆSAR was so highly offended with the Tribunes, that he deposed them from their offices, making shew that he did it, because they gaue him cause of offence, in this, that they would make the world beleue that there was cause of suspition, that he would make himselfe a tyrant King. The like in a manner passed, when MARCVS ANTONIVS, which was a great fauourite of his, (and that yeere) his fellow and companion in the Consulship, being at certaine publike games, came to CÆSAR and put a Diademe vpon his head: and although that he cast it downe, yet they all imagined that MARCVS ANTONIVS would not haue been so bold and so hardie to haue done it, without his consent and goodwill; and that he did this to proue, what liking the people had thereto, and how they would take it: so as these and such other like things as passed, gaue them occasion to desire and to procure his death, as some of them did. This did also encourage them, and made them attempt to doe it: for that in sundrie publike places certaine writings were set vp, which did incite and animate them to conspire against him: as vpon the statue of *Brutus*, which in ancient time had chased the Kings out of *Rome*, wherein were written these words, *Would to God thou wert now liuing Brutus*. And vpon the image of MARCVS BRVTVS, which then was Pretor, and descended from the other BRVTVS, these words: *Thou sleepest long Brutus, truly thou art not Brutus*. And as APPIAN recounteth, at other times, they set vp others which imported: *Thou art dead Brutus, would to God thou wast liuing, thou art unworthie of the succession from the Bruti: surely thou art not descended from that good Brutus*. And other such like things were set vpon these statues and in other places. So as for all these reasons and for other added hereunto, there were seuentie of the most principall men in *Rome* which conspired to put him to death; one alluring another, vntill that they amounted to that number: of which the most principall heads were DECIVS, MARCVS BRVTVS, CAIVS CASSIVS; yet MARCVS BRVTVS was held for CÆSARS sonne, for his mother was suspected with him, and had receiued from him great honours and good entertainments: with these were GAIVS CASCA, ATTILIVS CIMBER, SERVIVS GALBA, QVINTVS LIGARIVS, MARCVS SPVRIVS, and many other men

The conspiracie against Julius Cæsar.

men of account, which after some consultations, concluded to kill him vpon the Ides of March, which is the fifteenth day of that month, in the temple where the Senators were to sit that day: which was agreed vpon and kept so close and secret, that (notwithstanding their great number) there was not any one found that did discover the same. But there happened so many signes and prodigies, and to himselfe there happened so many auguries and forewarnings, that without knowing any cause, all men were of opinion that CÆSARS death was neere at hand: the which among many others which recite the same, OVID doth most excellently set downe in his *Metamorphoses*, which for breuitie I omit; but chiefly SPVRINA which was his diuiner or soothsaier, diuined and warned him, that he should looke to himselfe, vntill that the Ides of March were past; for his life was in great danger: and CÆSARS owne wife entreated him vpon her knees, that he would not that day goe forth to the Senate, for she had dreamed that he lay dead in her lappe. Finally, CÆSAR was so many waies forewarned and put in such feare of some great danger, that he was about to send to MARCVS ANTONIVS to make his excuse, and to deferre the Senate vntill another day: But as it was Gods will that he should die so, MARCVS BRVTVS being in place when this matter was in question (who, as we haue already said, was one of the conspirators) counselled CÆSAR that in no case he should shew any such feare; whereupon he determined to goe thither.

Some (as SVETONIVS, and PLVTARCH) write that CÆSAR made small account of death, and that he suspected that hee should die in this manner; for he said, that he did not so much esteeme his owne life, as the daunger whereinto the common-wealth would fall by losing him: For as for him, he had wonne and obtained power, fame and glorie enough for himselfe; and that he in no time could dy with greater honour. It gaue also cause of this suspition in this, that some discoursing in his presence the night before his death, what kinde of death was best: euen, quoth he, the sodaine, and that which is not prepered. Whether this be true or no, I know not, but the fifteenth of March he went from his house in a litter towards the Senate, and passing along the streete, there was a petition deliuered vnto him, which some say, ARTEMIDORVS his Maister in the Greeke tongue gaue him: others say, that it was giuen to him by another, and that ARTEMIDORVS could not come so neere to him as to aduise him: but whosoeuer he were that gaue it, therein was giuen him in writing, all that which was concluded in this conspiracie, and he which gaue it desired him to reade it presently, which he began to doe; but there came so many to speake to him, that he could but begin to reade it, for it was found in his hand when he was dead. And passing so along the streete, he also mette with SPVRINA, who had giuen him warning to looke to himselfe vntill the Ides of March were past, and as CÆSAR saw him very pleasant and iesting he said, doe thou not know SPVRINA that the Ides of March are come? yea answered SPVRINA, and I know that they are not yet past also. Being come to the temple where the Senate was to sit that day, he came downe from his Litter and entred thereinto, and hauing first done sacrifice, (as then was the custome) which all according to their superstitious ceremonies of that time, presaged to be fatall and infortunate, he sate downe in the Senate in his chaire, and BRVTVS ALBINVS entertaining MARCVS ANTONIVS at the doore of the temple (or after some others) TREBONIVS (as it was decreed) one of the conspiratours (whose name was CÆLER) came to CÆSAR vnder colour to entreate him to be pleased to release a brother of his from banishment, and

Lib. 14.

A petition giuen to Cæsar.

and presently all the rest of the conspirators drew neere to his chaire: which when C Æ S A R perceiued, thinking that they had al come for the same purpose, it is written that he said to them, what perforce is this? and at that instant one of them whose name was C A S C A, beginning, they all drew their poiniards and swords, which they had brought in secret for that purpose vnder their gownes, and began to wound him. The first blow that he receiued, they say, that C A S C A gaue him in the throat, at which hurt C Æ S A R spake a lowde saying, what doest thou traitour C A S C A? and wresting the poiniard out of his hands, he arose and stabbed C A S C A through the arme, and being about to strike him the second time, he was letted by the other woundes which they gaue him, with great force and courage leaping from one side to the other, to defend himselfe. But when he saw M A R C V S B R V T V S, (whose authoritie and reputation was great) with his sworde drawne in his hand, wherewith he had already wounded him in the thigh, they write that he was much amazed thereat, and said in the Greeke tongue (which the Romanes did then vnderstand and vsually speake) Why, how now sonne B R V T V S, and thou also? And hauing said so, and seeing so many weapons bent against him, and that no bodie came to his rescue, for there was so great a hurlie burlie in the Senate, that they all thought to haue dyed, and being in despaire none durst attempt to defend him: he remembered to keepe the honour of his person, and with his right hand covered his head with part of his robe, and with his left hand, he girt himselfe and sealed his clothes about him, and being so couered, he fell dead to the ground, wounded with three and twentie wounds, and his fortune was to fall at the foote of the seate or base whereupon P O M P E I E S statue stood, which was noted for the iudgement and permission of God. And so in this manner died the most mightie, the most worthie, valiant, wife and fortunate Prince and captaine, that without all doubt before him hath been in the world, and I know not if after him in valour and humane power there hath been the like. For his excellencies, graces and abilities, his inuincible minde, his incomparable force and courage; the batailles and victories which he obtained; the prouinces, Kings and nations, which he ouercame and subdued; his counsels, stratagems, pollicies, and bold attempts which he vsed therein; his magnanimitie, clemencie and bountie with the conquered and conquerors; his high thoughts and purposes, being well weighed and considered: it will plainly appeare, that in none of these things aforesaid, neither in many other more which may be said of him, there hath not been any King or captaine that hath excelled him, but that he in the most hath excelled all others, and had fewer imperfections and vices then any other: for setting apart his ambition and desire to raigne, (which he held for no vice, and might alleadge that he was compelled thereto) he was onely noted and blamed, as too much giuen to women; as for the rest wherewith he was charged, it doth rather appeare to be the murmuring and slander of his aduersaries, then any truth.

C Æ S A R then was slaine in the sixe and fiftith yeare of his age, foure yeares and a little more (according to P L V T A R C H E S computation) after the death of P O M P E Y; in the scuen hundred and tenth yeare (according to O R O S I V S) after the foundation of Rome; and according to the Hebrew truth, in the three thousand and tenth yeare from the creation of the world; and according to the greater account of the seuentie Interpretors, siue thousand, one hundred, fiftie and seauen yeares; in the hundred, eightie and fourth Olympiad; and fortie and two yeares before the birth of Christ our redeemer. But I would the reader to vnderstand,

Cassia

Brutus

Cæsar was  
slaine in the  
Senate, and  
died at Pom-  
pey's feet.  
The excellen-  
cies of Iulius  
Cæsar.

The time  
wherein Cæ-  
sar died.

vnderstand, that in this account of yeeres, there sometimes happeneth difference betwene the authors.

C Æ S A R had neither sonne nor daughter legitimate, at the time of his death: for notwithstanding that he was married foure seuerall times, yet he had but one onely daughter, named I V L I A, which (as I haue said) was married to P O M P E Y, and died. Wherefore he adopted and chose for his sonne by his last will, and made him his heire in the Dodrant, which are nine partes of the twelue of his goods, his Nephew O C T A V I V S C Æ S A R, which afterwards was called O C T A V I A N V S A V G V S T V S, who was nephew of his sister I V L I A and of A C I V S B A L B V S, and sonne of A C I A his neece, and of O C T A V I V S Pretor in M a c e d o n i a, who died sodainly. O C T A V I V S was at this time by the commendement of his vnckle, in the citie of A p o l l o n i a in the prouince of E p i r e, where he gaue himselfe to studie, staying for him there; thence to goe with him to the warres of the Parthians, being then of the age of seuentene yeeres.

Iulius Cæsar  
adopted Octa-  
uius his Ne-  
phew for his  
sonne.  
Octavianus his  
parentage.

C Æ S A R being dead in the manner as I haue said (as it happeneth in great accidents) so the newes presently ranne ouer all the citie, and the tumult and alteration therein was so great, that no man knew what to doe, or say: all offices ceased, the temples were shut vp, there was no man but was afraid: C Æ S A R S friends were afraid of those which slew him, and they of his friends. It would be a long discourse to recite what passed and succeeded, but I will briefly set downe that which shall be most to my purpose. B R V T V S and C A S S I V S and all the conspirators, and others which were willing to ioine with them, hauing put him to death, seeing the great hurlie burlie and tumult among the people (and after P L V T A R C H) for feare of M A R C V S A N T O N I V S and L E P I D V S, wherof the one was Consul, and the other Maister of the horsemen, durst not goe to their houses, neither to doe such other things as they had pretended, but presently from thence went to seafe vpon the Capitoll, and crying by the way as they went, libertie, libertie, desiring and imploring the assistance and fauour of the people. The rest of that day and all the next night, M A R C V S A N T O N I V S and L E P I D V S which tooke C Æ S A R S part, were in armes, and there passed treaties and messages from the one to the other; wherein it was agreed that the Senate should sit, whither B R V T V S and C A S S I V S came, M A R C V S A N T O N I V S his sonnes (by the perswasion of C I C E R O a great louer of the libertie) remaining hostages for them; where they treated of peace and concord, and that all that which was past should be buried in perpetuall silence and obliuion. Whereunto M A R C V S A N T O N I V S (who was Consul) and all the whole Senate agreed, and all the prouinces being diuided, there was a great likelyhoode of peace, for the Senate approoued and commended the fact, and the people dissembled it: for in one part the authoritie of B R V T V S and C A S S I V S, and the name of libertie, seemed to giue them some contentment; and of the other side, the greatness of the fact and the loue which they bare vnto C Æ S A R, did moue and incite them to hate the murtherers, and so it rested indeterminate. But M A R C V S A N T O N I V S, as one who also thought to become a tyrant, euer sought meanes to incense the people against them: and it passed so, that among other things which were done, it followed that C Æ S A R S testament was opened, wherein besides the adopting of his Nephew O C T A V I V S for his sonne, and appointing him for his chiefe heire, among other bequests which he made, he bequeathed to the people of Rome certaine gardens and heritages neere the riuer of T i b e r, and to euery citizen of Rome a certaine sum of money, to be deuided among them:

The determina-  
tion of the  
Senate.

Cæsar's will and  
testament.

D

which

diffension did much grieve them all, and both the one part and the other layd all the fault on LEPIDVS. Which when OCTAVIAN vnderstood, before that they would fall so farre out as to take armes, he practised secret treaties with sundry in LEPIDVS his army, and with gifts and promises drew them to his will: and hauing well effected this deuise, he one day with a great troupe of horsemen roade neere to LEPIDVS his Camp, and singling himselfe from his companie, he began to parley with his souldiers, complaining of him, & laying the fault of all that was like to ensue vpon LEPIDVS: which being heard by them, many of them began to come ouer to his side. And LEPIDVS aduertised hereof, commanded the alarme to be giuen, and to fall out against him, so as they skirmished, wherein in the beginning OCTAVIAN was in some danger, but it lasted not long: for the most part of LEPIDVS his troupes passed ouer to OCTAVIAN, which LEPIDVS could not resist; who seeing himselfe in danger to be abandoned by the whole, for his last refuge rendred himselfe into CÆSARS power, and putting off his robe of Generall, went out of his Tent, and yielded himselfe vnto OCTAVIANVS, humbly crauing him to pardon him: whom OCTAVIAN receiued, as though he had neuer offended him, very courteously and honorably, but he restored him neither to his estate nor power, but sent him to Rome well accompanied and entertained, but without Magistracie or office, with the dignitie of highest Priest only, which he had euer held from the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR whose it was: and so this quarrell was ended without battaile or bloudshed, which some feared would haue brought both danger and calamitie.

Lepidus de-  
prived of his pro-  
vince of A-  
frica.

An exceeding  
great assembly  
of men of war.

OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR remained Lord of *Sicilia*, depriuing LEPIDVS of the league and Triumvirat, appropriating to himselfe the prouince of *Africa*, and remained generall of the three armies, viz. that which was LEPIDVS his army, POMPEIES army, & his owne, wherein APPIANVS affirmeth, were 45. Legions of footemen, and 25000. horsemen well armed, besides many other light horsemen and Numidians, which seemeth not incredible to him that considereth how great a part of the world they commaunded which leuyed the same. He affirmeth also, that there were then at sea and vpon the coast 600. Gallies, and a greater number of Ships, Foists, and Brigandines: And although that OCTAVIANVS had so great forces, yet would he not pursue or send after POMPEY, who (as we haue sayd) fled, which he did (as some did suspect) beleueing that MARCVS ANTONIVS would haue harboured and succoured him, being glad that occasion might haue bin offred to quarrell with him, as now there was no other man in the world that was any eye-sore vnto him, but he: or else he did it, as he himselfe sayd afterwards, for that POMPEY was none of those which conspired CÆSARS death. And purposing now to disperse his armies and to returne to Rome, he payd his souldiers, giuing crownes and other ensignes and armes to those which had performed any notable exploits in the warres; and hauing giuen many gifts and made many faire promises to his legions, pardoning the Captaines and souldiers which had followed POMPEY, and in the best manner that he could, paying and contenting LEPIDVS his companies he sent them home to their houses; notwithstanding that there were some scandales and mutinies, but he pacified and brought all in good order, and leauing in *Sicily*, and sending into *Africa* Pretors and Gouvernors, he tooke his way towards Rome, where he was receiued with ouacion entertainment, which was little lesse then a triumph, with incredible ioy and honor, and began to be so beloued and esteemed, that in many places they erected Temples and Altars vnto him, as to their gods; and he ordered

ordered and reformed all things, which by reason of the warres and troubles were corrupted and out of order. It would be a large discourse to declare the particulars of all things which he did in Rome and in the prouinces, as well concerning the gouernment and iustice, as the decencie and beautifying thereof.

At this time MARCVS ANTONIVS who was in the East, notwithstanding that in the warres of the Parthians he had no prosperous success; yet neuertheless was still of very great power, very rich, and much serued and obeyed in all the prouinces of *Græcia*, *Asia*, *Egypt*, and all the rest in his dition. But he was so much blinded and besotted with the loue and companie of CLEOPATRA Queene of *Egypt*, that he thought of nothing but how to satisfie her humour, e-  
ing vnable to depart from her, or to haue any regard or remembrance of his wife OCTAVIA and sister to OCTAVIANVS, who in beautie and wisedome was nothing inferiour to her, and in vertue and goodnes did farre excell her.

Antony capti-  
nated by Cleo-  
patra.

And so the Monarchie of the world was diuided betweene these two men, the one in the East, and the other in the West: and as the desire and hunger to raigne is endlesse, and the thirst with continuance encreaseth, as though that each of them had not had enough to his share, both of the bethought themselves how they might be able to obtaine the whole, principally OCTAVIAN, seeing that ANTONY cared not for his sister, neither sent for her after that he had left her in Rome, he therefore continually counsell'd and vrged her to goe to her husband, to haue (as I beleene) occasion to fall out with him (as PLVTARCH recounteth in the life of ANTONY) if she were not well entertained. And she not vnderstanding this deuise, with intent to stop and let any controuersie that might arise betweene her husband and her brother, departed from Rome, bearing with her many iewels and presents, which she had gathered together, to carrie them to MARCVS ANTONIVS, as VELLEIVS PATERCVLVVS recordeth. But he who had fixed his heart vpon CLEOPATRA, wrote to her vpon the way, that she should stay in *Græcia* in the citie of *Athens*, vntill hee should returne from the iourney which hee purposed to make against the Parthians; which hee neuer performed, CLEOPATRA hindring the same. Finally, to bee briefe (for otherwaies there were much to say) OCTAVIA sent all those things which she brought with her, to her husband; and this nothing auailing, she returned to Rome sorrowfull, and by him forsaken. Whereupon OCTAVIAN began openly to complaine of MARCVS ANTONIVS, and to shew himselfe his enemy: and MARCVS ANTONIVS which had the same desire, entred into league and amitie with the King of the Medes in *Asia*; and CLEOPATRA, besides the title of *Egypt*, he made to be called Queene of *Syria*, *Libya*, and *Cyprus*, and ioyn'tly with her to a sonne of hers named CÆSARION, of whom (as we haue already said) IVLIVS CÆSAR left her with child when he was in *Egypt*, and to two sonnes which he had by her, the one named PTOLOMY, and the other ALEXANDER, he gaue titles of Kings, to ALEXANDER of *Armenia* and *Parthia*, which he meant to conquer; and to PTOLOMY of *Cilicia* and *Phœnicia*: for which and many other causes which were offered, the enmitie betweene him and OCTAVIAN was publike and apparant; but the warre was yet deferred, for that OCTAVIAN was hindred by the warres in *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*, now called *Slauonia*. The people of which countries, seeing the ciuill warres of the Romanes, rose and rebelled, with other nations which conspired with them, and did assist them, although not subiects as they were, to wit, the two *Pannonie*, the vpper which is now *Austria*, and the lower, which is *Hungarie*, and *Noricum*, which is now part of *Bauaria*, with other borderers and neigh-  
bours.

Cæsarion the  
sonne of Iulius  
Cæsar.

The warres  
which Octavianus  
made in  
Illyricum.

bours. Which warre OCTAVIAN undertooke of set purpose, and followed it in his owne person, which was very cruel and dangerous: wherein he was twice wounded, and made marvellous prooffe of his person, both for valour and wisdom: wherein there passed more and greater matters then I haue time to recite. APPIANVS in his sixth booke which he calleth *Illyricque*, writeth thereof at large: and also VELLEIVS PATERCVLVVS, although more briefly, LVCIVS FLORVS, and TITVS LIVIVS abreuiaed by him and some others. The end thereof was, that OCTAVIAN not onely reduced and tamed *Illyricum*, and sundrie Nations, contained vnder that name, but also the *Pannonias*, and the rest which had conspired with those of *Illyricum*, partly by himself in person, & partly by his Captaines.

These victories being obtained, OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR came victorious to *Rome*: and notwithstanding that the triumph was granted vnto him, yet he would not triumph as then; so great was the desire hee had to warre against MARCVS ANTONIVS, who was no better affected vnto him, but rather leuied souldiers, procured friends and armes against him, and promised his friend CLEOPATRA, to bring her triumphing into *Rome*. LVCIVS FLORVS writeth, that she requested of him the rule and Empire of *Rome*, and he promised it her: as though the Romanes had been more easie to subdue then the Parthians. And the matter standing in these termes, MARCVS ANTONIVS sent to his wife OCTAVIA sister to OCTAVIANVS, a diuorcement and renunciation of his mariage, in such manner as then was accustomed; commaunding her to goe out of his house, wherein she dwelled in *Rome*: All which with many other matters OCTAVIAN signified in the Senate, complaining thereof against him, and in his orations and speeches to the people, accusing him also; that the second fye yeeres of his Triumuirat and league being expired, without comming to *Rome*, or respecting the authoritie of the Senate, he exercised the same, and held the possession of *Græcia* and the prouinces of the East, and so vsed many speeches against MARCVS ANTONIVS to perswade and incense the people against him.

MARCVS ANTONIVS on the other side, complained by messengers and letters, alleaging that OCTAVIAN had often broken the peace, and had cast SEXTVS POMPEIVS out of *Sicilia*, remaining with those prouinces and others which he held; and that therein he had no minde of him, neither had giuen him any part thereof; and that hee detained the galleys which he lent him for that warre: and besides this, that he had vsed meanes and deuices to depriue LEPIDVS, and so held all the prouinces of *Africa*, and all the legions which were his, without imparting any thing thereof vnto him of all these things: and that hee had giuen the fields and lands of al *Italie* to his people and souldiers, without contributing any part thereof vnto his. And in this manner the one accused the other, and either of them made shew, and fained that he was vrged and enforced to undertake this warre. But the truth is, they both desired to bee Lords of the whole, and in my opinion, vainglorie, ambition, couetousnes, and enuie, moued them thereto, each of them putting his determination in effect, calling and leuying forces and aides; so as the whole world in a manner, either of the one side or other, was moued and troubled therewith: those of the West in the behalfe of OCTAVIAN, and those of the East in fauour of MARCVS ANTONIVS; at the least, the best and most choise people of all, although not so many as they might haue leuied: for the Romanes neuer vsed to make warres with such huge multitudes and excessive armies, which they should not be well able to maintaine and rule, as the Persians and other barbarous nations did.

ANTONY

ANTONY was first on foote, and came with great troupes to the famous citie of *Ephesus*, which was in *Ionie* a prouince in *Asia* the lesse, whither he had sent for his ships and Nauie to come, to passe into *Europe*, and had there in readines 800. betweene galleys and ships of burthen, 200. whereof CLEOPATRA gaue to him with all the munition and victuals necessarie for the flecte; and her selfe he caried with him, contrarie to the opinion of all those which were of his counsell: And herewith came to the Ile of *Samos*, whither he had appointed to come by a certaine day, all the Kings, Terrarches and people of cities, which came to serue him in this warre, and from thence he parted and came to *Athens*. PLVTARCH describeth the Kings which came with him, and those which sent some forces to his aide, part whereof were friends and allies to the Empire, and others vassals and subiects; to which was giuen the title and gouernment of prouinces: of which he named TARCONDEMVS of the vpper *Cilicia*, and ARCHELAVS of *Cappadocia*, PHILADELPHVS of *Paphlagonia*, and MITHRIDATES of *Comagena*, & others also; besides those which sent their forces, as were HERODES king of *Iudea*, AMYN-TAS of *Lycaonia*, and the king of *Arabia*, the king of the *Medes*, and PALEMONTAS king of *Pontus*, and some others: wherein (it was said) he brought 100000. singular good and well trained footmen, and 22000. horsemen: and according to the same PLVTARCH, besides this armie by land, his Nauie by Sea consisted of fye hundred galleys, besides the ships of burthen which brought the munition and victuals.

Although that in the number of ships and galleys the authors doe varie, which ought not diminish the credit of the historie, sithence that in matters which passe now adaiies which we see with our eyes, wee can hardly know the certaine number of the ships and of the armies. MARCVS ANTONIVS came with such power, that the Historiographers affirme, that if he had presently taken his passage for *Italie*, he had put OCTAVIAN to his shifts, and in great hazard: for he had not sufficient forces leuied to haue fought with him, neither had hee necessarie prouision for the warres. And so MARCVS ANTONIVS his long delaying of time, was imputed vnto him for want of discretion, knowledge and foresight of the good fortune which was offred him: For he spent so much time in *Athens*, that OCTAVIAN had leifure to prouide all things wanting, from *Italie*, *France*, *Spaine*, and other prouinces in his subiection: and leuying 80000. chosen and trained souldiers, and about 20000. horse, seeing that hee taried so long, he sent him word, that for as much as he had ships and prouision fit thereto, he should draw neere to *Italie*, where he staid in the field to giue him bataille, promising to giue him free Ports and Hauens, where he might safely take landing without any interruption, to the end that he might the more commodiously order and prouide all things thereto necessarie. Whereto ANTONY answered, that it would be better if hee would determine this quarrell in person against him bodie to bodie, which hee would willingly accept; notwithstanding that he was now old and crazed, and the other young and lustie: and if he liked not hereof, he would stay for him with his people in the fields of *Pharsalia*, in the same place where his father IVLIVS CÆSAR fought with GNEVS POMPEIVS.

These Ambassades and messages passing betweene them, without effect; ANTONY drew his Armie by land, and his Nauie by sea, towards the coast of *Italy*; and OCTAVIAN amassing his ships in *Brundisium*, embarked his legions, and crossing the Sea came to a place called *Torma*, in the prouince of *Epire*, which is now called *Romania*. And after certaine notable matters which passed, the two armies

*Samos an Ile in the Ionian Sea ouer against Ephesus. The people and preparation of Marcus Antonius.*

The causes of the warre betweene Octavianus and Marcus Antonius, and the beginning thereof.

*Epire, Romania.*

armies drew neere the one to the other, and the like did the Nauies by sea. OCTAVIANVS Nauie (as PLVTARCH affirmeth) consisted of 250. galleys, but better appointed and swifter, then MARCVS ANTONIVS his galleys were, which were more in number, although (as I haue said) the authors agree not: but the most common opinion is, as I haue said. But howsoeuer it were, MARCVS ANTONIVS perswaded by CLEOPATRA (who euen in this also was the cause of his perdition) would needs trie his fortune in a battaile at Sea, notwithstanding that in his armie by land hee had the aduantage. CLEOPATRA did this (as some write, and as it after appeared) thereby to haue the better meanes to flie if the battaile should be lost. ANTONY chusing 22000. men out of his armie, put them aboard his fleete, which was neere at hand: and OCTAVIAN, who refused not the combat vpon the water, made his prouision also for the battaile, and shipping himselfe aboard the galleys, committed the charge of his armie by land to TAVRVS: and ANTONY doing the like, left his with CANIDIVS; in sight of both which, the two most mightie men, with the best troupes and Nauies of the world, tooke the Seas, which fought for no lesse matter then the Empire and Monarchie thereof: Which was deferred for three daies space in despite of both parties, the Seas swelling so high that they could not gouerne their vessels. The fourth day they came to encounter at a Cape called *Acins*, which is in *Epire*, not farre from whence were their armies by land. The battaile was one of the most fierce and cruell that hath been written of: for it lasted tenne houres before that OCTAVIAN, who was the victor, did wholly obtaine the victorie, although that ANTONY staid not so long therein: for as CLEOPATRA knew better how to mollifie and soften mens harts, then to encourage them; in the hottest and greatest furie of the battaile, with a feminine minde vnable to endure the sight of so fierce a spectacle, she fled away in her galley, whom sequentie of her other galleys followed; which is not to be wondered at, but how she durst stay so long. But the vnluckie MARCVS ANTONIVS, who all his life time had been a most valiant and excellent Captaine, that day metamorphosed into CLEOPATRA, seeing her galley flie, wherein he had fixed his heart and eyes, went out of his, for that it seemed too heauy, and embarking himselfe in another more swift (desiring rather to flie with CLEOPATRA, then to preuaile without her) followed her, without respect of his armies by land or sea, which remained: and ouertaking her, he went aboard the same galley wherein she was; wherein hee sailed three daies without seeing or speaking to her, for shame (as it is most likely) for the great weakenes which he had shewed. And after some wandring, he arriued in the harbour at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, where he afterwards ended his life, as we will declare.

The battaile at  
Sea betwene  
Octavianus  
and Marcus  
Antonius.

The shamefull  
flight of Mar-  
cus Antonius.

Octavianus his  
victorie.

His Nauie which he left fighting, although without a captaine, made resistance so long as I haue said, and there were slaine thereof aboue fise thousand men: but in the end it was wholly ouerthrowne, more through want of a captaine, then through any force of the enemy: although some write, that the lightnes and swiftnes of OCTAVIANVS galleys was a great helpe vnto him, and so he remained conqueror, and graunted life and pardon to the conquered, and had in his power three hundred of their galleys. And in the armie by land there wanted neither constancie, nor faith to their captaine ANTONIE although abandoned by him, which remained seuen dayes in their campe readie to giue battaile, without accepting any composition or offer, sent or made vnto them by OCTAVIAN, with a shew that they would yet haue stayed longer time, if CANIDIVS, whom ANTONIE left in his steede, had not abused his charge, as he which placed him there-  
in,

in, had done. For it was so, that after seauen dayes were past, in the night secretly he fled from the campe to seeke ANTONIE, and abandoned the armie, which being forsaken, yeelded to the enemy, and OCTAVIAN vsed his victorie with great clemencie: which being obtained, he either thought it not good, or could not at that time pursue ANTONIE, but tooke his way towards the citie of *Athens*, where taking order for all matters in *Græcia*, by reason of some commotions in *Italie* (as SVETONIVS recordeth) he returned thither, where he stayed somewhat longer then he would haue done, as well for that which is afore-said, as the euill weather to faile in, which followed.

After all this, OCTAVIANVS hauing set all things necessarie in a readines, he sailed with great power into *Egypt*, with a determination to make an end with MARCVS ANTONIVS (as indeede he did) and arriued at the citie of *Alexandria*: wherein ANTONIE recouering courage, and Queene CLEOPATRA making great preparation for the warres, in the time of OCTAVIANVS his stay, had leuied great forces, both of foote and horse for their defence. They had also a great nauie by sea, as well of CLEOPATRA, as of those which came from other places: and MARCVS ANTONIVS with his old courage, which now too late and to no purpose he recouered, tooke the field and entertaining a skirmish with CÆSARS horsemen, which were then landed and strongly entrenched, he vsed such skill, and charged them with such dexteritie, that he made them flie to their strength: and being returned to the citie, he againe sent to challeng OCTAVIANVS to fight with him body against body. Whereunto CÆSAR answered, that MARCVS ANTONIVS had other waies and meanes enough in a readines to die, without dying by his hands.

ANTONIE receiuing this answere, determined to die fighting, although it happened not so. The next day in the morning he againe sallied forth into the fields, with an intent to fight; and standing vpon a high ground, and looking towards the sea, he saw that his nauie and gallies moued, and made towards OCTAVIAN: his fleete, which he thought they had done, with determination to fight; and staying a little to see the sequell, within a while, he saw them ioyned together in good friendship and companie, by meanes of a secret practice past betwene them. Which when he saw, and fearing the like in those which he brought with him to the field, he returned to the citie, mistrusting and affirming that CLEOPATRA had betraied him, although that in truth she was blameles therein, and she being aduertised of what ANTONIE had said, stood in feare of him; and withdrew hir selfe into a strong temple or sepulcher: and commanding the doores thereof to be shut and fortified, she sent some fainedly to tell him that she had slaine hir selfe with her owne hands. Which MARCVS ANTONIVS beleued as stedfastly, as though he had seene it, and refusing to liue any longer without hir, or to stay to die fighting, after he had vttered certaine speeches, he stabbed his poiniard into his owne brest; and so (deadly wounded) he fell downe vpon a bed in a swoune: And within a while comming againe to himselfe, being aduertised that CLEOPATRA was yet liuing, he made himselfe to be carried thither where she was: who receiued him with somany teares and such pitifull complaints, that he being so neere to death, began to recomfort her, saying; that she ought not lament for him, neither to hold him for infortunate, sith hee accounted not himselfe for such; for he had been a great captaine and very mightie, and in the end died ouercome by the Romanes. Her he counselled to yeeld to the mercie of OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, and speaking these words, his strength failing within  
a little

alittle while after he dyed: and so ended the power and life of MARCVS ANTONIVS. I haue peraduenture more largely discoursed hereof, then to the breuitie of my historie did appertaine, because it was a case so notable and singular.

OCTAVIANVS hauing intelligence of this aforesaid, and of the small order and guard of the citie, marched thither with his forces and entred the same, and sent to comfort CLEOPATRA, and to make great offers vnto her, to the end that she should not kill her selfe, and going to see her in person, he did the like: but all his care little auailed. For she being aduertised, that he would send her to *Rome*, and would place her and her sonnes in his triumph, chole rather to dye, then that he should triumph ouer her: and some say, that she tooke poison which he had provided for that purpose, wherewith she killed her selfe. Others (and this is the most common) that she put to her arme an Aspicque (which is a certaine kind of Serpent or venomous Adder) to the end that it should sting her, which was brought to her in a basket of flowers; so as she was found dead without any signe of any blow or wound, but as though she had bin asleepe. Whereat OCTAVIAN was much grieued, not without great admiration at the valour and great mind of that woman, and commanded her to be buried in the same Sepulchre wherein she had entombed her selfe, together with MARCVS ANTONIVS, with whom she had liued and raigned 14. yeares, she being 39. yeares old when she dyed, and MARCVS ANTONIVS 56. or (after some) 53.

OCTAVIANVS easily pardoned all those which had serued or sent succour to MARCVS ANTONIVS, and also his children, which were seauen, by three women, FVLVIA, OCTAVIA sister to OCTAVIANVS, and CLEOPATRA, sauing the eldest, which he commanded to be slaine, and the like he did by CÆSARION CLEOPATRAS sonne by IVLIVS CÆSAR, of whom we haue alreadie made mention, the eldest (they say) he slue vpon particular displeasure which he conceiued against him, and CÆSARION, by the counsell of ARRIVS a Philosopher, who told him that it would not do well to haue many CÆSARS.

This matter touching MARCVS ANTONIVS being ended, and the kingdome of *Egypt* being made a tributarie prouince, he departed from thence, and afterwards passing through *Syria* and *Asia* the lesse, leauing all quiet and in peace, he passed into *Grecia*, and there doing the like, he came into *Italy*, where hauing ended all ciuill warres, and hauing the whole Empire subiect to himselfe alone; he entred into *Rome* in triumph, with the greatest feasts and solemnities of the Senat and the people of all *Italy*, that could be deuised or imagined. It was granted vnto him to triumph three times, to wit, for the victorie in *Illyricum*, and for the victorie in his battaile by Sea, and the ouerthrow of MARCVS ANTONIVS, the conquest of the kingdome of *Egypt* and Queene CLEOPATRA, whose statue was placed in his triumph, with the Aspicques set to the veines of her armes.

And so OCTAVIANVS throughlie finished the building and erecting of the Monarchie, which his Vncle IVLIVS CÆSAR had began and founded, which (as it seemeth by PAVLVVS OROSIVS his computation) was sixteene yeares after the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR: And although that he obtained it by meanes hardly iustificable, yet truly he afterwards gouerned it most iustly and wisely, and was one of the best Princes that euer was in the world, gentle, mercifull, liberall, iust, valourous, endued with many vertues and excellencies, most happie and fortunate in all his affaires, and beloued about measure of all the world.

As there was now no man to contend with OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, and he so beloued of all men (as is aforesaid) the people and Senat of *Rome* gaue him a new

new name which before then was neuer heard of, AVGVSTVS; and so he was afterwards called CÆSAR AVGVSTVS: a name which they held for holie, venerable, of high maiestie, and which appertained to the gods and their temples, as we find it vied by CICERO, VIRGIL, OVID, and other authors; although that some deriue it from the verbe *augere*, in Latin, to increase, because that OCTAVIAN enlarged and increased the Empire; and some others giue it other deriuations, but whether soeuer be the most certaine, it was giuen him for the most honorable name of all others: they also intituled him father of his countrey, and gaue him all other titles and names which they could deuise.

CÆSAR AVGVSTVS (for this name henceforth we will sometimes giue him) seeing himselfe now in such rest and without warre with any body in the world, commaunded the temple of IANVS to be shut, which they religiously obserued, that during the warres it should stand open, and neuer had bin shut but twise from the foundation of *Rome*, according to TITVS LIVIVS, LVCIVS FLORVS, PLVTARCH, and other Authors: one, in the time of NUMA POMPILIVS second King thereof; and the other after the end of the second Punick warres which they waged with *Carthage*, at what time as TITVS MANLIUS was Consul. I know that some Authors set this shutting vp of IANVS his temple by OCTAVIAN to be a great while after, at the time of the birth of Christ our Sauour. But I in this place follow the authority of PAVLVVS OROSIVS a christian Author, who vied great diligence and truth, and is of 1200. yeares antiquitie, who reckoneth that CÆSAR AVGVSTVS shut this temple three times, and that this was the first, and I hold his opinion for certaine: for he is assisted by the authoritie of TITVS LIVIVS, who in his first booke affirmeth, that AVGVSTVS did shut this temple after the warres with ANTONY: and LVCIVS FLORVS and other Authors set downe that this temple was shut after that. And hereby it appeareth that OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR did shut the temple of IANVS more then once, and euery one sheweth his time when, and PAVLVVS OROSIVS all, which was thrise, setting downe the time to euery one of them as he noteth, which is also drawne out of SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS, following the letter as PHILIPPVS BEROALDVS followeth. I haue a desire to set this downe here (although it little importeth) to the end that the varietie and difference which the reader shall finde among the authors shall not offend him, and that he may know that I haue an approued author whom I follow, although I name him not, if he shall finde ought written by me contrary to that which he hath read. OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR liuing in this peace and tranquillitie, omitted no part of his care for the gouernment of the Romane Common-wealth and prouinces thereof; creating and sending thither Pretors, Proconsuls, and other gouernours, which were excellent men to rule and gouerne, and himselfe gaue direction and was very diligent in all things touching iustice, customes, religion and publike buildings: so as in all things, his raigne was most happie, peaceable and quiet, and so did it continue so long as he liued.

VELLEIVS PATERCVLVVS speaking like a Gentile, doth so extoll his raigne, that he saith, that men could not desire or aske any thing of the gods, neither thinke nor imagine ought; neither could the gods giue that to men, which OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR AVGVSTVS, after his victories and returne to *Rome*, did bring and giue to the Romane people, and the whole Empire. Norwithstanding that this was then so esteemed (as great minds naturally desire libertie) yet in that so prosperous a time, some people and nations were so bold as to shake off the

Romane

The death of  
Cleopatra.

How many  
times the  
temple of Ianus  
was shut.

Note the saying  
of the Author.

Romane yoke, and to molest and disquiet the Empire, as the Spaniards, the nations of *Illyricum* and the Pannonians. In *Spaine* the Cantabrians, which are the Alaueses and Biskains, the Asturians, and part of *Gallicia*, which were not onely discontented to obey, but passing their limits, began to make warre against the subiects to the Empire. OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR knowing this, holding it to be a doubtful warre and of importance, commanded (as saith PAVLVS OROSIVS) the Temple of *Ianus* to be opened, & determined to go thither himself in person, and to send other captaines to follow the other wars. In the time of these wars, which were first, or last, the authors doe handle very confusedly, so as I cannot bring it to light: whereof it might be that severall of these things did concur at one time. But OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS tooke his journey into *Spaine*, and began the warre with three armies against the people before named, which rebelled; which warre was very doubtfull and desperate, and lasted five yeeres. In this time passed many conflicts; and although that CÆSAR did oppresse the Cantabrians and Asturians, and draue them to the rockes and mountaines, yet they did so well defend themselves in them, that it behooved him before he could subdue them to raise a great Naue in the coast of *France*, to inuade the Sea coast of *Cantabria*, *Asturias* and *Gallicia*, at which time he draue the people of those countries to such extremities by land, that he compelled them to yeeld and submit themselves to his obedience: His great fauourite AGRIPPA, seruing him well and faithfully in all this warre (as in all the rest) whom he married to his daughter IVLIA, which at that time was the widow of his nephew MARCELLVS, sonne to his sister OCTAVIA, with whom she had been married. And so CÆSAR accomplished the full subiection of all *Spaine*, about two hundred yeeres after that the Romanes began to make their first warre therein: so as no prouince cost the Romanes more blood, more toyle, and more time then *Spaine*. And this long and doubtfull conquest being finished (Paulus Orosius saith) that OCTAVIAN seemed the same so much, that hauing established peace in *Spaine*, in signe thereof he againe commanded the doores of *Ianus* his Temple to be shut, and himselfe came to *Rome* in great triumph. But this Temple continued not long shut: for some Nations of the Germanes arose & kept a stir (although at diuers times) so as the Temple was againe opened to make warre against them, which were the inhabitants of *Noricum*, which is now *Bauaria*, and the *Pannonies*, which are *Austrich* and *Hungary*, as is aforesaid, and the two *Misias* which are *Bulgaria* and *Serua*, and also *Illyricum* which is *Slauonia*, although at another time tamed by him; and the prouince of *Dacia*, which now is *Transiluania* and *Walachia*, and some others also. Against all these Nations, the most happy Emperour CÆSAR AVGVSTVS sent his Captaines and armies, among which were his sonnes in law, sonnes of his wife LIVIA, TIBERIVS NERO, who succeeded him in the Empire, and his brother DRVSIVS NERO, of whom LIVIA was with childe when OCTAVIAN married her: and these two brothers (although the warre lasted somewhat long) tamed those Nations, & obtained great victories in Germanie and the confines thereof, especially TIBERIVS (as SVETONIVS writeth in his life, and PAVLVS OROSIVS in his histories) who in three yeeres space subdued the *Pannonies*, *Illyricum*, and *Dalmatia*: for which victories, he afterward entred into *Rome* in Quacian triumph, with great honour and solemnitie. And another Captaine whose name was MARCVS CRASSVS (as LVCIVS FLORVS and TITVS LIVIVS report) overcame and put the *Misians* to flight in their owne countrie, a nation which had neuer seene the Romanes; which (as LVCIVS FLORVS recordeth) being

readie

readie to giue battaile, in manner of iustification, said to the Romane armie: Tell vs, who you are that seeke to grieue vs? Whereunto they were answered: We be Romanes the Lords of Nations. Whereunto they answered: It shall be so, if we be overcome. And so they were afterwards, both they and those also which conspired with them. But OCTAVIAN had not these victories without some crosses: for in this warre died his sonne in law DRVSVS, who was highly extolled and esteemed for his great acts and victories, for whom he and the Emperesse LIVIA his mother were very sorie. But that was farre greater without comparison, which he conceived for the mishap which befell to QVINTILIUS VARRO, who being Captaine of three legions in *Germany*, and being retchlesse, was surprised by the Almaines, and himselfe and all the rest slaine, and two standards with the Imperiall Eagles taken: wherewith he was so excessiuely grieved, that they write, that he cried out very vnadvisedly, and knocked his head against the walles, saying, QVINTILIUS VARRO, giue me my legions againe. Of his sonne in law DRVSVS there remained two sonnes, called GERMANICVS and CLAVDIVS, which he had by ANTONIA, OCTAVIAN his neece & daughter of his sister OCTAVIA and of MARCVS ANTONIVS: of which, CLAVDIVS was Emperour: and this GERMANICVS which married with AGRIPPINA, daughter of IVLIA which was OCTAVIAN'S daughter, was father of CAIVS CALIGVLA, who afterwards was also Emperour. But these losses confirmed the victories which his sonne in law TIBERIVS obtained: Wherefore OCTAVIAN married him to his daughter IVLIA, who was a widow by the death of AGRIPPA, causing him to put away AGRIPPINA the daughter of the same AGRIPPA, by his first marriage, to whom he was married, and had by her one sonne named DRVSVS: so as after many notable victories, and taming of sometime one nation, and sometime another, which were compelled to sue for peace, OCTAVIAN againe commanded the Temple of *Ianus* to be shut, and from thencefoorth all things succeeded vnto him most prosperously.

The subiects of the Empire were very obedient vnto him, and all others sent him ambassades seeking his fauour and friendship, offering him their seruice: the Indians a people of the farthest part of the East, and also the Scythians which inhabit in the North, and the Parthians a people most fierce and vntamed, sent their Ambassadors to him, giuing securitie to keepe the peace, and deliuered the Standards and Eagles taken in the battaile, wherein MARCVS CRASSVS was slaine. There came also Kings, friends and subiects to the Empire, to *Rome*, to doe him honour, as his familiar friends, laying aside their Ensignes and royall Robes; and many of them built cities to his name, for his honour, calling the Cæsareas in remembrance of him: so did HERODE in *Palestina*, & IVBA in *Mauritania*, & others.

The world being in this quietnes and generall peace, fortie and two yeeres being fullie expired, since that OCTAVIAN, after the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR, came to *Rome*, from which time is commonly accounted his Empire. In this peace and rest of times was borne IESVS CHRIST our Lord and Sauiour in *Bethlem*, of the holie wombe of our blessed Ladie the Virgin MARY; HERODE being King of *Ierusalem*, placed there by the Romanes (hee who slew the innocent children) comming to the world in humane forme and nature, to saue and redeeme mankinde with his blessed death and passion, whose most holie life, mysteries and infinite miracles ought not to be mixed with prophane matters, and therefore I will not intermeddle to treat thereof. But returning to my purpose, I say, that OCTAVIAN enioying so great prosperitie

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and

The greatnes  
of the Romane  
Emperours.

and good fortune, was not altered in his naturall condition, as in other Princes it hath happened, but rather made more gentle, milde, iust, and affable, more courteous, more liberall and more temperate. He established wonderfull good orders and lawes, for the amending and reformation of abuses and euill customes: he erected in *Rome* and without it, great and sumptuous edifices, and bestowed great liberalitie and fauours vpon all sorts of people: he reioyced the people with feasts and playes in sundrie manners, going himselfe in person thereto, and sent Colonies and inhabitants to sundrie parts and prouinces: he made an excellent and singular good order for the gouernment and gouernours of the whole Empire. The like hee did for the warre and martiall discipline; he shewed himselfe plaine and sociable to his familiars and friends, and honoured and loued them much. Some conspiracies which were discovered against him, he punished without rigour, giuing more pardon then punishment and correction. Of murmurings and defamatorie libels he neuer sought nor desired to know the authors, but with great grauitie answered, giuing satisfaction, and purging himselfe of those things which were imputed vnto him. He was much giuen and affected to letters and learning, and was very learned and eloquent, and compiled bookes and notables workes: He did much honour and reward the wise and learned men of his time, wherein were many very notable in all Artes. But for all these vertues and perfections, and other which for breuitie I write not, yet he escaped not to be noted of some vices, caused through humane weakenes and great libertie, principally to be much giuen to women, although that in eating, drinking, in his apparell and ornaments, he was very decent and temperate: he gaue himselfe also excessiue to play at dice, and other games then accustomed. But *Svetonius* saith, that the most part thereof was vpon ceremonious and festiual daies, which ought well to be noted for a shame and example to our time, wherein Christianitie is professed. For that is accounted by many for brauerie and valour, which to *Octavian* being an Heathen and vnbeleeuing Prince, was noted and imputed for vice. Wherewith to conclude and make an end of his historie, as is reason, I say, that although that in many things hee was happie and fortunate, yet besides all his troubles and daungers, he was unhappie and infortunate in his children and succession: for by foure wiues, with which he was married, onely by *Scipion*, which was his third wife, he had one daughter named *Iulia*; and yet this one scarcely proued honest of her bodie: so as for want of sons to succeed him, he first adopted for his sonne, his nephew *Marcellus*, his sister *Octavia* son aforenamed, with whom he first married this his daughter *Iulia*; and *Marcellus* dying without issue, he married her to his fauourite *Agrippa*, who also left her a widow, as is aboue said: but he left by her three sonnes, and two daughters, the daughters prouing no honeste then their mother, and two of his sonnes died in *Octavian*'s time, hauing bin first by him adopted. Wherefore desiring to ouercome the ill lucke which he had herein, he adopted the third, who was called *Agrippa* as his father was, the which adoption he afterward reuoked for some displeasure conceiued against him, and taking this care for his succession, he adopted and made his sonne in law *Tiberius Nero*, his sonne, whom, as is afore said, he married to his daughter *Iulia*, who, as I said, was *Agrippa* his widow. But hee commaunded *Tiberius* when he adopted him, that he (notwithstanding that he had a son called *Drusus*) should also adopt his Nephew *Germanicus* sonne of his brother *Drusus*, who, as is afore said, died in *Germanie*, because he had married his neece *Agrippina* the daughter of

IULIA:

The vertues  
and qualities  
of Octavianus.

*Iulia*: and by this meanes came *Tiberius* to be *Octavianus* his successor, more through the diligence of his mother then any good liking that his father in law had to him; who rather was, and seemed to be very sorrie, that he should succede him.

And things standing in this state, *Octavian* being now seuentie and sixe yeeres old and odde dayes, and hauing raigned aboue fiftie and sixe yeeres, and being the best beloued and most obeyed prince, that euer was in the world, death ouertooke him: the cause thereof was a flux which held him for certaine dayes, whereof in the end he died in the citie of *Nola* (whither he came sicke from *Naples*) a quiet and peacefull death, in the fiftieth yeere after the birth of Christ our redeemer. His death was generally lamented, and there was an vniuersall sorrow and heauines ouer all the whole Empire for him: for he happened wisely and vprightly to gouerne that, which by force and cunning he had gotten. *Octavian* was of a meane stature, and of a very good shape and proportion of his body, exceedingly faire of gesture mixed with honestie and grauitie, his eyes were exceeding cleere and bright, he was very aduised, and loued to speake quicke and briefly.

The death of  
Octavianus  
Cesar Augustus.

Octavian his  
proportion of  
body.

## THE LIFE OF THE EMPEROR TIBERIVS.



### THE ARGVMENT.



After the good Augustus, succeeded his sonne in law the wicked Tiberius Nero, who was most subtil, and knew how to dissemble and faine to loue those well which he hated, and to hate those which he loued. He fained himselfe unwilling to accept of the Empire, to see who was his friend and who his enemie: and whereas before this dignitie, he was very orderly and prudent, he became afterward so disorderly and such a drunkard, that he was called in scorne Tiberius. In his time died Iesus Christ and Iohn Baptist.

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ist in Ierusalem, he caused Germanicus a great Capitaine to be slaine, although he made shew to Agrippa to be very sorie for it. He subdued many provinces which rebelled against the Romane Empire, and was no lesse cruell then libidinous, and of these three vices (to wit) crueltie, incontinencie, and gluttonie, it is hard to say, which was least. He ruled the Empire foure and twentie yeeres, and was no great enemy to Christians: and proponed in the Senate whether Christ should be accepted for a God or no, whereto the Senate consented not. Finally, he died through the treason of Caligula, whom he had nominated his successor, being seuentie and eight yeeres old: which he did, as it was thought, to the end that Caligula his vices should make his to seeme lesser, who was so wicked and cruell, that he wished that the world might end at his death.



After the excellent and good Emperor OCTAVIAN, succeeded his sonne in law, and adopted son the wicked and peruerse TIBERIVS NERO, vnworthy truly of his succession and of the Empire: for he was one of the most cruell and wicked men that euer was in the world: notwithstanding that in OCTAVIAN his time, in *Germanie* and in other parts he did many great and notable feats in armes. In the beginning of his Empire he made shew of a good prince, and did many good deedes, but afterwards (as this was but fained) he discovered his malice, and gouerned cruelly, couetously, and dishonestly. This TIBERIVS (as I haue aboue said) was the sonne of TIBERIVS NERO and LIVIA his wife, which OCTAVIAN afterwards tooke to wife, of both sides descended of the auncient family of the CLAVDII, whose grandfather by his fathers side was TIBERIVS CLAVDIUS NERO; and by his mothers side hee descended from APPIVS CLAVDIUS PVLCHER, and by adoption he likewise descended from the LIVII, an excellent family, although but Plebeian, for Consulships, censures, and triumphs. He was of a tall and strong body, and had a large brest and broad shoulders, whereto all parts of his body were answerable: he had a faire face, and great eyes, and so cleere, that they affirme a strange thing of him, which is, that awaking by darke in the night, for a good space he cleerely saw the place wherein he lay, and al that therein was, as wel as though he had had a light. He was a man of great strength, and had the vse of both his hands alike; whereas commonly euery man vseth the right hand with greater dexteritie then the left, and had so great strength in his fingers, that with a fillip he would (as often as he list) breake a pages, or a yong mans head, as SVETONIVS reporteth. He was very learned both in Greeke and Latin, and principally delighted in poesie, and made many verses in both tongues, which truly was ill employed in him, seeing he so little profited thereby. When OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS fell sicke, TIBERIVS was gone towards the prouince of *Illyricum* or *Slauonia*, and his mother LIVIA seeing that his sickness encreased, sent in great haste for him, and he happily arriued at the citie of *Nola*, CÆSAR AVGVSTVS being euen neere his end, but yet in such time as he could speake, and (as SVETONIVS reporteth) conferred with him a great while in secret: Although CORNELIVS TACITVS saith, that it is not certainly knowne whether he found him aliue at his comming or no; for his mother the Emperesse had set so many gards that the death of OCTAVIAN was not knowne, vntill that all had agreed and consented that TIBERIVS should rule, and succede him. And at that time was AGRIPPA Nephew to OCTAVIAN, and sonne of his daughter IVLIA, by AGRIPPA her second husband slaine by the hand of a Tribune, who had him in keeping (as it was thought) by the commaundement of his father in law TIBERIVS, and by the counsell of his mother

The lineage and corporall constitution of Tiberius.

Tiberius his learning.

mother LIVIA, to the end that hee should bee assured of the succession.

In *Rome* libertie now was so forgotten, and the Monarchie was so established by custome of so many yeeres continuance, vnder the raigne of OCTAVIANVS, that notwithstanding that there were Consuls, Pretors, Tribunes, and other names of dignitie and magistracie; yet there was in a manner no man in *Rome* that did remember and vnderstand the manner of the old gouernment, which was before that IVLIVS CÆSAR suppressed the Common-wealth; and the death of OCTAVIAN being knowne, there was no man that durst to name or to speake of libertie, but so soone as TIBERIVS came to *Rome*, to him was presently giuen the gouernment and administration of the Common-wealth. And he was the first Emperor that did quietly and peaceably inherit the Empire, so as he needed not to make a conquest thereof, as IVLIVS CÆSAR and OCTAVIAN had done. And although that before that he would accept thereof, he caused himselfe to be much entreated, and made great shew to haue no desire to the Empire, yet afterwards it was plainly perceiued, that he did but faine it, to the end to know euery mans good will towards him: For to all those which yeelded to accept of his excuses, and did not importune him, he bare a perpetuall hatred; for although that one way he excused himselfe, yet in many other things he began to vse the authoritie of an Emperor, taking a garde, and mustering the armies, as Emperor.

Having accepted and receiued the Empire, there were some occasions offered him, which put him in great feare and heauines: the first was, that the armies in *Pannonia* or *Hungarie*, mutined, and reuolted from IVLIVS BLESVS: their capitaine, a capitaine called PERCENIVS being principall of this reuolt, and they sent to require many excessiue things: against which TIBERIVS sent his son DRVSVS, whom he had by AGRIPPINA, with whom he was married before he married IVLIA. It happened also that the legions which were by the riuers side of the *Rhine*, as the custome was, did the like, through the absence of GERMANICVS: their capitaine before named, TIBERIVS his adopted sonne and Nephew: And those of *Pannonia* were not onely not contented with the paies and exemptions which they required, but they presumed to chuse a new Emperor against TIBERIVS, nominating their capitaine GERMANICVS, who (as is before said) was TIBERIVS his Nephew and adopted sonne, and preferred before his naturall sonne, by the commaundement of OCTAVIAN. But GERMANICVS was so loyall, that when these newes were brought vnto him, he not onely refused their offer, but with great danger and hazard of his life, and with much trouble pacified those alterations.

TIBERIVS was another way assaulted: for he was aduertised that one LVCIVS SCRIBONIVS a principall man, and one which bare great sway in the common-wealth, had some secret practises against him: but he freed himselfe from all these matters, and they were redressed, although not without great difficultie. For his son DRVSVS on one side (after some treaties) brought the legions of *Pannonia* to his obedience, and did iustice on PERCENIVS. And GERMANICVS (as I said) after some great matters (which CORNELIVS TACITVS reciteth at large) made those of *Germanie* to obey: and not therewith content, he passed the riuier of *Rhine* (which commonly was the bounds of the Romane Empire on that part) and made war within the cuntry of *Germanie*, in good order and with good successe. While these matters were a doing, & for some space after, TIBERIVS did cloake and concale his accursed inclination and vices; and (as I saide in the beginning) per-

What good Tiberius did in the beginning.

formed many partes of a good, discrete and gentle prince, wherewith he deceived the people, especially those which did not particularly know him; whereof (although they be recited before their time) it shall not be amisse to set downe some, to the end that (as of a venomous beast) that which is profitable and medicinall, may be taken. First, many of the names and titles of honor which were offered him by the Senate, and other honors and ceremonies, he refused, and would not consent that they should erect or builde vnto him any temples; and forbad them to set vp his statues and images without his expresse commaundement: and if at sometime he did permit it, it was vpon condition that they should not place it among the images of the Gods.

He seemed also to grieve to heare himselfe praised, crossing and interrupting them in speeches which did it. One, in a discourse called him Lord, whom he commaunded to vse that word no more: but insolencie and presumption since that time hath so encreased, that that which at that time seemed pride in an Emperor, there is now none, be he neuer so base, but presumeth that he deserueth the same. The like discretion did TIBERIVS shew in other words, which were also proper to the gods, and the things to them appertaining. He fained also patience and meekenes: for although that in the Senate there passed some matters contrarie to his will and opinion, and that in other affaires they gainesaid him, yet he seemed not any way to be displeased or offended therewith. And vnderstanding that some spake ill of him, and murmuring, vsed iniurious speeches against him, he shewed no discontentment or alteration thereat: but said, that in a free citie, mens tongues ought to be free, and men might lawfully speake freely. And whereas the Senate would haue exhibited an information, and haue proceeded against those which had written defamatorie libelles against him, he would not consent thereto, saying, that he had not so little to doe, as to lose so much time about such matters: affirming that he would doe nothing against them which spake ill of him, but trouble them with keeping account of what he said and did; and if that were not sufficient, it should satisfie him, to loue them as little as they loued him.

In the beginning TIBERIVS bare great reuerence vnto the Senate, and gaue them so great power and authoritie in all things that hee did nothing without their counsell, willing that all should be done by their aduise and consent. In execution of iustice and gouernment he made many good beginnings, taking care, and order that there should be no theeues nor robbers by the high wayes side in all *Italie*, but that men might trauel in safetie: and that iustice should be executed in townes and villages. The ensignes and pretorian cohorts which in *Rome* were the Emperors garde (to ease the citizens of their guesstes and other troubles) he made to encampe and lodge themselves without the citie in the fields, where they should continue and abide: which although that then it seemed profitable, yet afterwards it bred great inconuenience and damage. By these aforesaid meanes, he not onely cloked and couered his crueltie, pride and ambition, but he was so double and false, that but euen his avarice and couetousnes, (which of all other seemeth to be the most apparant passion) and his incontinencie and dishonestie, he knew so well for a time to maske and dissemble, shewing himselfe to be no way couetous: So as when some gouernors of prouinces gaue him to vnderstand of meanes how to encrease his rents & reuenues, he answered, that a good shepheard ought to sheare his flock, but not pill them: and so he diminished certaine tributes, and shewed fauours to certaine particular persons,

The pretorian  
Cohorts were  
the Emperors  
garde.

The fained  
vertues of Ti-  
berius.

The speeches of  
a good pastor,  
and the minde  
of a Wolfe.

sons. His dishonestie he sought to couer, by ordaining a publike informer against dishonest and adulterous Matrones of *Rome*, which he did (as it afterwards appeared) to the end that there should be no other adulterer but himselfe. He did other such like things (which for breuitie I omit) which seemed to grow from a good roote and meaning: but it failed in the end; for he fauned to bite, and drew back, to come againe with the greater force: As we will hereafter declare in part, for the whole cannot be related, as it was neither spoken for the filthines thereof, which is the occasion that that order and stile cannot be obserued as behooueth: for certainly the disorderly and obscure liues cannot be cleerely and orderly written. And besides this, the disgrace and crueltie which hee vsed to his wife IULIA, forgetting that by her, as for her dowrie, he enioyed the Romane Empire: for hee neuer liued nor kept companie with her after the death of OCTAVIAN.

One of the first signes that he shewed of an euill Prince and gouernour, was, that notwithstanding that there came great complaints against the Proconsuls, Pretors, and Prefects, placed in Prouinces; yet hee would not remoue them, nor alter them: which was against the order and custome of *Rome* and his predecesor OCTAVIAN, which some attributed to his negligence and carelesnes; others iudged it to be of malice, and ill disposition, to the end that many men should not enioy the honour and profit which grew in such charges. He began after this to enuie and to beare hatred against GERMANICVS, because hee was preferred before his sonne D RVSVS, and it grieved him to see his good successe in the warres of *Germanie*. Wherefore to finde occasion to remooue him from that charge, he dissemblingly caused the triumph to be granted vnto him, for the victories which he had obtained, and wrote to him many times to come to triumph: but GERMANICVS vnderstanding his euill intent, deferred his coming. It happened in a while after that the King of the Parthians arose, and made warre against the Romane Empire, breaking the peace established in the time of OCTAVIAN, entring into the prouince of *Armenia*, the King whereof was set there by the Romanes: wherewith TIBERIVS was nothing displeased, thereby to haue the better occasion to draw GERMANICVS from his captainship and gouernment of *Germanie*, vnder colour to send him to the warres of the Parthians, as he did. And so GERMANICVS being sent for, came for this purpose, hauing within few daies before wonne a great battaile, and slaine tenne thousand of his enemies, and entred into *Rome* in a solemne triumph, and (as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth) hee brought thither with him the ensignes which QVINTILIUS VARRO had lost, and presently began to prepare for the warre against the Parthians.

A little before GERMANICVS his triumph, there arose a man in *Italie*, who named himselfe to be AGRIPPA, nephew to OCTAVIAN (whom we haue said to be slaine by TIBERIVS his order) to whom it seemed of some importance, and much loose and seditious people ioyned with him, which caused a great tumult in *Italie*; this man alleaging that he ought to be Emperour, and not TIBERIVS: But as he had a weake foundation, so was he soone ouerthrowne, taken prisoner, and brought to TIBERIVS, and finally was executed, although secretly. And euen about the same time TIBERIVS committed a notable great wrong and crueltie: for hauing with gracious and amorous words allured ARCHELAVS King of *Cappadocia* to come to *Rome* (who was a friend and vassall to the Romane Empire) for fained and vniust causes he made him to be accused and apprehended, and afterwards to die in prison, and his cuntry was made a tributarie prouince. In the like manner he dealt with many Princes and great men of *Spaine*, *France*,

*Cappadocia*  
made a prou-  
ince.

*Gracia*, and other parts. Also the iourney which T I B E R I V S commaunded to be made against the Parthians, was much hastened by reason of the death of A N T I O C H V S King of *Comagena*, and P H I L O P A T E R King of *Cilicia* in *Asia*, vassals to the Empire: by meanes of whose death some alterations arose in those prouinces; for some would haue a King, and others would be gouerned by the Empire.

G E R M A N I C V S being in a readines for his iourney into the East (as hee was commaunded) departed from *Rome*, carying his wife A G R I P P I N A and his children with him: betweene whom and L I V I A the mother of T I B E R I V S was great enuie and emulation. There was also at this time great controuersie and parts-taking, both in words and liking, in T I B E R I V S his Court; some taking part with G E R M A N I C V S, who (as before is said) was his adopted sonne and nephew: others held of D R V S V S his sonne legitimate. T I B E R I V S and his mother L I V I A euer fought to aduance the reputation of D R V S V S, and in secret to disgrace G E R M A N I C V S: for which occasion he gaue the charge of all the legions of *Illyricum* to his sonne D R V S V S. And to the end, that G E R M A N I C V S should not be too mightie in the East whither he went, he made G N E V S P I S O capitaine of the prouince and legions of *Syria* (who was a mighty man, and in *Rome* greatly allied, and of a great house) because he held with D R V S V S, and dispossest C R E T I C V S S Y L L A N V S of that charge, for that he was a friend to G E R M A N I C V S. This P I S O was married to a Romane Matrone called P L A C I N A, of the same condition, but of an hautier heart then her husband; to the which husband and wife the Emperour T I B E R I V S and his mother L I V I A gaue in charge, to stirre vp and procure hatred and enmitie against G E R M A N I C V S; yea and his death also: as it after appeared. And with this determination they departed from *Rome* towards the East, where P I S O presently, with gifts and flatterie, began to draw to himselfe the loue and good will of the armie against G E R M A N I C V S, and to murmure and speake ill of him: who, while as P I S O practised these things, tooke so good order in the warre and gouernment, that hee placed a King in the prouince of *Armenia*, who was a friend and subiect to the Romanes; and the kingdomes of *Comagena* and *Cilicia* being voide by the death of their Kings, he reduced into prouinces, and placed in them Pretors and gouernors. In *Comagena* Q V I N C I V S S E R V I V S, and in *Cilicia* Q V I N T V S V E R A N I V S; moderating in them both the royall subsidies and tributes. And after this he tooke so good order, that hee compelled the King of the Parthians to sue for peace and friendship: which hee graunted and concluded, to the honour of the Empire. And while as he was busied about these things, P I S O and his wife neuer left to murmure against him, and to blaspheme him openly: which he dissembled, knowing from whence it did proceed. And hauing made an end with the Parthians, hee departed from thence to visit the prouince of *Egypt*: and in his absence (although it were not long) his competitor P I S O plotted such matters against him, that when he vnderstood of his returne, he departed out of that prouince. But as he had plotted and practised his death, he went not farre off, but remained some daies in an Iland: in which time, G E R M A N I C V S comming on his way, was poysoned by the practise of P I S O, but by the direction and counsell of T I B E R I V S (as it was thought) wherewith he dyed suddenly, leauing behind him sonnes and daughters; among which was one named C A I V S C A L I G V L A, who was afterwards Emperour. For which cause it hath been very expedient to make so much mention of his father G E R M A N I C V S, who if he had liued had been Emperour and successor to T I B E R I V S.

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The excellent Captaine G E R M A N I C V S being dead in such manner, as is aboue said, his wife A G R I P P I N A came to *Rome* with her children, and brought with her the ashes of her deceased husband. The Emperour T I B E R I V S made shew of great sorrow (although fained) for the death of G E R M A N I C V S: the like did L I V I A and her sonne D R V S V S, who then was come to *Rome*, who in truth was very glad thereof: for by the death of G E R M A N I C V S he did assuredly hope to succede in the Empire. But true and vnfained was the sorrow which all the people of *Rome* conceiued for the death of G E R M A N I C V S, and great were the fauours and loue which they shewed to A G R I P P I N A and her children: and great was the enmitie and hatred they bare against P I S O, whom they openly charged to haue murdered him; who presuming on T I B E R I V S his fauour (being altogether shamelesse) came to *Rome*, where, in the behalfe of A G R I P P I N A and her friends, he was accused for the aforesaid murder. Which T I B E R I V S dissembling, (as one who was not to loue him any better then the rest) he was drinen to such a plunge in the accusation, that before that the matter was determined, hee was found dead in his bed (as it was thought) by his owne hands: although (as C O R N E L I V S T A C I T V S saith) it was neuer certainly knowne: but there were many opinions concerning the same. Who also writeth that a mighty man named T A F A R I N A S rose in *Africa* in the prouince of *Numidia*; and leuying great forces, ouerthrew certaine Romane cohorts, thinking to haue been able to possesse the countie: against whom went the Proconsul L V C I V S A S T R O N I C V S with an armie: and comming to a battaile he ouercame and put them to flight, to their great damage and losse. Which (as it seemeth) happened in the seuenth yeere of the raigne of T I B E R I V S; although afterwards the same T A F A R I N A S was againe ouerthrowne, by the Proconsul B L E S V S, in a second rebellion.

The next yeere following, the Emperour T I B E R I V S made himselfe to be chosen Consul, and his sonne D R V S V S for his companion, as at other times hee had done: and faining that it behoued him for his heath, he went forth of *Rome*, to the end to ground and establish D R V S V S in the gouernment of the Empire, for of his brother C L A V D I V S vntill then he made small account: but God disposed of all in another manner. In the same yeere many cities in *France* rebelled, being vnable to endure the intolerable tributes and extortions which T I B E R I V S anew imposed vpon the. The captaines & mouers of this rebellion, were two hardy men, the one called F L O R V S, and the other S A C R O B I S, which did so much trouble the countie, that they put *Rome* it selfe in great feare, a great deale being there reported more then was true. But this did nothing trouble T I B E R I V S; so much had hee forgotten all vertue and goodnes, giuing himselfe wholly ouer to vice and sensualitie in his old age. But C A I V S S I L I V S, who was Capitaine of those parts, did soone repress the troubles of *France*, who with his legions came against those which rebelled, and ouerthrew and put them to flight in a battaile, and slew a great number of them: and so he pacified that countie, and his sonne D R V S V S did principally employ himselfe in the gouernment. T I B E R I V S passing the most part of the time in *Campania*, betweene whom and his mother L I V I A began some secret (which grew to publike) quarrels and enmities, he being very vnreuerent and vndutifull, and she much discontented with his manner of gouernment, and chiefly for the priuate familiaritie betweene him and E L I V S S E I A N V S, whom he fauoured so much that he made him capitaine of the Pretorian cohorts, and gaue him many other dignities: and finally made him so great, that he presumed to contend with his sonne D R V S V S, and his presumption was such,

such, that by wicked practises and deuices, he allured to his dishonest lust the wife of the said DRVSVS, daughter in law to TIBERIVS, whose name was LIVIA daughter of GERMANICVS. And committing this adulterie (with a conceit to succeed in the steed of DRVSVS) he practised his death, and found meanes for an Eunuch his seruant, to poyson him: which tooke effect, and DRVSVS died thereof, and left one sonne named TIBERIVS, as his grandfather, and it was not then knowne who was the cause of his death. Whereof arose great murmuring in Rome, although it little grieued the greatest part: for they deemed that GERMANICVS his three sonnes should haue succeeded in his place, which they much loued for their fathers sake, whose names were CLAVDIVS NERO, CAIVS CALIGVLA, and DRVSVS. This happened in the ninth yeere of the raigne of TIBERIVS, which was the manifest beginning of his misfortunes: we may say the like of the Common-wealth; for from that time forwards, all his actions and purposes had ill successe, and his detestable vices discovered themselves, and the subjects endured infinit cruelties, robberies, outrages and oppressions: as also in this same yeere, TAFARINAS againe rebelled in Africa, who in his last rebellion escaped by flight: and hauing leuiued much people, in the end was the third time ouerthrowne in bataille, and wholly defeated by PVELIVS DOLABELLA the Proconsul.

In Rome the wicked SEIANVS. (TIBERIVS his fauorite) although that at the beginning he made shew publicly to fauour GERMANICVS his sonnes, which (as it hath been said, and it was thought) should haue been TIBERIVS his successors: But afterwards all his studie and practise was to abase and ruinate them, and to that end, procured false accusations and suspicions to be sowne against all such as tooke their, or AGRIPPINA their mothers part. And to bring this and other his wicked deuices to effect, he procured TIBERIVS to returne from Rome whither he was come: who following the others counsell, aswell for this, as the more freely to giue himselfe to his detestable vices, went into the Ile of Capra, which lieth vpon the coast of Naples, where he remained for a time, and being returned into Italie, making his progresse into diuers places, neuer came any more to Rome; neither in the rest of his life is there any more to be spoken, but of his vices and cruelties, whereof in some we will make some brieue relation. Before which it is requisite that all men know, that during this peregrination of the Emperor TIBERIVS in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ true God and man suffered his death and passion, PONTIVS PILATE being president or gouernor of Ierusalem in the prouince of Iudea. And to the end that it may be the better knowne and vnderstoode how PILATE came to concur with one of the HERODES, and how many there were of the HERODES, of whom mention is made in the holy Scriptures, which is a matter whereof some haue made a doubt, in few words I will here set downe: which was in this manner, as the euangelist testifieth, and as out of Saint IEROM and IOSEPHVS it is gathered. HERODE the great sonne of ANTIPATER, who was called HERODE ASCALONITA, was placed there by the Romanes, and hauing reigned many yeeres, was the same to whom the three Kings came from the East guided by a Starre, and he who murdered so many innocent children, and some of his owne children also, when Christ was borne; who within short space after died, and by his death his sonne, whose name was ARCHELAVS, had the kingdomes of Iudea, and of Idumea; and to his other two sons (for the other three died before their father) were giuing certaine Tetrarchies, whereof to this HERODE

ANTIPAS.

The passion of Christ our redeemer. Iosephus in his antiquities in his 15. 16. 17. and 18. booke, and in his first and second of the warres of the Iewes. Saint Ierom upon the second chapter of S. Matthew. The Herodes how many they were. Herodes Ascalonita. Saint Matthew the second chapter. 1.

ANTIPAS (which was one of them) was allotted the Tetrarchie of Galile, and by this meanes he is called Tetrarch; and this was he which put Saint IOHN BAPTIST to death, and he, to whom PILATE sent Christ, who disdained him. And to PHILLIP his other sonne was giuen the Tetrarchie of Trachonitis, and the other brother, who (as I said) had the title of a King, was accused to OCTAVIAN, and by him depriued and banished into France, to the citie of Vienna, by meanes whereof PILATE was sent to gouerne that prouince; and by this meanes it happened that Christ died in the time of PILATE and of HERODE ANTIPAS the Tetrarch, from whom the Tetrarchie afterwards was also taken by CAIVS CALIGVLA, and he died banished in Lions in France, and his Nephew the sonne of his brother ARISTOBVLVS, which was one of the three which their father slew in his life time. And HERODE AGRIPPA was hee, to whom CAIVS CALIGVLA restored the kingdome of Iudea. And afterwards the Emperor CLAVDIVS gaue the Tetrarchie of Galile to his Vncle: and this was he, who put Saint IAMES to death, who beginning to persecute the Apostles, died stricken by an Angell, as Saint LYKE beareth record.

Herodes Antipas. Saint Luke chapter 2.

Herodes Agrippa.

The acts of the Apostles chap. 12.

Christ being put to death by the sentence of PILATE, and he knowing afterwards that Christ was risen againe, by the report of those which he himselfe had set to watch his bodie, and being also informed of the many miracles which he did in his life time (notwithstanding that he was an idolator and a wicked iudge, and had adiudged him to die) yet TERTVLLIAN and EVSEBIUS in his ecclesiasticall historie, and PAVLVS OROSIVS in his seventh booke, most ancient and true authors, doe record, that by his letters, he aduertised the Emperor TIBERIVS thereof, to the end that he should consider and determine, whether Christ should be held for a God or no; and TIBERIVS sent to the Senate to consult thereof, he giuing his opinion that he ought to be so: but the Senators, as the diuels schollers, counselled TIBERIVS that he should not doc it. Which (as these authors affirme) was because that he had not first made the Senate acquainted therewith, which pretended by an auncient law which they had, to haue the superintendence in all matters of religion: yet TIBERIVS notwithstanding that the Senate consented not to his opinion, commaunded that the christians should be free from persecution; but he neither embraced the faith of Christ as he ought, neither left his sinne and vices.

Pilate made relation of the miracles which Christ wrought to the Emperor Tiberius.

First he gaue himselfe to his old vice of excessiue gluttonie and drunkennes, for which cause from his youth (in steede of TIBERIVS NERO) they called him BIBERIVS MERO, which signifieth a drinker of the best: and euen in this his old age, he hath been often knowne to sit all a whole night, and part of the day, at a banquet, giuing gifts and rewards to such as dranke most, and in fauour thereof he instituted a new office and magistracie, as maister of delights and sports. After this, his chiefeest busines was in abominable luxury and incontinencie, which was such and so abominable that christian cares can hardly endure the hearing thereof, nor christian hand write the same, wherefore I will passe it ouer in silence. Let this suffice, that it was horrible and detestable, and not contented to commit it himselfe, he induced and drew others thereto, and gaue iewels and rewards to those which inuented and committed most filthines. And this wicked old Emperor, perseuering in his libidinous sinne, forgot not his cruelty and couetousnes, whereto he was no lesse addicted: for hee encreased his subsidies and tributes in such manner, that the prouinces became ruinate and desolate; and committed many other extortions of the like qualitie.

As

As for his crueltie, all the examples cannot be repeated, they did so exceede: for he condemned the most principall and best men in *Rome* to death, and confiscated their goods, for very light causes, and most of them forged. One he put iustly to death, and with much reason caused him to be flaine, which was his great fauorite *SEIANVS*, for many finnes which he had learned of him (as *DION COCEIVS* recordeth:) but for the rest, it is a matter ridiculous, and otherwise lamentable, for what causes they were accused and condemned. One he caused to be flaine, because that commending *BRVTVS* and *CASSIVS*, he said, that they were the last Romanes: another he caused to be flaine, because that in a tragedie which he had compiled, he spake ill of *AGAMEMNON*: another Roman Knight he commaunded to be flaine, because that in a garden he had taken vp a Capon: and for other such like matters as these, he made to be flaine sixteene, of twentie noble old men; which he had chosen for his counsellors. And he forbore not to execute these cruelties vpon his allies and kinsfolkes: for besides that which is already said, he commaunded his Nephew *GERMANICVS* to be flaine, and afterwards the three sonnes which he left, seeing them to growe in estimation; the two elder of them he caused to be accused by false witnesses, and he himselfe wrote such things to *Rome* against them, that in the end they were condemned to death, the one of them desperately killed himselfe, and he caused the other to pine to death with hunger, as *SVETONIVS* reporteth. It was a maruell that he had not done the like by the third, whose name was *CAIVS CALIGVLA*, and by their Vncle *CLAVDIVS*; but it is to be beleueed that he would haue done it, if he had liued a while longer. These executions hee thus commaunded to be done, to the end that his crueltie might attaine to the highest degree, which were not ordinarie: for before their death, they passed hunger, torments, and disgraces, to qualifie them. Finally, to conclude, they were so many and so fearefull, that many which were condemned, slew themselves, some with poyson, and some with yron, for feare; for *TIBERIVS* did execute his furie with such crueltie, that he accounted it a deede of charitie, to put them to an ordinarie kinde of death: so as for that one killed himselfe before that he could execute his rage vpon him, he cryed out aloud, oh how hath *CORNELIVS* escaped me: for so was that mans name: and to another, which entreated him that he would not deferre his death, *TIBERIVS* answered, I am not so much thy friend, as to doe so. And employing himselfe in these deuillish exercises, wherein he perseuered euen vntill his death; *ARTABANVS* King of the Parthians, breaking the peace and league which he had contracted with *GERMANICVS*, was so bold as to enter into the prouince of *Armenia*, and the limits of the Empire, and also the Sarmates inuaded the prouinces, for which *TIBERIVS* tooke no care, neither leuiued any new armie; but they defended themselves with their ordinarie legions and armies the best that they could.

Now, forasmuch as in many places of this historie, mention is made of legions and armies, which the Romanes ordinarily held in their prouinces, in time both of peace and warre, I hold it fit to declare what they were, for the better vnderstanding of what is already, and shall be said hereafter. Which is a great argument, to consider how great the wealth and power of the Romanes was: and although that some authors doe treat thereof, I will onely set downe what *CORNELIVS TACITVS* writeth in the fourth booke of his histories, an historiographer of great authoritie. He first saith, that in the two seas, of the one, and other side of *Italie*, to wit, in the Adriatique sea, now the gulfes of *Venice*; and in

in the Sicilian sea called Mediterranean, they maintained two great nauiies of gallics and shippes for their garde and securitie, and for the safe passage of Merchants, and such other necessarie occasions as were offered. Another great nauiie they maintained vpon the coast of *France*, betweene *Spaine* and *Italie*; besides those which they had in a readines and caused to be builded, when any occasion of warre was offered. Their armies by land were diuided in manner following: vpon the *Rhines* side in the coast of *France*, they held eight legions, to keepe those countries which they possessed in *Germanie*, and to resist the Germanes and other northerly nations, and these ordinarily were the most experienced and best souldiers: And although that the number of a legion did chaunce to encrease and diminish vpon diuers occasions, yet the ordinarie in the time of the Emperors was (after *VEGETIVS* and *MODESTVS*) that euery legion should containe fixe thousand and one hundred footemen, and seuen hundred twentie and fixe horsemen. Of these they held in *Spaine*, three ordinarie legions; and in *Africa*, in the prouince of *Carthage*, two; and in *Mauritania* one; and two for the garde of the kingdome of *Egypt*; and in the prouinces of *Mesopotamia* and *Syria* (to wit) in the lands contained betweene the *Syrian* sea, the furthest end of the *Leuant* sea and the riuier *Euphrates*, which was (for a long time) the bound of the Roman Empire, they held foure legions. And heere in *Europe* (besides those which I haue already named) they had other fixe legions, in this manner: in *Austrie* and *Hungarie* they had two; and in *Serua* and *Bulgaria*, as many; and other two in *Slauonia*; and neere vnto the citie of *Rome*, were alwayes lodged twelue Cohorts, nine of which were called Pretorian, and the other three Vrbane, which by turne did garde the Emperors palace. Of all these Cohorts (according to the same authors) the first and most principall of them contained one thousand, one hundred and fife footemen, and one hundred and thirtie two horsemen; and the others equally each of them fife hundred and fiftie footemen, and threescore and fixe horsemen. Besides all which, they also had in diuers cities and prouinces, companies of horsemen, which were friends and subiects to the Empire; and also other companies of footemen, which were called Auxiliaries, which were not trained after the Roman order and discipline: so as they continually held and paid fife and twentie legions, besides those which were payed by their friends. And this was in time of peace, for the authoritie and garde of the Empire; for when there were any warres (according as neede required) they reinforced their armies, and encreased the number of their legions.

With the force of these great garrisons the Roman Empire maintained and defended it selfe, notwithstanding the want of care and diligence in the Emperors, as in *TIBERIVS*, of whom we now discourse, who (as is said) spent the rest of his life vntill his death in diuillish exercises, which being much wished for by all the world, ouertooke him in a house of pleasure neere to *Naples*, hauing reigned twentie and three yeeres Emperor, in the seuentie and eight yeere of his age, and thirtie and nine yeeres after the brith of Christ. In what manner he died, the authors agree not, for some say that hee was poysoned, by his Nephew and successor *CAIVS CALIGVLA*: others say that being sicke as it was thought mortally, and seeing that hee made some shew of recouerie, for feare that hee would mend, the same *CALIGVLA* smothered him with a pillow, or with the couering of the bed, he hauing ordained him for his successor. Norwithstanding that by reason of a certaine prophetic which hee held, he had determined to haue ordained his Nephew *TIBERIVS* the sonne of *DRVSVS* for his heire, whom

Nauiies and  
fleets maintai-  
ned by the Ro-  
manes in sun-  
drie places and  
prouinces.

A legion of  
how many  
foote and horse  
it consisted.

Pretorian and  
Urban Cohorts.

Auxiliary for-  
ces.

whom DION COCEIVS in his histories saith, he would not name, because he was not assured that he was his sonnes sonne, for the suspicion which he held of his mother; and also because that the Mathematicians and Astrologians, to whom he was much affected, and gaue credit, had told him, that he should liue but a little while, and that CALIGVLA should kill him: and so vpon a time being very much offended, he said to CALIGVLA, thou wilt kill me, and another shall kill thee. It is also imagined, that TIBERIVS chose CALIGVLA for his successor, for that he knew his euill and wicked inclination, hoping that with his vices, he would deface and blot his sinne and wickednes out of remembrance; and also for that he beleued, that he would extinguish the Romane nobilitie; and was so wicked and cruell that he desired that all the world might end with his life, and so he was sometime wont to say, that he wished, that when he should die, that then the heauens and earth might be dissolued: but he deserued not to see the heauens; and all the earth reioyced and was glad when he died, as all authors write, and this was the end of TIBERIVS.

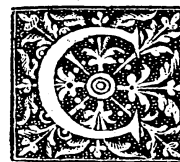
## THE LIFE OF CAIVS CALIGVLA, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRTH ROMANE EMPEVOVR.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**C**aligula before that he was made Emperour, was so acceptable and in so good grace with the people and Senate of Rome, that when he was made Lord, it is unknowne whether was the greater, either the sorrow which was in Rome for the death of Oclavian, or the ioy which it concerned for the succession of Caligula. But after that he was made Emperour, in a manner, as though that with his dignitie he had chaunged his naturall inclination, he became so wicked and infamous, that I cannot set downe his dishonesties, without offending the honestie of him that shal reade the same, nor without a burthen to his modestie that shall write it. He made the bridge at Baias, a worke of no lesse foolishnes, then great expence. He deslorred thre of his owne sisters,

sisters, and of his Palace (with reuerence be it spoken) he made a brothel of Romane Matrones. He was so couetous, that he raised a taxe vpon the whores, and a share of their gettings. He vsed to walke vp and downe vpon Crownes, and was so prodigall, that sometimes he caused most precious iewels to be dissolued with vinegar and put into his meate; and was finally in all his actions so contrarie to himselfe, that no man knew how to behaue himselfe towards him. He would be called and reputed for a God, which name he stained with such abominable crueltie, that he was worse then the diuell, and shed so much blood, and made the wilde beasts which he kept, to the end to deuoure men, to drinke and sucke so much, that those which were condemned to be slaine by them, rather chose to kill themselves, then to endure the torments which he devised in his most cruell minde for them. He died of thirtie wounds giuen him by certaine which conspired against him, hauing reigned almost foure yeeres, whose death was so acceptable to the people, that it is hard to say whether was the greater ioy, that which was conceived when he was made Emperour, or that when he left the Empire, together with his most vnsuperable life.



**C**ALIGVLA the sonne of GERMANICVS succeeded TIBERIVS in the Empire, who during the time of his raigne, was in the highest degree of all kinde of wickednes abominable: and his words and deedes were so pernicious and detestable, that in truth it is a shamefull and vnworthie matter, hauing written the liues of so worthie men, as were IVLIVS, and OCTAVIANVS CÆSARS, and their so heroicall acts: now to descend to the sinke and bottome of the finnes, crueltie, and ribauldrie of CALIGVLA. For although there wanted not in TIBERIVS to be abhorred and to be sorrie for, yet some part of his raigne was good, and before that he had been an excellent Captaine, and had enlarged the dominion of the Empire, for which cause his euill conditions might be somewhat the better tolerated: but this being wanting in CAIVS CALIGVLA, who was a man of no such valour (although in the beginning he deceiued the world with an apparence of some good deedes) yet it maketh the remembrance of him the more detestable, and his hand that shall write the same, the more heauie. But because I am not to make choise of Emperours, of whom I am to treatate at my pleasure, but to continue the proceffe and course of my historie, wherein my principall foundation is, to obserue the truth, and cleauing thereto, to continue my troublesome iourney: Let him which shall reade it consider how detestable and abominable his doings were, and how small time his Empire indured, which attained not to foure yeeres complete, and the end which he made, to the end that he may flie and abhorre them, and may do the like by some others which followed, like to him, or worse.

After the death of TIBERIVS CÆSAR (as I said) the ioy which the Senate and people of Rome conceiued was incredible, and therewith they accepted and approoued the Empire of CAIVS CALIGVLA, whom before his death TIBERIVS had adopted and nominated for his successor, for the loue and goodwill which they bare to his father GERMANICVS, and for the pitie and commiseration which they conceiued for his death, affliction and wrong done to his house. For these causes was he accepted and ratified by all the Prouinces, and prouinciall armies: for his father being Captaine generall in Germanie, and in the East, he was bred vp among them, and this name of CALIGVLA was giuen him for a certaine kinde of hose, called Caliga, vsed among men of warre, which hee did vse to wear. Comming from the place where TIBERIVS died, to Rome, a great number of the most principall people of all estates went forth to entertaine him vpon the way, with exceeding ioy, notwithstanding that hee came mourning with the dead bodie of TIBERIVS, which the souldiers brought to be burnt at

*Caligula in the highest degree abominable.*

*In Caligula was nothing that was good.*

*Wherefore he was called Caligula.*

Rome, according to the custome in that time. And comming with great solemnity to Rome, hee was obeyed with vnspeakeable gladnes and goodwill, they giuing him new names and Epithetes, signifying great reuerence and loue.

Caligula his  
gestures and dis-  
position of  
bodie.

CALIGVLA was a man tall of stature, great boned and corpulent; but his necke and his legges were very small and slender, deformed and vnsutable to the rest of his bodie; his countenance was horrible and vgly; and after that he was Emperour, he took pleasure to feare and amaze people with his looks: and to this effect it is written, that beholding himselfe in a glasse, he would studie what countenance to set, to seeme more fierce and terrible. His eyes and temples were very hollow, his forehead broad, his complexion yellow, his head very bald, and in those parts of his head where he had any haire, it was very thinne, all the rest of his bodie being marueilously hairie. He was a man very vnsound and vnhealthy, and in his youth was troubled with the foule euill, and other diseases, and afterwards (as we will presently shew you) he was so sick and euill of bodie and mind, chaunging his conditions with the Empire: for before that time, he was euer held for good. Wherefore it is said of him, that he had been the best seruant, and was the worst and most wicked Lord in the world. The first thing he did after he was Lord, was to disanull and make voide the testament of TIBERIVS, which he had made two yeeres before, wherein he made him & his nephew TIBERIVS his co-heires: whereto the Senate did willingly agree, & euery man deuised & imagined how to gratifie him and doe him seruice, with such loue, that within few daies after he was confirmed in the Empire. Going toorth of Rome to recreate himselfe vpon the Sea at the Ile of Capra, and in other Ilands vpon that coast, they made vows and sacrifices for his health and returne: and the writers affirme, that there were slaine 170000. beasts, according to the rites and ceremonies then vsed: And he then making shew of a man, and not of a beast (as his deedes did afterwards make manifest) presently commaunded the ashes of his mother and brethren to be brought to Rome, and there to be sumptuously buried. He then tooke for his companion in the Consulship, which hee then would execute, his vncl CLAVDIVS brother to GERMANICVS, who in the time of TIBERIVS liued priuate and in disgrace; and young TIBERIVS, which was nephew to TIBERIVS the Emperour, faining to loue him, and to beare him goodwill, and to doe him honour, he made captaine and prince of all the Romane youth. Seeking by counterfeited goodnes and bountie, to draw to himselfe the goodwill of the people; he did twice giue vnto euery bodie (excepting none) a certaine quantitie of money, which they called Congiarius; and to all the Senate, and to all those of the order of Knighthood (which were a degree betweene the communalitie and the Nobilitie) he made a most solemne banquet. And faining also that he meant to gouerne with iustice, he commaunded OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR his Institutions to be sought out, which TIBERIVS interrupted and brought out of vse. He commaunded also great playes and feasts to be made in Rome of Sword-plaiers, which were men which to shew pleasure to the beholders, fought and killed one another; and certaine men on horseback which they called Troians. He also appointed certaine huntings, wherein were slaine a great number of Lions, Panthers, Boares, Beares, and other wilde beasts: and besides this, Comedies and other shewes which were made in the Theater, and other kinds of sports and pleasures to delight the people, whose loue and grace he then procured. And besides that which is already said (as SVETONIVS reciteth) principally in the beginning of his Empire, ARTABANVS King of the Parthians, who rebelled and was an enemy,

mie, came to some speech with the Captaine of the Romanes, which commaunded the legions in Syria, and fearing the new Emperour whom he yet knew not, made peace with him; and passing the riuer *Euphrates*, which was the bound of the Romane Empire, came in person to adore and to doe reuerence to the Emperours picture, and to the Imperiall standard and Eagle: so as the little, vntill this time, may be reported of CALIGVLA, as of a wife and discrete prince; and the remainder seemeth to be of a senselesse man and a brute and sauage beast. The beginning wherof was one of the greatest fooleries or vanities that euer was seene in the world, which was to make such a feast as was neuer heard of, and to shew greatnes and vanitie, and to be able to walke and tread on the Sea as well as vpon the land: Or (as others say) because he would imitate King XERXES, who passed his armie out of Asia into Europe ouer the streight of *Hellepont* vpon a wooden bridge: he commaunded to be brought together, and to be new built all the ships which he could get, which were infinite; and in a bay or a creeke which the Sea maketh neere to the haue of *Baias* in *Campania*, from one point of the land to the other side of the Bay, which are about three miles distant, hee commaunded a bridge to be made vpon the said ships, set in two ranks, fastned and moored together with anchors, chaines and cables, which made them to stand fixe and firme: he commanded this bridge to be made of boords, so strong and ecuen, and to lay so much earth vpon the same, that it seemed to be firme ground, and one of the streetes of Rome. And bringing for this worke a great number of Artificers and labourers, with an vnmeasurable charge, he also caused houses and lodgings to be builded vpon the same bridge; as writeth DION, who declareth this matter more at large then all the rest.

Peace with  
the King of the  
Parthians.

A wonderfull  
bridge made by  
Caligula.

This worke being finished, and hee with all the Court of Rome going thither, with an infinite number of people which from all parts came to see this spectacle, hee most proudly attired in robes of gold and pearle, with a crowne of Oaken boughes vpon his head (which was called *Cinica*) on horsebacke, accompanied with men of warre, and all the Noble and gentlemen of Rome, entred at one end of the bridge and road to the other; and lying one night vpon it, the next day hee returned, riding in a Chariot drawne by most excellent faire horses, in manner of a triumph. DION writeth, that the night when he lay vpon the bridge, he caused such an infinite number of Torches, Lant-hornes, and other lights to be lighted and set vp, that the cleerenes thereof did wholly overcome the darknes of the night, in all that side of the mountaines neere adioyning; and that CALIGVLA vaunted and boasted that he had made of the night, day; and of the Sea, land. And spending herein two whole daies, in all which time the Sea happened to be still and calme, he said; that *Neptune* (whom they held for the god of the Seas) did it for feare, and to doe him reuerence. The fruite which ensued of this strange folie, was great famine and scarcitie of corne, and other necessities, for that the ships were staied about this bridge, to make the which there needed an incredible number of them. Such like benefits as this, did euer follow the actions of CALIGVLA. Wherefore before that I speake of the rest, to say the plaine truth, it is to be vnderstood, that many were of opinion, that to this man was giuen a certaine drinke and medicine by his wife, whose name was CESONIA, wherewith she made him mad and out of his naturall wits; she giuing it him, to the end that he should loue her: for he hauing been at other times married, had put away his wiues; so as his crueltie and riots were by some attributed to his foolishnes and want of wit. Of this opinion is IOSEPHVS in the 18. booke of his Antiquities, and the Poet



# THE LIFE OF SEPTIMI- VS SEVERVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND THE ONE AND TWENTETH ROMANE EMPEROR.



## THE ARGVMENT.



*Septimius Seuerus hauing taken the Empire more by force, and by feare, wherein he did put the Senators and people of Rome, then for any right he had thereto: the first thing that hee did, was to reuenge the death of Pertinax, by depriving all those which had slaine him and sold the Empire, of all militarie dignitie. Afterwards entring Rome with great pompe, hee perswaded the Senators and people to hope well of him, and to bend their weapons against Pescenius Niger, who was called Emperour: Whom finally after many changes of fortune, hee overcame. He likewise ouerthrew Artabanus King of Persia, and*

*tooke the citie of Tisphonte, wherein was all that Kings treasure, and ouercame Albinus, who was made Caesar. This Seuerus was a man addicted to the warres, ambiguous, ambitious, constant in his resolution to bring any thing to passe that he had once undertaken, and therewith very wise and circumspect in all matters appertaining to the preservation of his estate, and the government of the Empire. Finally, oppressed with a long infirmittie, and particularly with an*

*intolerable*

*intolerable paine in his feete, he died, hauing ruled the Empire eightene yeeres; using no lesse wisdom in preferring it, then he had shewed boldnes and audacitie in getting it.*



After IULIANVS, SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS succeeded in the Empire, who onely among all the Emperours was borne in *Africa*, in a citie called *Lepcis*. His fathers name was *GETA*, and his mothers *FVLVIA PIA*. He had two Vncles by his mothers side, which were Consuls in *Rome*; his grandfathers name by his mother was *MACER*, and by his fathers side, *FVLVIVS APIVS*. IULIANVS being dead in such manner as we haue declared, and SEVERVS marching with his armie towards *Rome*, as against his enemies; vpon the way certaine Ambassadours met him, which in the name of the Senate and people of *Rome* yeelded to him their obedience, and gaue him the title and ensignes of Emperour, certifying him of the death of IULIANVS. He received this Ambassade in pefence of the armie, being marshalled and in armes; and gaue gifts to the Ambassadours, and entertaining them with great honour, continued his iourney towards *Rome*, where aswell the Pretorian souldiers stood in feare of him, for that they had slaine the Emperour PERTINAX whom they knew he loued, as also all the Romaue people, for the desire they had that PESCENIVS NIGER should haue been Emperour; who in the East (as is said) was called so. SEVERVS when he came neere to *Rome*, sent commaundement that all the Pretorian souldiers should come forth to receiue him, clad in shew of peace, leauing their armes in their campe; and they did so, hoping thereby to haue pleased and pacified him by ioyfully obeying his commaundement. And he concealing what he purposed to doe, hauing onely acquainted some of his fauorites and captaines therewith, attended their comming in the field, in a place which he had chosen for that purpose; and they comming to doe him reuerence, were compassed about by his armie: and making a short speech vnto them, he reproched them with the crueltie and treason which they had vsed in killing the Emperour PERTINAX: Which being ended, he made them to put off the clothes and apparell which they ware, and to put away their daggers and poiniards from them (for other weapons they had none) and then he pronounced sentence against them; wherein he depriued them of the honour of souldiers, and banished them from *Rome* and a hundred miles about. And he presently sent to their campe to take their armes from them, and the imperiall ensignes; and so they were punished and disgraced, although not so much as they deserued, for the cruell murther which they had committed, and the selling of the Empire.

*The lineage of Seuerus.*

*The punishment of the Pretorian souldiers which slew Pertinax.*

This being done, SEVERVS entred into *Rome*, with his whole armie, with their Ensignes displaid, and his souldiers in armes, apparelled in the best and most solemne manner that they could. The number of people was so great and such, that it was a most faire and stately spectacle to behold. The Senate went to the gates of the citie to receiue him, and there saluted him after the accustomed manner; and the people receiued him with blessings and applauses: notwithstanding that it was odious vnto them to see him come armed, and in warlike manner. And hauing performed the solemnities, and visited the Temples, as the manner then was, he went to his lodging in the Imperiall palace: and the next day he commanded the Senate to be assembled, whither he also went accompanied with armed men, wherein (as he was a wise man and well aduised) hee made a very smooth speech, giuing them great hope of good government, and excusing himselfe for taking

*Seuerus entred Rome with ensignes displaid*

vpon

The valour  
and learning  
of SEVERVS.

vpon him the name and authoritie of Emperor, without their consent and good-will first obtained; alleging that hee did it, to the end to come to reuenge the death of PERTINAX, and to free them from the tyrannie of IVLIANVS: for that it was a thing vnworthie the Romane Empire, that he should liue therein which had bought it with money. In conclusion, he spake so faire, and vsed them in such manner, that they went thence satisfied and well content: yet some of the old Senators which better knew his condition, gaue little credit to his words; for they held him for a man that was very double, subtil, and a great dissembler: and notwithstanding that he was so, yet in truth he was a most sufficient man in any thing, very valiant in armes, and before that he was Emperour had gouerned great prouinces and attained to be Questor, Tribune, Pretor, Proconsul, and Consul; and had held Captainships and charges, wherein he purchased the name and renouew of a valiant, wise, and excellent Captaine. And if a man well consider how the Empire was then diuided betweene three Lords, and with what valour he subdued the whole, with the other warres and dangers which happened in his time; he may very wel be esteemed for a very valorous Emperor & excellent Captain, and may be compared with any of those in ancient time. Besides all which, hee was very learned, and a great Mathematician, a good Orator and Philosopher. But his prowesse in armes was so great, that it may not be written by me (considering the breuitie which I vse) sauing running, and so to expresse such things as are most cleere and resplendent, and although in haste, yet will they glister in their fight which shall behold the same.

After that hee had taken vpon him the gouernment of the Empire, hee tooke speedie order for the reformation of abuses in the citie, by reason of the dissensions and tumults passed. He also presently honoured and buried the Emperour PERTINAX, and in remembrance of that good old man, he tooke to himselfe his surname, calling himselfe SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS PERTINAX. He paid and gaue gifts and rewards to his men of warre, and also to the people of Rome; and as the custome of the new Emperours was, he made distributions and gaue large gifts. He also married two daughters which he had, with two principall men, one called PROBUS, and the other ECIVS; and after that he had giuen great dowries with them, he vsed such meanes that they were chosen both Consuls. And whereas at that time there was great scarcitie of corne in Rome, he tooke such order, and that with such expedition, that the citie was sufficiently prouided for and furnished: which course he held euer during all the time of his raigne, in such sort that therein was neuer any want. All these things and other, concerning the gouernment of the Empire, he performed with such expedition, that hee remained there but thirtie daies: for from the first day that he was Emperour, he determined to adresse his journey towards the East with his armie against PESCENIVS NIGER, who (as is said) was called Emperour, and was very mightie and an excellent Captaine. And hauing made preparation for his journey, he sent a Captaine and new legions into the prouince of Africa, to guard the same; to the end that by the way of Egypt and Libya, PESCENIVS NIGER should not make any profit of that prouince. And the better to leaue all things in safetie behinde him in the West (for hee was in feare of CLODIVS ALBINVS a Nobleman and a Senator of Rome, who was Captaine of the Legions in Britannie, and was a man of a great parentage, rich, and well beloued) he bethought himselfe how he might compasse him and make him his friend, by giuing him the name and title of CÆSAR and his successor, whereof he aduertised him with very louing and gracious speeches:

ches: by which meanes for that time he remained in quiet and in peace. This being done, leauing the best order in Rome that he could, and such as was most expedient (nominating and choosung companies and Pretorian Cohorts to remaine in the citie, in place of those which hee had cassied and degraded from the honour of the militarie Art and profession) he departed thence, continuing his iourney with the best and greatest force that he was able to leuie on euery side. And PESCENIVS NIGER being aduertised of the comming of his enemy, as vntill then he had liued idle and carelesse; so now with great diligence and expedition he leuied souldiers: and besides the ordinarie armie which he had, with all speede he sent some Captaines to stop the passages out of Europe into Asia the lesse; and also sent to craue aide of the Kings of the Parthians, and of Armenia, and other Kings and Tetrarches of the East; from which, and from the prouinces which were vnder his obedience, there came great power and reliefe vnto him: And so the world was diuided into two factions and heads; and there began one of the most cruell warres that euer had been therein, as well for the force and valour of the Captaines, as for the power and multitude of souldiers; which warre was waged in many parts, both by sea and by land. SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS passed out of Europe into Asia the lesse, although with great trouble and difficultie, hauing many skirmishes, and being often assailed by PESCENIVS his troupes, who sent against him an excellent Romane Captaine called EMILIANVS, who was Generall of all his forces: and this EMILIANVS hauing drawne together all the power which PESCENIVS sent him, and all the rest that he was able to leuie out of Cappadocia, Galatia, Bithynia, and other prouinces of Asia the lesse, tooke the field, in the way whereby SEVERVS was to passe: wherein followed many great skirmishes and encounters, and in the end a most cruell and terrible battaile, wherein EMILIANVS was ouerthrowne. After this battaile, the conquered troupes which escaped, went to PESCENIVS NIGER, who with all his power was in the citie of Antioch in Syria; from whence he departed to meete with SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS vpon the way as he was comming: and marching towards him (after some matters of lesser importance which passed) the two Armies drew neere the one to the other in a great plaine by the Sea side in the countrey of Cilicia (as HERODIANVS reporteth, yet SPACIANVS and EVTROPIVS differ therein) in the same place where DARIVS was the first time ouerthrowne by ALEXANDER the Great; where (by the consent of both the Generals) they came to a battaile with the most and best souldiers that then were in the world; which by reason of the experience, valour, and wisdom of the Captaines, was most cruell: For fighting the greatest part of the day without any apparant aduantage, the number of the slaine and wounded was so great, that the streames of water which ranne through the fields, were so full, and died with the blood of men and horses, that there seemed to bee no water therein: A great number of disarmed people of the inhabitants thereabouts, standing vpon the tops of the hils to behold the battaile, and to see whether partie should haue the victorie. Which when either partie by all meanes possible had endeououred to obtaine, in the latter end of the day PESCENIVS NIGER was ouerthrowne, without failing in any point in what hee ought, and was most expedient for a good Captaine to haue done: for in truth SEVERVS his souldiers were more expert and better trained in the warres then his were; and seeing there was no other remedie hee fled, but was followed and afterwards found by SEVERVS his souldiers, which smote off his head, and carried it through the Campe vpon the point of a lance.

Seuerus against  
Niger.

Emilianus  
ouerthrowne by  
Seuerus.

A battaile  
betweene  
Septimius  
Seuerus  
and Pescenius  
Niger.

Pescenius  
Niger  
ouerthrowne  
and slaine.

The lineage of  
Pescennius Ni-  
ger.

This PESCENIUS NIGER was a man of meane parentage; yet some say that he was noble and ancient: his fathers name was ANIVS FVSCVS, and his mother was called LAMPRIIDIA. He was a man indifferently well learned, and obtained great riches. He was sharpe and quicke of condition, and euer followed the wars, and was an excellent souldier; and afterwards performed the charge committed to him, with great discretion and courage: for they write of him, that hee was a valiant and much commended Tribune; a very singular and excellent Captaine; a most seuer and vpright Lieutenant General; a most wife and prudent Consul; and in all things happie and fortunate, sauing that he was onely infortunate in being Emperour, not knowing how to governe himselfe therein. So as it plainly appeareth, that men doe oftentimes desire and purchase to themselves shame and perdition, by presuming to attaine to honour and rest.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS haping obtained so notable a victorie, with all speed aduertised the Romane Senate thereof, and as a conqueror did his will vpon the conquered, cruelly killing many of those which had taken part with NIGER: and principally he destroyed the citie of *Antioch*, by reason that it (more then any other) had aided and assisted his aduersarie, whose wife and children he commanded to be banished from *Rome*. And to the contrary hereof, hee gaue gifts and rewards to those which had done him seruice and assisted him; and repaired the harmes and dammages which some cities, which held with him, had receiued by NIGERs souldiers. For in truth this man was very cruell in punishing offences, and in persecuting his enemies; and very liberall and gratefull to his friends, and most bountifull in rewarding those which had done him any seruice. In all the prouinces of the East, after this victorie, he found no resistance, sauing among the Parthians, the Persians, and the Adiabeniens, very mightie Nations, which for the loue which they bore vnto NIGER, and the ancient hatred to the name, *Romane*, presently tooke armes against SEVERVS; and hee in person went against them, and had many batailles and incounters, and obtained great victories, which I haue no time to relate: so as hee enlarged the Empire and the *Romane* name, and pacified the prouinces.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS hauing brought all his purposes to so good and prosperous estate, being seduced by the diuell, so persecuted the Catholike Christian Church, that an infinite number of the faithfull were put to death; and this was the fift persecution of the Church. For which occasion (as PAVLVVS OROSIVS noteth) God would not permit that he should long enioy the Empire in peace: for he was aduertised from *Rome* how that ALBINVS, who (as we said) was Captaine in great *Britannie*, and whom he made CÆSAR when he went for the East, was risen in armes, and proclaimed himselfe Emperour; and that hee was of very great power, and much beloued of the *Romane* Nobilitie: for hee was natieue of *Rome*, and of a great and noble familie. But he being of a hautie minde little regarded those difficulties: and setting all things in order in the East, with his armie tooke his way towards *Rome*, to the end from thence to goe against ALBINVS, as against a tyrant and a rebell. And passing from *Asia* into *Eurppe* ouer the streight at *Byzantium*, which is now called *Constantinople*, hee wholly destroyed that citie; because that when he passed by it towards *Asia*, that citie would not receiue him; and so he left it leuell with the ground (which was one of the most famous cities in the whole world) and remained so desolate vntill the time of CONSTANTINE the Great; as in his time we will declare.

SEVERVS trauieling thus towards *Rome*, his aduersarie ALBINVS being aduertised

The fift perse-  
cution of the  
Primitive  
Church.

Albinus in  
armie against  
Seuerus.

uertised thereof, came out of *Britannie* into *France*, where hee raised a mightie armie; part whereof he sent to keepe the passages in the *Alpes*, thereby to hinder him in his way, who was alreadye arriued at *Rome*, and was vpon his way coming to meete him: before which time he put PESCENIUS NIGERs children to death, to the end thereby wholly to extinguish all remembrance of him. And he going to the warres, appointed his sonne BASSIANVS ANTONINVS for his successor, and intituled him CÆSAR; and chaunging his name, he commaunded him to bee called AVRELIVS ANTONINVS. And drawing neere to his enemies, the warres began in a most cruell manner betweene them; wherein in the beginning in some encounters, SEVERVS his captaines were ouerthrowne by those of ALBINVS his partie. But after that hee had passed the *Alpes*, and was entered into *France*, the warre was kindled in many parts; and in many conflicts and skirmishes fortune shewed her selfe variable, the victorie inclining sometimes to one side, and sometime to the other; vntill at last neere vnto the citie of *Lions*, (wherein ALBINVS was) either partie drawing together his whole power, they fought one of the most bloudie batailles that euer was written of: which continued the greatest part of the day without any apparance of aduantage. First the victorie seemed to bee of ALBINVS his side: for his battalion was of such force, that it made SEVERVS to retire, in such sort that his souldiers began to flie; and it so happened that SEVERVS his horse fell with him, and euery man held him for dead: and ALBINVS his souldiers began to crie victorie, victorie; taking no care but to follow the execution. Then LÆTVS one of SEVERVS his Captains, which vntill then had neuer charged; with a very great troupe of armed men which he brought with him, renewed the fight, in such sort, that SEVERVS was rescued: and being remounted vpon another horse, charged with so great force and rigor, that he tooke the victorie out of ALBINVS his souldiers hands, which accounting themselves victorious, obserued no order: and the matter was so handled, that ALBINVS his troupes were driuen to turne their backes; and SEVERVS followed the execution, killing them euen to the gates of the citie of *Lions*. The number of those which were slaine and wounded, was infinite; and the citie was presently entred, and ALBINVS taken; and his head being striken off, was brought to SEVERVS. A man may well beleue that hee was not a little ioyfull when hee saw it, considering that a little before hee was wounded and cast to the ground, and by all men accounted for dead, and his enemies victorious; and escaping all this, he now saw himselfe an absolute Lord, victorious, and his enemies confounded. Wherefore let euery Christian reader consider how inconstant all things are in this life; and that a man neither can, or ought to repose his assured confidence in any thing in this world. Great were the cruelties which SEVERVS committed after that he had obtained this victorie: for truly if this Prince had not been so cruell and greedie of shedding of bloud, and in matters of gouernment as hee was, I am of opinion that no man either before or after him, had excelled him; considering the actions and enterprises which hee brought to an end, whereof I write but the summe.

These things being past, SEVERVS presently wrote to the Senate and people of *Rome*, aduertising them of his victorie, and sending them ALBINVS his head, commaunded that it should be set vpon the end of a pole in the publick place, and all those Senators which of ALBINVS his partie were slaine in this bataille, hee commaunded to be quartered; and those which were taken aliue, hee commaunded to be slaine. He was so cruell and vindicative (that some write) that he

S 2

mounted

Seuerus put to  
death Nigers  
children.

A great bat-  
taille betweene  
Seuerus and  
Albinus.

The crueltie of  
Seuerus.

mounted vpon a very fierce great horse, and vpon him rode many times ouer the dead bodie of ALBINVS: which is not much to be maruelled at, considering from how cruell and barbarous a nation he was descended. Some write, that he first caused his bodie to be torne in many pieces, and to be throwne into the riuer *Rhodanus*. And SPARCIVS saith, that he commanded his wife and children to be slaine, and did by them as he had done by ALBINVS, and so he made a number of his kinsmen and friends which with him were found in *Lions* to be slaine, and with them other principall noble men of *France* and *Spaine*. He concluded the victorie which he gat neere *Lions* only in *Rome*, there to make an end of the warre, and after this victorie he presentlie assailed certaine cities and holds which continued friends to ALBINVS, which he subdued, not without great trouble and danger. And as he was busie in these matters, newes was brought him that one of those legions which he had left in *Arabia*, did mutine, and tooke part with ALBINVS before this battaile: and so he leauing *France* and *Germany* in peace and quiet, and sending into *Britanny* the ordinarie capitaines, to keepe the inhabitants in subiection and in peace, he came victorious and triumphing to *Rome*, bringing his armie with him, where he was most solemnely receiued, with great shew of ioy and contentment, although that in truth they stood in great feare of him: whither when he came, he paid his souldiers with larger allowance, then euer theretofore had been seene; and the first day that he went to the Senate, in disgrace and despite thereof, he renewed the titles and memorie of the wicked Emperour COMMODVS, and made him to be canonized, and adored as a God. He also condemned to death, & confiscated the goods of a great number of noble personages of *Rome* which had been Pretors, Consuls, and Senators, for that he found that they had been friends to ALBINVS, and of his faction, shewing letters which he said were written by them, wherein they had offered their persons and goods to ALBINVS seruice; alleaging other reasons & proofes, which peraduenture were forged. Finally, he vsed great crueltie, and put many to death, whereby he extremely enriched himselfe both in goods and treasure, whereof some he distributed and gaue to others: but principallie, he enriched and aduanced to honor in the highest degree, one whose name was PLACIVS, a great fauourite of his, who also was an *Africane*, and his countryman, whom he made Prefect of the Pretorian cohorts, and afterwards he married his sonne BASSIANVS ANTONINVS, whom he had made CÆSAR, with his daughter, whose name was PLAVTINA; and then he made him his companion and equall, and made the Senat to giue him the ensignes and prerogative of the Empire; by reason whereof PLACIVS grew yet more proud and insolent. Matters standing in the state as I haue said, the fierce and mightie SEVERVS stayed but a small time in *Rome*, in which space he executed many cruelties vpon those which had been friends to NIGER and ALBINVS, putting to death a great number of noble personages most cruellie and horriblie, together with many matrones, and *Romane Ladies*: and to the contrary, he shewed himselfe very liberall and bountifull, and bestowed many fauours vpon others, and became also very popular, and sought to be pleasing and acceptable to all men, and to that end made the greatest and most costlie feasts and games that euer were made in *Rome*, and deuided money amongst the people. But he stayed but a little while there (as I said) for knowing that matters were in no securitie in *Asia*, principallie that the Parthians infested the bounds and frontiers of the Empire, and desirous to be reuenged of certaine Kings, which had assisted his enimie NIGER, as he was most valorous and desirous

Seuerus came triumphing into Rome.

Placius a great fauourite of Seuerus.

rous of honor and warres, although old and gowtie: yet with his accustomed celeritie he departed towards the East, and being come into *Asia* sooner then any man would haue beleueed, he presently began the warre in *Armenia*, marching against BARZEMIVS King of the Atrenores, who had been PESCENIVS NIGERS friend: The King of *Armenia* durst not make any resistance, but sent him presents, suing for peace, and gaue him such hostages as he required. Whereupon finding no resistance, this valiant Emperour returned against *Arabia felix*, where in there was a mutinie, and there tooke and sacked some cities: and from thence returned to the frontiers of the Atrenores, and besieged the citie of *Atras*, or *Atramas*. But being vnable to take it, for that it was very strong and well furnished, in great furie he went against the Parthians, and the Persians, and besieged the famous citie of *Tesphonte*, wherein King ARTABANVS lay with all his power and household: and after many assaults, encounters, and slaughters of men of either side, he entred the citie by force of armes, and the King escaping by flight, his children and treasure fell into the hands of SEVERVS, which was held for a very great victorie: for the Romanes stood in greater feare of the Parthians, then of any other nation of the world.

Seuerus his enterprises.

SEVERVS presentlie wrote to *Rome*, aduertising them of his victories and good successe, and sent them the description of the countries, cities, riuers, battailes, and assaults which he past, drawne and painted in tables.

When he had here ended all things at his pleasure, he bountifully and liberally paid his Souldiers: and comming into *Palestina*, and from thence into *Egypt*: he was desirous to see the Pyramides, and other great and auncient monuments in that Countrey: And from thence he returned to *Rome* in great triumph, laden with the spoyles and riches gotten by his victories in the East. And at this his comming, hee married his eldest sonne to PLAVTINA, daughter of his great fauourite PLACIVS, which marriage BASSIANVS ANTONINVS solemnized much against his will; and so would not conuerse or keepe companie with her. Whereupon there began great disliking and dissension betweene PLACIVS and BASSIANVS. And PLACIVS knowing himselfe to be the richest and mightiest man in all the Empire, and seeing that SEVERVS was now old, with whom he was in great fauour; and fearing that if BASSIANVS should succede him and inherite the Empire, he should be ill intreated at his hands: he resolved to kil both the father and the sonne, and to make himselfe Emperour, making choice (to doe this exploite) of a Tribune of the Pretorian Cohorts, whereof hee himselfe was Pretor. But it pleased God that this his treason was discovered by the same Tribune: and the same day that he thought to haue put the Emperours to death, hee by them was commaunded to bee slaine. Which is an excellent historie, as hee may well perceiue which will reade HERODIANVS: and so according to his desires with his life, he ended his pride. After that SEVERVS had escaped this danger, he spent his time in visiting some cities in *Italy*, in hearing complaints and doing iustice, and in most sumptuous workes and buildings in *Rome*, and other cities: and seeking to bring vp his sonnes vertuously, and by abating their pride, to reconcile them and make vnitie betweene them; for they did ill agree, and were very vnquiet and ill affected the one to the other: He desired to establish peace and amitie betweene them, for that hee had determined that after his death the Empire should be diuided betweene them, and to that end inuested them both therein: And so this poore old Emperour laboured in vaine to reforme the euill inclination of his sonnes. And liuing in rest from warre, although not without

domesticall care, he receiued letters importing, that the inhabitants of great *Britannie* were in armes, and rebelled in such sort, that his Legions there were in such daunger, that they were at the point either to bee ouercome and lost, or at least to flie and abandon the countrie; which he tooke very displeasantly. And to the end that the Empire in his daies should not be diminished by the losse of that Iland (it being of such importance) hee determined to goe thither himselfe in person to pacifie the same. And without any delaying of time, went thitherwards with all his forces: and being arriued in *Britannie*, the inhabitants conceiued such feare, by reason of his sudden comming vpon them, that as hee was a warriour, if he had been inclined to peace, they would haue come to any reasonable composition: but hee rather desiring to punish them, made cruell warre against them, which was both very tedious and daungerous, by reason of the lakes and many euill passages for his men in seuerall places in that countrie; so as he was constrained to make many bridges and other deuices, with wood and timber, for his souldiers to passe: And so hee obtained many victories, and pacified and subdued the inhabitants. And to the end that his Legions from thencefoorth might liue in greater safety, and that the Picts and Scots should not so freely passe their bounds, (as *SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR* and *EVTROPIVS* report) he commanded a most strong wall to be made, which did crosse the Ile from sea to sea, which wall was two and thirtie miles in length, wherein (as I conceiue) hee did but either finish, or repaire that wall which the Emperour *ADRIAN* had made before: which truly was a worke worthie the greatnes of *SEVERVS* his minde, and the mightie wealth of *Rome*. Which when he at his pleasure had ended, in like manner as hee had done all his other enterprises, his old griefe did so much torment him, that he desired and sought meanes to end his owne life: and hauing reigned eightene yeeres and tenne moneths, he died in the same Ile of *Britannie*.

The Brittaines  
subdued by *SEVERVS*.

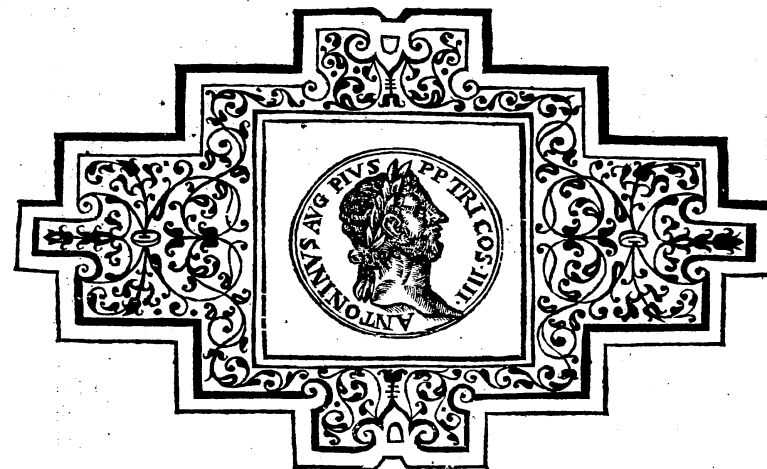
The death of  
*Seuerus*.

This Emperour was one of those which fought more battailes, and obtained more victories, then any other that euer ruled the Romane Empire before him. For he ouerthrew and brought to confusion three mightie Romane Emperours, and many other Kings, and subdued an infinite number of prouinces and cities. He tooke so good order for the preseruacion of his treasure, and was so couetous and greedie in gathering the same together, that notwithstanding his great expences, and the infinite great gifts and rewards which he bestowed: yet hee left more readie money and treasure in his treasure and Exchequer, then any other Emperour of his predecessors. He paid and maintained, and left in the Empire so many legions of souldiers, that there was no cause to feare any King or Nation in the world. Hee left in *Rome* so great abundance of wheate, wine and oile, as was sufficient (as *SPARCIVS* writeth) to maintaine and victuall the same for fye yeeres. He erected wonderfull workes and buildings in *Rome*, and in other parts, and in many things perfourmed the part of a good gouernour, and of a wise and prudent Prince: So as the Romanes vsed to say of him (noting his cruelties and couetousnes; and afterwards his prouisions and victories) That it had been good that this Emperour had neuer bin borne, or that he should neuer haue died: and so after his death he was highly extolled and commended. He left for his equall successors in the Empire his two sonnes, the one called *BASSIANVS*, and the other *GETA*: and when he lay a dying, the last words that he spake to those which were with him were these: When I tooke vpon me the gouernment of the Empire and of the Romane Common-wealth, I found it tyrannized and out of order, and now being old and gowtie, leaue it in peace and subiection to my sonnes (if they

The words of  
*Seuerus* at his  
death.

they prooue good) a firme and settled Empire; but if they prooue euill, feeble, and without force, and readie to fall. This good Prince was so temperate and spare in his diet, that hee did seldome eate any flesh: for his common foode was salades, pulse, and fruites of his countrie; but he vsed to drinke somewhat deeper, yet neuer so that he was at any time distempered therewith. He was of a very comely personage, representing authoritie and maiestie, and was tall of stature, and vsed to weare a long white beard; his haire was curled and gray, and he spake with a deepe sounding voice. Finally, his personage and minde were fitting for an Emperour of *Rome*. He liued (as *SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR* and others do testifie) *Anno Dom.* 203. feuentie yeeres, and died in the yeere of our Lord two hundred and three.

## THE LIFE OF BASSIANVS ANTONINVS CARACALLA, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND fourth of those which were called ANTONINI, and of his brother GETA, being the two and twentieth Emperour of *Rome*.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**A**fter the deace of *Seuerus*, his two sonnes, *Bassianus Antoninus Caracalla*, and *Geta*, tooke the Empire; which two being borne of seuerall mothers (as brothers oftentimes vse to doe) the one deadly hating the other, sought one anothers death and destruction. But *Caracalla* which was a warlike man and bloudie, vnable to endure the companie of his brother, which led the life of a Philosopher rather then of an Emperour: and vnable to endure that his brother for his good parts should be so much beloued by the Romane people as he was, failing to kill him secretly with poison, in the end slew him openly in the lap of his mother in law, which was *Geta* his mother; remaining sole in the Empire. And knowing himselfe to be generally hated, he disposed of himselfe to visit the Empire: and where soeuer he came

he sought to imitate the fashions of the countrey wherein he was; sometimes attiring himselfe after the Germane fashion; then after the Greeke: besides that he would be called *Alexander*, and be reputed another *Achilles*, for that he had transailed the countreies of those Princes. He was very inhumane and cruell, and so dishonest in his life that hee shamed not to marrie his stepmother *Julia*, which was mother to his brother *Geta*, who also was so shamelesse as to consent to so wicked a marriage. But they both ended accordingly as they deserved: for the Emperour was slain by the practise of *Macrinus*, at such time as he went to ease his bodie; and she hearing the newes, falling into despaire killed her selfe, he having held the Empire sixe yeeres.



**S**EVERVS being dead, his two sonnes, which he had by severall women, accordingly as he had ordained remained Emperours. One of them he had by *MARTIA* which was his first wife; and the other by *IULIA*, as is already said. The eldest had to name *BASSIANVS ANTONINVS*, and the other *GETA*; both very young men, and in vertue farre vnlike to their father, chiefly *BASSIANVS CARACALLA* which was the eldest: Although that in his youth being but a childe, hee seemed to make better shew of himselfe, to be of a gentle condition, and of a good wit; and profited very much in learning (as *SPARTANVS* writeth) and therefore was much beloued and greatly accounted of: but afterwards, with his yeeres, and the Empire, he altd his condition, and in crueltie not onely surpassed his father, but any other cruell Prince of all that euer were; as though he had been borne at one birth together with *NERO*.

So soone as he was sworne Emperour in *England*, where hee then was (for his father carried both his sonnes with him, and his wife *IULIA* also, which was mother to the second sonne) *ANTONINVS CARACALLA* practised with the armie to chuse him onely for Emperour, and to disinherite his brother *GETA*. But the men of warre would not consent thereto, because that *GETA* was chosen *CEASAR* and successor to his father by them; and *BASSIANVS ANTONINVS* was nominated by his father *SEVERVS*. Whereupon being out of hope to bring his purpose to effect, accompanied with his brother and mother in law, they agreed to come to *Rome*, and brought with them the bodie or ashes of their father *SEVERVS*. But there presently began so many ielousies and suspitions betweene the two brothers, that it was daily feared that the one would kill the other; notwithstanding that *IULIA* (as though she had been mother to them both) vsed all possible meanes to haue pacified them, and to haue brought them to liue louingly and like brothers together: which she could neuer bring to passe, and so vpon the way either of them did lodge and eate apart; and either of them stood vpon his guard, for feare of the other. And being come to *Rome*, were receiued with great solemnitie, triumph and ioy; but in their palaces they tooke their lodgings apart, and each of them had his guard and particular officers from the other: and they neuer visited, saw; or spake the one to the other, except when they went to the Senate: so great was the hatred and enuie which the one bare to the other.

The first thing they did after their comming to *Rome*, was to burie their father, whom they canonized for a Saint, placing him among the Gods, as the custome was to doe, by those which were good Emperours. And seeing that occasion will often be giuen to reade of some Emperours which haue been deified; in my opinion it shall not be amisse, in this place to recite the ceremonies which were then vsed therein. The order which they held (the Emperour being dead) was to assemble the Senate, to consider whether such an Emperour had deserved or were worthie to be placed among the Gods or no: and finding him to haue been wicked,

wicked, the Senate would not be present at the ceremonies vsed at his funerall: but if he had been a good Prince, they all went in mourning attire to doe him honour at his consecration. The manner to consecrate him, was first to burie him without any ceremonies; then they made his image of wood, which resembled a pale sickly weake man, which they placed vpon a high scaffold ouer the entring into the Pallace; which image was clothed in faire rich attire, and on the one side thereof sate the Senate, and on the other side the Romane Matrons, where they sate from the Sunne rising vntill the comming in of the euening, doing nothing but groane and sigh. This order they obserued the space of seuen dayes, in which the Phisitions came and felt the pulses of this Statue, saying, that the Emperour would surely die: at which words, they lamented and scriched out. The sixth day the Phisitions said that he was dead, then the most auncient men carried the image on horsebacke in a beere to a place, which was called the old place; passing thorough that way which was called *Via Sacra*. In this place was erected an edifice after the fashion of a throne, with staires round about it, and vpon this throne they placed this Image; on the one side of the staires were many children, which were gentlemens sonnes of *Rome*; and on the other side, a number of young Romane damfels which sung some heauie and sorrowfull songs and ditties; and the boyes sung hymnes in praise of the dead Emperour. From thence they carried the Image with the beere to the field of *Mars*, where was another scaffold made of most drie wood, vpon which they placed this Image. Vpon that day people came from all parts of *Italy* to *Rome* to see the solemnitie: and euery one there present, was bound to cast vpon the staires, certaine precious odours of sundrie sorts. After this the Senators made shew of a skirmish on horsebacke; and after them the two Consuls gaue a turne vpon their chariots richly adorned, being followed by all the most auncient old men in *Rome*, and those which had bin Captaines in the warres on foote: all which after that they had gone round about this scaffold, making sundrie shoutes and exclamations, fell to the ground. Then came he which did inherite and succeed in the Empire, and with a burning torch gaue fire to this throne or scaffold; which, for that it was made of most drie wood, in short space was set all on fire.

But before any of these ceremonies were performed, the Senate prouided a great Eagle, which being set on that side where the image of the dead Emperour was, while as this image did burne, the Eagle was very finely let loose; which, according to her nature, mounting aloft into the aire, the people said that it was the Emperors soule which flew to heauen there to inhabite amongst the gods: which *HERODIANVS* doth write at large in the historie of these two Emperours. *GETA* the younger brother was of a more gentle nature: for shewing himselfe milde and courteous, he began to be generally well beloued of all men. *ANTONINVS CARACALLA* was sharpe, and would be obeyed for feare; and enuying the loue which he saw al men beare to his brother *GETA*, & the reputation wherein he was held, he deuised with himselfe how he might secretly kil him with poison, or otherwise howsoever: he also sought to get the goodwill of the Pretorian fouldiers, giuing them many gifts, doing them many fauours, & giuing them leaue to do what they listed. So as it was easily to be perceiued, what manner of gouernment there would be in the Empire, wherein were two Emperours with equall power and authoritie, and so contrarie in condition each to other, that being brothers they practised and desired each others death; and in matters of iustice and gouernment were euer contrarie in opinion; and for Captaines and gouernours which were

Enmitie betweene Bassianus and his brother Geta.

In what manner the Romanes deified their Emperors

Bassianus sought means to put his brother Geta to death.

were to be made, each sought to preferre his friends and fauourites, and did the like in chusing of Consuls and other Magistrates: And so all things went by fauours and in contention. And there were committed intolerable disorders, and iniuries, either of them persecuting the contrarie faction, without daring to punish those which were of their own partie, for feare to make them their enemies: whereof grew an vniuersall preiudiciall detriment to all the prouinces, and generally to the whole Empire. Wherefore to auoide these troubles and inconueniences, some practised to make a diuision of the Empire; and that ANTONINVS BASSIANVS should remaine in *Rome* and gouerne the West; and that GETA should gouerne *Asia* and all the East. But this tooke as little effect: for IULIA, mother to GETA, hindred it, thinking to bring them to some composition, and to make them friends: and when she thought that she was in the right way to haue brought them to concord and agreement, BASSIANVS CARACALLA, which was more proud and presumptuous, and who in truth did scorne his brother, as well for that he was his younger, as for that he gaue himselfe more to his booke and to ciuill discipline, then to armes and chiuallrie; hauing alwaies about him honest and learned men: hee determined to kill him in what manner soeuer; which hee had till then assaied to doe by secret and coloured meanes, thinking with himselfe that he was and ought to be sole and onely Emperour, and could not endure any riual or companion in commaund. And with this cruell determination, as they were lodged both in one palace, GETA being one day with his mother, nothing suspecting any open violence, although hee mistrusted secret practises: BASSIANVS iust at the time wherein euery bodie was at dinner, suddenly entred his brothers lodging, and with the aide of those which came with him, slew his brother in his mothers armes, before he was able to put himselfe in defence, or could be rescued: and hauing committed this detestable murder, with the like furie and hast, as he had done this fact, he sallied forth at his pallace gates, compassed about with his friends and seruants, and shewing great amazement, cried out, that his brother would haue killed him, and said to those which saw him, that he had escaped an extreame danger of death, but his innocencie had preferred him. And calling to his guard, commaunded them to conuay him to his Pretorian Cohorts, where he might remaine in safetie, for so long as he continued within the citie he stood in feare of his life.

*Bassianus slew  
his brother Ge-  
ta in his mo-  
thers armes.*

Those which heard him, not knowing what had passed, beleueed what he said, and both those which heard him, and heard him not, followed him; and the people began to be much troubled to see their Emperour so out of season, and in such haste in such maner to go to the camp. When he came to his camp, where in truth by reason of his former practises, he was better beloued then his brother, the first thing that he did was to go to a place apart, where their ensignes and banners were, which they held for religious and sacred, and then he began with great exclamation to say, That he gaue infinite thanks to the gods for deliuering him from such, and so imminent a danger. And the souldiers flocking about him, maruelling at his so vnseasonable comming, he put himselfe in the middest of them, and with a huge voice began to implore their aid and succour, telling them that his brother would haue slaine him, and being assailed by him, was rescued, and had fought, and God had giuen him the victorie, although with great difficultie; and that he now fled vnto them from the furie of those which would haue slaine him. He spake and fained the matter with such efficacie, that the souldiers beleueed him, and notwithstanding that he expressed not so much, yet they plainly percei-

perceiued that he had slaine his brother, as he gaue them to vnderstand: and incontinentlie he promised them, seeing that he remained sole Emperour, that he would bestow vpon them the accustomed fauours, gifts and rewards; and presently sending for a great summe of money which remained of his fathers treasure, he diuided it amongst them: wherewith hauing gotten their good wils, although that some were hard to be perswaded thereto, and did contradict it, yet in the end they proclaimed him sole Emperour, and approued the death of his brother GETA, pronouncing him a rebell, and an enemy to the Romane commonwealth. BASSIANVS remaining all that night in the camp amongst the souldiers, the next day compassed with men of warre, returned into *Rome*; and assembling the Senate, he went thither, and brought in his guard with him, wherein he made a set Oration (which HERODIANVS writeth at large) excusing himselfe, and grieuousslie accusing his brother, affirming that he was openlie assailed by him, but being rescued, in defending himselfe, he had slaine his brother. The Senators, some for that they were his fauourits, and others for feare, approoued his death: and he to iustifie his wickednes with greater crueltie, began to proceede against men of all estates, as though that they all had been guiltie, and had practised his death, committing infinite murders and cruelties. First, he commaunded all his brothers seruants to be slaine, together with many Senators and Romane Knights, which had taken his brothers part. He also made PLAVTINA, the daughter of PLANCIVS which had been his wife, to be put to death. He slew POMPEIANVS nephew to the Emperour MARCVS AVRELIVS the Philosopher, and sonne of LVCILLA and of POMPEIANVS. He caused also all the Gouernours and Captaines to be slaine, which his brother had placed in the Prouinces. To conclude, he murdered an infinite number of principall men, and men of estate: so as in all parts of *Rome* most horrible murders and cruelties were committed, for which he is accounted one of the worst and most cruell Emperours that euer ruled the Romane Empire, and was generallic hated and abhorred of all men, saving of the Pretorian souldiers only, whose loue and good will he bought with his money, and therewith did continue them for his friends (by suffering and indulging them, and giuing them libertie in all things) permitting them to commit whatsoeuer outrage or insolencie they would. Hauing exercised himselfe in these abhominable cruelties, his owne conscience accusing him, and knowing how much he was abhorred in *Rome*, he determined to depart from thence, and to go to visit all the prouinces of the Empire, which he did, and in his iourney plaid many mad pranks, some of which in truth were very ridiculous. And purposing to go into *Germany*, where *Rome* euer held great armies in garrison against the northerly nations, which could neuer be brought to any perfect subiection: he gaue it out in speeches that he went to reforme the legions, and to visit the prouinces: and taking his way towards the riuier *Danubius*, where (to win the hearts of that countrey people) he followed the fashions vsed in that countrey, hunting and killing fierce wild beasts, and apparelled himselfe as a Germane, praising and esteeming their fashions better, then the fashions of the Romanes, and chose such of the Germane souldiers as seemed to be most strong and actiue for his guard. He sought also to win the good will of other men of warre, shewing himselfe very affable and sociable, helping them in person in their bodily exercises, eating and drinking with them such things as they did, and doing many other things like a souldier, and a man of warre: whereby he made himselfe beloued both of the one and the other, although that he forbore not to commit sundrie

*Crueltie used  
by Bassianus,  
in putting  
many great  
men to death.*

*Bassianus his  
travailes and  
fashions.*

drie cruelties, killing certaine principall men amongst them.

And hauing set all matters in such order as he thought good in *Germany*, taking his way towards *Thracia*, he passed through *Macedonia*, where a notable folly possessed him: for heere he made shew to be much affected to *ALEXANDER* the Great, and to publish his noble acts; and sent commaundement to erect his statue in many parts of *Rome*; among which he set vp one with two faces, the one resembling *ALEXANDER*, and the other himselfe, desiring to make others to beleue (himselfe being so perswaded) that he did very much resemble him: and for that he had read that *ALEXANDERS* neck stood alittle awry towards one shoulder, he counterfeited the like; and so within few dayes, of an *Almaine*, he was become a *Macedonian* in apparell, behauiour and fashion; and one Squadron of his army he commaunded to be called a Phalanx, for so were they called in that kingdom; and some of his Captaines he caused to be called by the names of some of *ALEXANDERS* Captaines. Hauing made this shew in *Gracia*, he tooke his way towards *Asia*, where he desired to see the ruines and relicks of *Troy*; and seeing the Sepulchre of *ACHILLES*, another humour tooke him, which was to resemble *ACHILLES*; so as he seemed to trauell the countries like a Player, with Comedies and making shewes; at which his lightnes and mutabilitie, the Romanes which were with him were much discontented and ashamed.

Trauelling through *Asia* the lesse, and thence into *Soria*, he went into *Egypt* (as he said) to see the citie of *Alexandria*, because that *ALEXANDER* the great was founder thereof, where he was most solemnly receiued, and with great ioy, for which he ill requited them: for although that he shewed them a pleasant countenance, yet secretly he was very angry with them: for he vnderstood that they had vsed quips and iests of him behind his back, and gaue him nicknames conformable to his vices, and the cruelties which he committed. Matters, in truth, not so hainous as could deserue so cruell punishment, as that which he inflicted, which was: that the people being vpon a day assembled together to see certaine publike pastimes, he made them to be compassed about by his souldiers, and an infinite number of them of all ages, conditions, and degrees to be slaine, to the great feare, grieve, and terror of the whole citie.

After this his so great inhumanitie done in *Egypt*, he returned towards *Palestina*, and trauellling towards the East with a very mightie armie, of his fathers excellent old souldiers: he inuaded the land of the Parthians, which suspected no such matters, and did great spoile in their conuntries (as *SPARCIVS*, *SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR*, and *HERODIANVS* doe write) for vpon safe conduit and assurance of peace which he made to the Parthians, he obtained some victories, deceiuing their King *ARTABANVS*, giuing him to vnderstand that he came of purpose to marrie with his daughter, and the other comming to receiue him in peaceable manner, was sodainly set vpon. But the King (by great hap) escaped by flight. And although that this his victorie were of small importance, yet he made great boast, writing to *Rome* long and proud letters thereof; and in all these actions he forbore not to be cruell: but to gouerne vprightly and to doe iustice, as he ought to haue done, he tooke no care. He was very gluttonous, and vnmeasurably giuen to wine, luxurie and dishonestie of life, so as he married with his own mother in law, *IULIA*: yet *HERODIANVS* maketh no mention thereof, but seemeth to be of a contrarie opinion; for he euer speaketh of *IULIA*, as though she had been mother both to *BASSIANVS* and *GETA*: But *SEXTVS AVRELIVS* writeth it, and also *EVSEBIVS*, *EVTROPIVS* and *SPARCIVS* say, that it

Extream  
crueltie exe-  
cuted by Bas-  
sianus vpon  
the citizens of  
*Alexandria*.

Gluttonie and  
incontinencie  
of Bassianus.

it passed in this manner. *IULIA* was a most faire woman, and vpon a day, the mother and the sonne in law standing talking together, she carelessly or dishonestly, as it afterwards appeared, letting fall a vaile which she ware, discovered part of her brest: which when *BASSIANVS* saw, he said, if it were lawfull, I would haue that which I see: she forgetting all honestie, and that she was mother to *GETA* whom *BASSIANVS* had slaine, answered, to thee any thing that thou desirest is lawfull: dost thou not know, that the Emperour maketh lawes and is subiect to none. When he heard her say so, setting aside all dutie and loyaltie which he ought to his dead father, and his liuing mother in law, he resolved to marrie her, and celebrated his nuptials with the mother of his brother whom he had bereaued of life. But to returne to the Historie of his life, it passed in this manner, that coming from his inuasion against the Parthians, he staid some daies in the countrie of *Mesopotamia*: for that countrie was excellent good and commodious for hunting & other sports, wherein within few daies, hauing rained full fixe yeeres, he was slaine by treason. The manner whereof *HERODIANVS* writeth, and saith, that he was much addicted to Mathematicians and Astrologians, and gaue great credit vnto them; and in all matters vsed their opinions and iudgements, and had in *Rome* and with him all the Astrologers that he could get; wherein he resembled his father *SEVERVS*, who did the like. And being fearefull of conspiracies, knowing what he had deserued; he sent to *MATERNVS* who was the greatest and most priuate friend that he had, whom he left gouernour of *Rome*, commaunding him secretly to assemble all the best Astrologers that he could get, and demaund of them what death he should die; and procure them to giue their opinions, whether that any conspired or practized his death or no. *MATERNVS* did that which the Emperour commaunded in the foote of his letter, and with great haste answered him (either faining it, or being so aduertised by the Astrologers) that *MACRINVS* which was his Prefect, and with him in *Mesopotamia*, went about to kill him, and that therefore he should in any case presently dispatch him out of the way; for so did the Astrologers aduise him. Which letter he sent sealed, and made it vp amongst other letters, to be the more secretly conueyed. The whole packet was giuing to the Emperour as he was going into his chariot, to runne for a wager with other chariots; which was a kinde of sport, wherein he tooke much pleasure, and was greatly vsed in those daies. And he for that he would not giue ouer that which hee had pretended, gaue his letters to the said *MACRINVS* to reade, and afterwards to make relation to him of the contents thereof. *MACRINVS* reading all these letters, met with that wherein *BASSIANVS* was counselled to put him to death, whereat he was much astonished, and concealing that letter, made relation to the Emperour of the contents of all the rest. And considering with himselfe that he which wrote that letter would doubtlesse write another, and that at length he should surely die; he resolved first to dispatch the Emperour out of the way: and ruminating vpon the matter, he bethought himselfe of a lustie strong fellow, a Centurion of the Emperours guard, called *MARTIAL*, who being discontented, murmured against the Emperour and secretly hated him, for that he had caused a brother of his to be slaine, and he himselfe was ill entreated and disgraced. *MACRINVS* conceiuing this man to be fit for his purpose, after some other discourse told him, that seeing that he had oportunitie to kill the Emperour being euer neere vnto him, hauing charge of his person, hee ought to reuenge the death of his brother, and then flie to him: which with others of his faction would protect and defend him against al such as should

T

seeke

A monstrous  
fact.

The death of  
Bassianus Caracalla.

seeke to offend him. Some daies after that MACRINVS had laid this plot, it happened that the Emperour comming from a temple wherein hee had been neere to a citie called *Carras*; and riding smally accompanied towards the citie, he withdrew himselfe out of the way behinde a bush, to doe such things as nature required; with one Page with him to hold his horse, the rest for manners sake being withdrawne: which when MARTIALl perceiued, being one of them, faining that the Emperour had called him vpon some necessarie occasion, he ranne hastily vnto him; and before that he was perceiued, stabbed him in behinde; whereof he presently fell downe dead. SPARCIANVS saith, that comming to helpe the Emperour to horse, he stabd him in with his poiniard, and that MARTIALl returning to take horse, from which he was alighted, he by little and little withdrew himselfe from the company: but the Page bringing newes of the Emperours death, he began to flie so fast as his horse could runne, but could not make such speede, but that he was ouertaken by the *Germane* horsemen of the Emperours garde: which presently killed him. The death of BASSIANVS being vnderstood by those which accompanied him, there grew a great tumult among them, without knowing with whom to be angrie; for as then it was vknowne by whose order hee was slaine, and comming to the dead body of the Emperour the first that came to his aide was MACRINVS, who weeping and lamenting, seemed to be very sorrowfull, and no man suspecting him or any other, all men imagining that MARTIALl had murdered BASSIANVS vpon passion, and for some priuate reuenge. And taking the Emperours dead body they burnt it, according to the custome then: and putting his ashes into a pottle, they sent them to his wife, and mother in law IULIA, which was in *Antioche*, who being in despaire poisoned her selfe: and so they both had such ends as they deserved. BASSIANVS at the time of his death was fully three and fortie yeeres old, hauing reigned sixe yeeres Emperour. He left one sonne which was very yong, whose name was ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, which he had by his wife whose name was SEMIRA, as SPARCIANVS writeth, AVRELIVS VICTOR calleth her SEMEA, a very dishonest woman and his cosen Germane; which liued like a strumpet. ANTONINVS BASSIANVS was by his surname called CARACALLA, for a certaine kind of apparrell which he gaue to the people of *Rome*: he died in the yeere of our Lord 219.

THE



# THE LIFE OF OPILIVS MACRINVS, ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND THE THREE AND TWENTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR.



## THE ARGVMENT.

**O** Ne *Andentius* hauing refused the Empire; for his excuse, alleadged his olde age to bee vnfit for the troubles of so important a gouernment: but *Macrinus* without any such consideration accepted thereof, it being offered him by the souldiers, notwithstanding that hee was the author of the death of *Caracalla*. He tooke the Empire, made head against *Artabanus* King of *Persia*, who rose in armes against the Romanes in reueng of the iniuries done by *Caracalla*; and being come to a fight which continued two daies, in the end they came to an agreement: *Artabanus* vnderstanding of the opprobrious death of his enimie. But that fortune which had prepared a troublesome raigne for *Macrinus*, saw him no sooner out of one daunger, but it cast him into another farre greater, which was this; that *Helioabalus* a youth of fiftene yeeres old, being by the meanes of an old woman made Emperour, it behooued him to fight with him; and being ouerthrowne, fled vknowne through *Asia* the lesse, with intent to come to *Rome*; but being ouertaken by the souldiers which pursued him, in a citie wherein he fell sicke, he was slaine, together with his sonne *Diadumenus*; whom he had made his companion in the Empire: Hauing reigned onely fourteene monethes.

**B**ASSIANVS being dead, a councell was held in the armie concerning the election of a new Emperour: for there was little account made of his sonne ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS; aswell for that he was but a child, as also for that his mother led such a life, that it was doubted whether

*Audentius re-  
fused the Em-  
pire.*

*Opilius Macri-  
nus chosen  
Emperour.*

he were the sonne of BASSIANVS or no. In the army besides MACRINVS which was Pretorian Prefect, was AVDENTIVS, a man of good fort and of yeeres, very expert in the warres, and an excellent Captaine: of these two they were in great doubt, whether they should choose, and in this doubt they remained two daies, and in the end they determined to choose AVDENTIVS, who was a discreet old man, little regarded the Empire, and considering the perils and disorders, would not accept thereof, excusing himselfe by reason of his great age, alleaging, that he was not able to gouerne the Empire as it ought to be, a thing seldome seene that any man would refuse the Empire of the world. The men of warre perceiuing that AVDENTIVS would not accept of the Empire, presentlie made choise of MACRINVS, who was the author of the murther and death of BASSIANVS, and so was he chosen, and gladly accepted of their election. This MACRINVS was of a very base stock & parentage, and which with small deserts, and by way of fauour attained to the office of Pretorian Prefect. So soone as he was chosen Emperour, he made a notable flattering Oration to the army, and payed the souldiers, and distributed much money among them, thereby thoroughly to win their loue and good will, and addrested himselfe with all haste against ARTABANVS King of the Parthians, who came with great power against the Romanes, to be reuenged of the iniurie which BASSIANVS had done them, knowing nothing of his death. He also presentlie nominated and chose a sonne of his for his companion in the Empire, whose name was DIADVMENVS, whom he made to be called ANTONINVS, aswell to take away the suspicion of the death of ANTONINVS BASSIANVS, as for that the name of ANTONINVS was very acceptable to the Romanes, in remembrance of the good Emperours ANTONINVS PIVS, and MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS: for all these Emperours did leaue their owne names, or together with them did take the name of ANTONINI, vntill that for the abominable and execrable life of ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, they left it, as we will presentlie declare. He also wrote long letters to the Senate and people of Rome, reciting the manner of his election, and desiring them to approue the same, with many solemne oathes that he was not guiltie of the death of BASSIANVS. The Senate being certified of the death of BASSIANVS, approued the election of MACRINVS, and the election and companie of his sonne in the Empire.

*A cruell battell  
betweene Ma-  
crinus and Ar-  
tabanus.*

This new Emperour MACRINVS, and his sonne DIADVMENVS going against ARTABANVS and the Parthians, which came very strong both in footmen, in horsemen, and also brought many camels with them, and the two armies came to a most cruell battaile which lasted two daies together, wherein both the Romanes and the Parthians fought so valiantlie, that in both daies the darke night parted the fray, and either partie cried victorie, victorie, although that in truth there was none: for the slaughter and number of the dead and wounded was equall.

*Peace betweene  
Macrinus and  
Artabanus  
vpon condi-  
tions.*

MACRINVS knowing that ARTABANVS came greatly enraged by reason of the iniurie done him by BASSIANVS, sent him Heraulds and Ambassadors, certifying him of the death of BASSIANVS: and moreover that if he desired the friendship of the Romanes, that he would graunt it. ARTABANVS being aduertised of the death of his enemy BASSIANVS, was very ioyfull of the newes: for vntill then he had no intelligence thereof, and was also glad of the peace offered him, which he accepted vpon condition that all such prisoners as were taken by BASSIANVS through treacherie in time of truce, should be restored; which was accordingly performed, and they concluded a peace; and the King of the Parthians returned

returned home to his countrey; and MACRINVS to Antioch in Soria. Where he gaue himselfe ouer to lust and sensualitye, forgetting the gouernment of the Empire, delaying his going to Rome, whither by letters from thence he was dayly solicited to come, wherein he committed a very great errour: for if he had left his army, and had gone to Rome, and there settled himselfe in the gouernment of the Empire, without all doubt both his raigne and life had lasted longer; but he taking no care of that which he ought to haue done, and which most concerned him, gaue himselfe in Antioch to pastimes, pleasures, and banketting: whereat the Romane souldiers began much to murmure, and to make little account of him, moued thereto through their desire to returne into their countrey. They also much abhorred him for that he did most cruellie punish them: for in those times loyaltie was so out of vse, and men of warre had such libertie, were so audacious, and had taken such a custome to make Emperours, that they presentlie began to repine and murmure, yea and boldlie to speake ill of MACRINVS, and to wish his death, within a little more then one yeare after that they had giuen him the Empire, and within few dayes after plotted the same in this manner. In a citie of Phoenicia called Emesa, was yong ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, who had there a Grandmother, sister to IVLIA wife of SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, which afterwards married with her sonne in law BASSIANVS, sonne of the same SEVERVS. This his Grandmother whose name was MESA, had there another nephew called ALEXIANVS, of whom more shall be said hereafter, and she also had in her companie SIMIAMIRA, mother of the said ANTONINVS, and another which was sister to ALEXIANVS.

*The causes of  
the death of  
Macrinus.*

This MESA was a very rich woman both in iewels and money: for she had been mother in lawe to two Emperours, the father and the sonne, and it is to be beleueed that in their life time there were infinit bribes and gifts bestowed vpon her, and so she remained thereafter the death of BASSIANVS with her daughters and nephewes. These two cosins her nephewes, MESA made Priests in a most sumptuous Temple which she builded and consecrated to the Sunne, from whence it grew that this ANTONINVS was called HELIOGABALVS, which is as much to say, as a Priest of the Sunne: for the Phoenicians did call the Sun HELIOGABALVS, to which Temple for their vaine deuotions sake came many Romane souldiers of the legions which lay there in garrison, and many from MACRINVS his camp also; which this MESA Grandmother to these youths entertained very courteously, bestowing many gifts vpon them; and she shewing them her nephew HELIOGABALVS, vsed to tell them that this her nephew was sonne to their Emperour BASSIANVS, whom MACRINVS had slaine by treason. With these and such like effectually speeches, she brought the matter so to such passe, that what with the courtesie which she vsed towards them, and also for that the boy was a most fine child, they generallie began to affect him, some by seeing him, and others by report of him; so as the whole armie loued him, and desired that he might be their Lord and Emperour. And to the contrarie, MACRINVS being generallie hated of all men, some Coronels and Captaines moued by the gifts and large promises made by this MESA vnto them, the greatest part agreed that she should send ANTONINVS to their Camp, and then they would proclaime him Emperour. The good old woman which had bin vsed to Emperours courts, setting all other matters apart, tooke her nephew by the hand and went with him to the Camp, and he presentlie was receiued for Emperour, and they sware obedience vnto him (as writeth HERODIANVS.) But IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS your

*The policie of  
Mesa to make  
Helioabalus  
Emperour.*

*Helioabalus  
made Empe-  
rour.*

faith, that certaine of MACRINVS his legions being in a mutinie came to seeke HELIOGABALVS. But howsoeuer, as both the one and the other might be, HELIOGABALVS accepted of the Empire, being but fiftene yeeres old: and the matter being published abroad, the newes thereof caused great alteration in mens minds, and all men began to affect him, for that he was both sonne and nephew to Emperours, and for the names sake of ANTONINVS, which they held for blessed and sacred. MACRINVS presently vnderstood these newes in *Antioch*, where hee then was, and made lesse account therof then he ought to haue done, resting at HELIOGABALVS, for that he was but a childe, and at his mother and grandmother, deeming it sufficient to send a Captaine of his whose name was IULIANVS, with certaine legions to besiege, and so to ruinate him: which (as it was thought) hee might easily haue accomplished, if hee had himselfe gone presently thither in person. When IULIANVS with his troupes came, HELIOGABALVS forces were not of sufficient power to giue him battaile; but being in their camp, which was well fortified and victualled, they suffered themselues to bee besieged: but souldiers of the one side conferring with those of the other; and those of the Campe shewing young HELIOGABALVS to IULIANVS his souldiers, putting them in minde of his father, perswaded them to follow him. Whereof it ensued, that they not onely did so, but apprehending their Captaine IULIANVS, smote off his head, and went ouer to HELIOGABALVS; and the one and the other made such an armie, that MACRINVS determined with his whole power to come and make head against HELIOGABALVS: and doing so, they ioynd battell in the confines of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*; wherein conscience and feare made HELIOGABALVS souldiers to fight valiantly; and of MACRINVS side only the Pretorian souldiers fought well, but all the rest of his armie fought retchlessly, and great part thereof abandoning him went ouer to HELIOGABALVS: wherefore he accounting himselfe lost and forlorne, fled from the battaile; and so HELIOGABALVS had the victorie. MACRINVS and his sonne, with certaine of their friends which would not forsake him, trauailed with the greatest speed that they could make, secretly, through the cities of *Asia* the lesse, and came into *Bitbynia*, with determination to get to *Rome*; where MACRINVS knew that his coming was much desired. But falling grievously sick in the city of *Chalcedonia*, those which HELIOGABALVS sent to pursue him, found him there; and bringing letters and commaundement to the citie, through the fame of HELIOGABALVS his victorie they were obeyed; and MACRINVS lying sicke, voide of all fauour and friendship, together with his sonne, was there put to death, within one yeere and two moneths after that hee was chosen Emperour. And being dead, all men fixed their eyes and thought vpon HELIOGABALVS.

Surely it is a wonderfull and pitifull matter to consider of the infelicitie and miserie of those times, to see how many Emperours were murdered, and how wicked and vitious the most part of them were, and how small time they reigned; and that which maketh me most to wonder, is to thinke how lightly they were slaine, notwithstanding that they were Lords of the whole world. And how easie a matter it was for a Captaine, hauing the fauour and friendship of five or sixe Legions, to make himselfe to be obeyed. So as it seemeth that he which first had intelligence of the Emperors death, and was any thing friended, and therewith durst to aduenture, was commonly chosen for his successor, as wee said of IULIANVS: And that which is worse, that he which murdered the last Emperour commonly became his heire; as wee see in MACRINVS and others. And touching him, of whom

*Iulianus a captaine sent by Macrinus slaine by his owne souldiers.*

*A battaile where Helio-gabalus had the victorie, and Macrinus fled.*

*Macrinus falling sicke in Chalcedonia, being overtaken by such as Helio-gabalus sent after him, was by them slaine.*

whom wee now discourse, one feeble old woman, and a childe of fourteene or fiftene yeeres old were sufficient to ouerthrow and ruinate him, being an ancient, wise and mightie Emperour, and to bereaue him both of his life and Empire, and quietly and in peace to enioy the same (if the contentment and rule of the wicked may be called peace and quietnes:) whereby it appeareth more cleere then the light, how variable and inconstant all things are in this world; and that there is no other firme and stable dominion or kingdome, but in the seruice of God: whereof the faithfull Christians in those daies had especial care, and sought no worldly dominion, Magistracies, nor Empire, but to liue holie and vprightly: and so contemning the world, attained the euerlasting kingdome of heauen. And these vnhappy Infidels forbore not to commit and execute any crueltie or treason whatsoeuer, so as they might thereby get the supreme gouernment and commaund, although it were but for three daies. And God for their sinnes permitted (for the example of others) that by the same meanes whereby they obtained it, by the selfe same they commonly lost it; being either put to death by the sword, or else by treason, as they had done by others. And that which is worst of all, together with their bodies, they lost their miserable soules; in such sort, as is said, it happened to the Emperour MACRINVS, who died in the yeere of our Lord two hundred and twentie.

## THE LIFE OF HELIOGABALVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, FIFT OF THOSE WHICH were called ANTONINI, and foure and twentieth Emperor of Rome.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**H**elio-gabalus being a Priest of the Sunne, attaining to the Empire of Rome, so soone as he had taken the Imperiall dignitie became so wicked, that in filthines he farre surpassed all his predecessors.

decessors. He was most dishonest in his life, more then besited a lasciuious and intemperate man, and was so addicted to women, that he graunted them to hold a Senate by themselves. When he was nere to the sea, he would eate no meates but such as were bred farre within the land: and when he was farre from it, he would eate nothing but sea-fish; neither would he eate of any thing that was not of an excesiue price. He was inclined to no kind of vertue, neither regarded any but parasites, ruffians, bawds, and such like persons, and all his actions were so abominable, and his riotousnes so great, that to write the same, were to amasse an heape of villanie. He made one which was his cōsin germane, Caesar, a very honest and vertuous young man, whose name was Aleximus. He was slaine by his souldiers, who for that they could not cast him into a most filthy ditch, trailed him through the citie, and threw him into the riuer Tiber, he hauing held the Empire for a certaine time, the truth whereof is incertaine; writers doe so much differ therein. And had such a death as his most filthy life had deserved.



**M**ACRINVS dying as he deserued, ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, without any contradiction, was made Emperour: who in truth proued to be such, that in histories there ought no memoriall to be held of him, nor mention to be made of his life; to the end that if it were possible, no man should know that such a monster as he was, had euer attained to the maiestie of the Romane Empire, if wee had not already written the liues of CALIGVLA, NERO, VITELLIVS, COMMODVS, and such others. But as one ground commonly produceth vnholseome hearbes full of poison, and which kill; and likewise good and holseome, which heale, and also feedeth both sheepe and serpents: so in our historie in recompence of these wicked Princes, we will oppose OCTAVIAN, VESPASIAN, TITVS, TRAIANE, ADRIAN, ANTONINVS PIVS, MARCVS AVRELIVS, and in part SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, which were singular Emperours, and gouerned the Empire with such wisdome and equitie as was requisite. And so the vices of the one are to be manifested, as well as the vertues of the other, to the end, that if any Princes of our time shall reade their liues, hee may see how abominable and detestable their doings were: and so eschewing the euill, and making choise of the good, may follow the same: and may consider how little a while those cruell vicious Emperours raigned, and what shamefull and vnluckie ends they made: and how that the good liued and gouerned longer time, and ended their daies in peace and quiet, dying of their naturall death, except some, which were murdered by traitors, to vsurpe the Empire.

But coming to HELIOGABALVS, after that he had obtained the victory, and that MACRINVS was slaine, & he chosen for Emperour, he wrote the most louing and kind letters to Rome that could be imagined: but the Senate and people of Rome did hardly digest the newes, for they would rather haue had MACRINVS: but daring to doe nothing to the contrarie, they yeldded obedience to HELIOGABALVS; of whom they presently conceiued a good hope, for that which they heard of his gallant feature, and of the good constitution of his bodie, and for the names sake of ANTONINVS, which in Rome was exceedingly much beloued and respected. In the beginning of his raigne (by reason of his small age) all things were ordered by the counsell and direction of his grandmother MESA, and her fauourits; who taking order for all matters in the East, determined to come speedily to Rome with the young Emperour, which he put in execution: but was driuen to stay longer then she purposed, by reason of the winter which was very tempestuous: wherefore she wintred in Bithynia, where hee began to discover his wicked inclination, giuing himselfe to most odible luxurie, and apparelling himselfe

Mesa grandmother and gouernesse of Helio-  
gabalus.

himsel in such attire as was farre vnfit for an Emperour, and feeding on most delicious fare, gaue himselfe ouer to all sensuality: which faults his prudent old grandmother endeouored by speech and good admonishment to reforme and amend: but she nothing profited therein. Being come to Rome, he was most solemnly receiued, where he spent the whole time of his raigne in such manner, that we haue nothing else to write of this Emperour, but of his abominable vices; which were such, that I neither can nor will describe them for the filthines thereof. The first thing that he tooke in hand after his coming to Rome, was to build a Temple to his god the Sunne, or HELIOGABALVS, whose Priest he had bin in Phœnicia; he would and procured that the Christians (whose number at that time was infinite) should also hold that for a Temple, and therein should vse their ceremonies, make their prayers and doe their deuotion. But it pleased not God to permit that the Sunne being a creature, should, in Temples and worship, be made equall to the Creator. He shewed himselfe so effeminate and so addicted to the feminine sex, that the first time that he went to the Senate, he carried his mother SYMIAMIRA with him, and tooke order that her opinion should be demaunded in all causes; and that from thencefoorth she should be present when any matters of importance were determined: a thing neuer seene that any woman vntill then, had any voice in the Senate of Rome. After this he made a Chapter-house or Senate apart, where women should meete and consult of, what apparell and attire the Romane Matrones should weare: And proceeding to a farre more shamefull practise, hee commaunded certaine Stewes to be made in his Palaces of common women, for his friends and his fauourits. And delighting himselfe so much in the companie of such, he commaunded vpon a day all the women that could bee found of that name and life, to be assembled together; and he clad in womans attire came into the place where they were, and made a very set and studied oration vnto them, calling them *Commilitones*, a word vsed by Captains to their souldiers when they would doe them honour; by calling them their fellowes and companions in armes. And the matters which therein were treated of, were inuentions and meanes how to vse their filthines and abomination: and thither he brought with him, ruffians and bawdes, which were his brokers in those detestable actions and meetings. In truth this HELIOGABALVS was so detestable in all manner of vices, that it cannot be sufficiently expressed. He was so great a spender and so prodigall in his attire, and in the furniture of his house, in his fare and diet, and his other follies, that that which is written of him seemeth incredible. HERODIANVS and ÆLIVS LAMPRIIVS write his life, wherein they recount most straunge matters, besides what other authors report of him. All his studie and care was, to deuise how hee might spend excessiue, and to finde out such dainties and delicacies, as neuer had been thought of. Hee neuer sate but amongst sweete smelling flowers, mixed with Amber, Muske, and other most exquisite sweete odours; neither would he eate any thing that should not be of an excesiue price, and sought meanes to make all those things which he did eate to be most costly; and vsed to say, that that meate had no taste, which was not deare bought. He attired himself in cloath of gold and purple, set with pearles and most precious stones: and euen in his shooes he wore stones of inestimable value. The chamber wherein he lay and all his palace, was furnished with cloath of gold, of siluer, and of silke; and his beds were of cloath of gold, of siluer, and of silke, couered with Roses and sweete flowers; among which were strawed many iewels and pearles: And all the way whereupon hee should set his feete, betweene his chamber and the place where he

Helio-  
gabalus  
built a temple  
in Rome, and  
dedicated the  
same to the  
Sunne.

A Senate of  
women made  
in Rome by  
Helio-  
gabalus.

The prodigality  
of Helio-  
gabalus.

he tooke horſe or coach, when he would ride abroad, he made to be couered with the powder of gold and ſiluer: for hee diſdained to tread vpon the earth, as other men did. All his tables, cheſts, chaires, and veſſels of ſeruice for his chamber, euen to the baieſt offices, as cloſe ſtooles, chamber-pots, and ſuch like, were all of fine gold. He made no account of wax light, but had in his hall and chambers great lampes, which in ſteed of oile burned moſt excellent Balfame, brought from *Iudea* and *Arabia*: and euen his very vrinals were made of Onyx and other moſt precious ſtones. His expences were ſo infinite and ſo exceſſiue, that no Kings reuenues in the world were ſufficient to defray the charge thereof, but his onely: for he did eate and deuoure all the reuenues and rents of *Spaine, France, Africa*, part of *Germanie, Italie, England, Sicilia, Gracia, Aſia, Syria, Egypt, Arabia*, and of all the Ilands and prouinces of the world; and yet all this was not ſufficient but that he endured want, by reaſon of his prodigious expences: for hee neuer ware any one ſute of apparell twice, being ſuch as wee haue ſaid. His fingers were euer full of rings, and thoſe which he had once put off, he neuer ware any more: and ſo in plate of gold or ſiluer, he would neuer drinke twice of one cup, which hee gaue to him that ſerued and attended on him that day. And the very Bathes wherein hee did vſe to bathe himſelfe, muſt be new builded and furniſhed with perfumes, and moſt precious odours; and after once bathing they were to be throwne downe: ſo as they builded new Bathes continually. His matreſſes and beds were neither of wooll, flax, nor feathers; but of the fine flaxe of Hares, and of the downe growing vnder the wings of Partridges. He made certaine feaſts in *Rome*, which were the greateſt and moſt coſtly that euer were made: and hee made to the citizens and to the ſouldiers a dole and diſtribution of money and corne, to an indicible value. After the feaſts and ſacrifices were ended, he gaue to the people (as *HERODIANVS* reporteth) a great abundance of plate, of gold, ſiluer, and other iewels; which truly was the cauſe why they endured this deteſtable man the ſmall time that he liued in the Empire: for the deſire of thoſe gifts and benefiſts which they enioyed by him, as alſo for that his grandmother, being a moſt wiſe and diſcreete woman, ſought by all meanes to reforme his voluptuous ſenſualitie and rioting, and to procure a good order in the gouernment. But there were great oppreſſions in the prouinces; and the barbarous nations inuaded the frontiers of the Empire. For he gaue all offices and places of charge vnto wicked men, which did accompanie him in his abominations, and by their counſell hee was gouerned: for depriving all good and vertuous men from all charge, he ſent them into exile. Among which his fauourites, one whoſe name was *ZOTICVS* was ſo priuate, and in ſuch fauour with him, that hee was held as a Lord ouer all the reſt. This mans counſell was as a law vnto him, and by his direction all offices and Magiſtracies were ſold; and he made Conſuls ſuch as were the ſonnes of ſlaues and men of moſt baſe condition. The like order he obſerued in the chuſing of Captaines and Lieutenants, giuing thoſe charges vnto baſe and ſimple men: for which and his other vices, notwithstanding that they made benefiſt of his prodigalitie, yet both the people and ſouldiers began to wiſh his death, ſo as he was oftentimes in great daunger thereof. Which when his mother and grandmother perceiued, they perſwaded him to adopt his coſin germane *ALEXIANVS*, and to make him his companion in the Empire, who was the ſon of *MAMEA* his mothers ſiſter, which he performed accordingly, and *ALEXIANVS* was called *ALEXANDER SEVERVS*; *ALEXANDER* after the name of the great *ALEXANDER K. of Macedonia*; and *SEVERVS* after *SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS*, grandfather to *HELIOGABALVS*.

This

*Zoticus a fauourite of Helio-  
gabalus.*

*Alexander Se-  
uerus choſen by  
Helio-  
gabalus  
for his com-  
panion in the Em-  
pire.*

This young man was ſo well inclined, and ſo well bred vp, that while as his coſen led a wicked and diſhoneſt life; he ſpent his time in learning, conuerſing with learned men, and ſuch as were good and honeſt, and exerciſing himſelfe in armes and in ſuch other practiſes, as were fit for a Knight and a vertuous gentleman, and ſought excellent maiſters to inſtruct him in all thoſe faculties. Wherefore all men conceiuing good hope of him, began to loue and affect him; and the hatred which they bare againſt *HELIOGABALVS* daily encreaſed. Which he perceiuing ſought meanes to kill *ALEXIANVS*, or at the leaſt to bereaue him of the name of *CÆſar*, and his ſucceſſor: But he could not bring it to paſſe by reaſon of the diligence vſed by his grandmother in protecting him: and alſo for that the men of warre deerely loued him; but vpon a time they would haue ſlaine *HELIOGABALVS* for that cauſe, as he was walking in a garden, where he eſcaped by hiding himſelfe in a corner, ſo as he was not ſcene; and through the entreatie of *ANTIOCHIANVS* who was his Pretorian Prefect, the ſouldiers returned to their campe, where remaining in a tumult and mutining, they highly threatened him; and vpon compoſition, they required that *HELIOGABALVS* ſhould put from about him, certaine vicious and wicked perſons which were very priuate with him, and which ſold and gaue offices for bribes; and in ſuch manner diſpatched the buſines which men had with the Emperour. They alſo required that certaine of their companies might haue the particular guard of *ALEXANDER SEVERVS*, to the end that *HELIOGABALVS* ſhould not kill him; and that his fauorites and familiars ſhould not conuerſe with him, for corrupting him with their euill conditions: all which demaunds were preſently put in execution. But after that the furie of the Cohorts was pacified, *HELIOGABALVS* returned to his former abominable vices, gluttonies, and incredible expences. Firſt when he went forth of *Rome* (as ſometimes hee did) he had with him ſixe hundred chariots and horſelitters, the principall lading whereof was moſt diſhoneſt yong *Helio-  
gabalus  
his progreſſe.* boies and wenches, with bawdes and their interpreters, and all was little enough, conſidering his inſatiable beaſtlines: for as he was moſt luxurious, ſo did he account it for a greatnes, to haue the companie of one woman but once; except her to whom he was married, and that one he neither loued nor regarded. For as *HERODIANVS* reporteth, he firſt married a Romane ladie of a noble houſe, to whom he gaue the name of *AVGVSTA*, and other titles; and within a while after he forſooke her and deprived her both of her name and honour: and married himſelfe to a Veſtall virgin; which in the vanitie of the Gentiles was held for a matter ſo religious, that ſhe which had carnall knowledge of a man, was buried aliue. And ſo he alſo left her and tooke another; behauing himſelfe as a moſt beaſtly barbarous man. And amongst other matters, he did one thing which the diuell himſelfe would neuer haue imagined, which was, that he commaunded that all buſineſſes to be done by day, ſhould be diſpatched by night; and that all ſuch things as were to be done by night, ſhould be done by day; and ſo he *Helio-  
gabalus  
turned the day  
into night, and  
the night into  
day.* aroſe from his bed at the ſunne ſetting, and was then ſaluted as other Emperours were in the morning: and he laid him to ſleepe about day breaking, ſo as it ſeemed that the world went backwards. All his ſtudie was to finde meanes to ſpend exceſſiue, in his diet, and in all other things. That ſupper which was of leaſt price did commonly coſt thirtie pound waight of gold, which after our computation, might amount to the value of about a thouſand pounds ſtarling; and there were ſome which did coſt threeſcore thouſand crownes. And ſometimes *Helio-  
gabalus  
his diet.* he promiſed to giue his gueſts a Phenix to eate, whereof (they ſay) there is but one

the preferuation of the countrie, he would be pleased to relieue him against the Queenes inuasions, which daily troubled him.

FERDINAND induced by these reasons, sent (as before is said) CASTALDO to the Frier, who as his Lieutenant Generall comming to *Agria*, leuied 5700. footmen and 1700 horse, with which passing the riuer *Tissa*, he went to *Debrezen*, where finding ANDREVV BATTOR, and THOMAS NACLAIDI, principall Lords of that kingdome, he went into *Transilvania*: where, whilest he the space of three moneths besieged *Colofuarre* in the behalfe of the Frier, he was aduertised that the Frier through a new composition with the Queene, hauing taken *Alba Iulia*, was retired from the warres; and that he had neuerthelesse sent him word, that if he would meete him at *Egnet*, he would speake with him. Whither CASTALDO being come, after many discourses and treaties past betweene them, obtaining of the Frier the citie of *Alba Iulia* to winter his people in; he had word from the Queene, that she would come to an agreement with FERDINAND, according to the covenants made with her husband: so that after many conuentions comming to *Colofuarre*, whither were already come the most part of the Lords of that kingdome, ISABEL in the name of her sonne renounced, and gaue vp the kingdome and estate of *Hungary* to CASTALDO; who in the name of FERDINAND accepted the same. After which renunciation, she granted to the most infaciable Frier all his demaunds, which were immeasurable, together with the Archbishoppick of *Strigonium*, being at that time void. CASTALDO accommodating that prouince according to the order received from FERDINAND, and as he thought most expedient, celebrated the nuptials betweene one of FERDINANDS daughters, and JOHN the Queenes sonne. But the ambitious Frier not contented with the agreement, by the meanes of a Frenchman, who was a spie for the Turke in that kingdome, he acquainted SOLIMAN with the whole agreement and composition made betweene FERDINAND and the Queene. Wherewith SOLIMAN being highly displeased, shortly after sent the Beglerbey of *Grecia*, who passing with great celeritie to *Belgrado*, came to *Beche*, and tooke it, with *Bekerque* and *Senat*: & hauing without any resistance vpon composition taken *Lippa*, he went without any molestation by the Christians, to *Themesuar*, where encamping himselfe, he vnderstood that CASTALDOS armie was come. Who with much ado hauing induced Frier GEORGE, then made Treasorer of that kingdom, & Vayuode of *Transilvania*, to leuie forces against the Turke, he brought it so to passe that he constrained the Beglerbey to raise his siege from before *Themesuarre*; notwithstanding that the Frier euer endeouored to hinder CASTALDOS proceedings. The Frier vnderstanding of the Turkes departure, went to *Lippa*, where he stayed not long before that by Pope IULIUS at the request of FERDINAND being a made Cardinall, he sought to hinder CASTALDOS desseignes, and to betray him and FERDINANDS whole armie into the hands of the Turkes: hoping by this meanes not onely to reconcile himselfe to SOLIMAN, but to become absolute Lorde of *Transilvania* also. Whose wicked practise being made frustrate, CASTALDO continued the siege of *Lippa*, which after many bickerings comming into CASTALDOS power, was given in pray to the Souldiers, which loden with spoyle, presently besieged the Fortresse, about which hauing spent some daies, they had taken the same, together with OLIMAN Gouvernor thereof, if the Friers villanie had not frustrated CASTALDOS purpose. Who desiring by these meanes to obtaine the Turkes good will, dealt so, that he set OLIMAN at libertie: wherewith CASTALDO being infinitely displeased, sought

*Lippa taken by  
Castaldo.*

fought to abate the Friers authoritie: but failing of his purpose, he dissembled the matter. And Winter being come, FERDINANDS forces departing out of *Transilvania* (he being vnwilling that they should remaine there) stayed vpon the frontiers of the enemye. After whose departure CASTALDO conducting the Artillery, discovered to SFORZA PALLAVICINO that FERDINAND had commaunded Frier GEORGE to be put to death; but being vnable without great circumspection to bring it to effect, he willed PALLAVICINO to be in a readines, vntill he gaue him further direction. In the meane time repairing to the Citadel at *Lippa*, he stayed neere to the citie of *Varadin*, and sending his armie before, he ioyned with the Frier riding together in one Coach to *Buisse*, in which place being againe solicited by FERDINAND to make away the Frier, CASTALDO speedely wrote to SFORZA PALLAVICINO, that so soone as possible might be, he should with his troupes come to conferre with him, about what course was to be taken in this matter. Whereupon PALLAVICINO comming to *Buisse*, and hauing laid the plot for the Friers dispatch, he went to seeke him iust at the time when he should haue said Masse: with whom CASTALDO holding a long discourse, shewed him euer a good countenance, notwithstanding that he was in all occasions crost by him: and his intolencie was such that he forbore not openly to negotiate with the Turkes. Whereupon CASTALDO directing those which should kill him in what manner they should dispatch him; he appoynted his Secretarie MARC ANTONIO FERRARI of *Alexandria*, (vnder colour to get the Friers hand to certaine letters which SFORZA PALLAVICINO should beare to FERDINAND) to come to him, vpon the eighteenth day of December, in the same yeere. Who comming in companie of PALLAVICINO into the Castle with certaine Harcubuzziers, and presenting the letters to the Frier, to the end that he should subscribe to them; after that the Frier had heedely read them, stooping downe to write vpon a little table which was in the chamber, FERRARI drawing his ponyard twise stabbed him, which being of no sufficient force to kill him, it behooued PALLAVICINO (who vpon the noyse ranne into the chamber) to set his helping hand to the worke: for the Frier was a gallant strong fellow, turning to him that smote him, threw him to the ground, and therewith made so great a noyse, that PALLAVICINO coming into the chamber, and seeing FERRARI downe, setting hand to his sword, gaue the Frier so sound a knocke on the pate, that he cleft the same in two: an act truly worthie of great reprehension, if the behauiour of the man had not deserued it. For Frier GEORGE was endued with such excellencie of wit, and therewith was of so generous and great a mind, and so diligent in all matters of importance, that FERDINAND himselfe (who caused him to be slaine) would often say openly, that he enuid the Vayuode for nothing, but for Frier GEORGE. The Frier dying in this manner suddenly, CASTALDO imprisoned his great friend FRANCIS THENDI, who to escape from FERDINANDS forces, had after the Turkish manner clad himselfe in Scarlet, whose imprisonment was a great helpe to CASTALDO, for THENDI being reconciled, was the cause that the Sicoli, a most fierce people of *Transilvania*, yeelded obedience to the King of the Romanes, which people with others, through CASTALDOS endeour, within few dayes submitted themselves. But in the yeere 1542, SOLIMAN vnderstanding of the death of Frier GEORGE, sent two armies into *Transilvania*, to the end in two seuerall parts to inuade the same: wherein CASTALDO thinking by fortifying the frontiers, to entertaine the Turkes vntill the comming of an

*Meanes used by  
Castaldo to en-  
trap Frier  
George.*

*The death of  
Frier George.*

Pope Julius ex-  
communicated  
those which  
slew Frier  
George.

Sforza Pallavi-  
cino wounded,  
overthrowne  
and taken pris-  
oner by the  
Turkes, before  
the Castle of  
Drigall.

armie out of *Germany*, sent Frier GEORGE his treasure to FERDINAND; and taking *Segbedin*, had sundrie supplies from the Lords of that kingdome; and fortifying *Lippa* and *Themesuarre* he gathered those men together which (to auoyde the rage of the Turkes) came to his campe. In the meane time, earnestly expecting aide from FERDINAND, whom Pope IULIUS commaunding to purge himselfe concerning the death of Frier GEORGE for that he was a Cardinall: and sending three Cardinals to make enquire of the Homicide, he excommunicated those which had slaine him. And FERDINAND vnable to send such succours as he had promised, by reason of the warres in *Germany* betweene his brother the Emperor and MAVRICE Duke of *Saxony*, perswaded CASTALDO to beare his fortune in the best manner that possibly he should be able; promising so soone as he could to relieue him. Who perceiuing that the Moldauian, and MAHOMET Bascha were with a great armie come into *Hungary*, to the end to inuade *Transilvania*; he sent FELIX Earle of *Arco*, to hold the Castle of *Braconia*. And obtaining great reliefe and victuals, from the citie of *Zibonio*, he endeouored himselfe to reinforce his troupes, and to fortifie many places; but this nothing furthered FERDINANDS proceedings: for by reason that the articles of agreement were not obserued to ISABEL, many of those people rebelled against him, and after much contention hee was constrained to come to blowes with them: for spending much time, sometime in losing and sometime in recouering, the Turkes daily conquered more and more. Which taking *Lippa* and *Themesuarre* with many other places, by MAHOMETs order, the Bascha, together with the Bascha of *Buda*, marched to the Castle of *Drigall*; before which lay SFORZA PALLAVICINO with sixe thousand men, Germanes and others: who valiantly assaulting the Castle, was at vnwares set vpon by the Bascha; with whom comming to blowes, and performing the office both of a valiant Souldier, and prudent Captaine, he was in the end ouerthrowne, and shortly after with many other Captaines taken prisoner, and brought (by a Turke which charging him in the flanke with his Cimitarre had felled him wounded to the death) to the Bascha: from whom he was afterwards ransomed for a great summe of money. After which, MAHOMET to the great slaughter of his people, tooke *Salonch*, built by FERDINAND in a strong place ouer the riuer *Tissa*; the losse whereof greatly troubled FERDINAND. Who seeing that his affaires notwithstanding the valour and wisedome of CASTALDO daily went from ill to worse, and vnderstanding that the people of *Transilvania* were wholly revolted to the Queene, greatly fauored by MAHOMET Bascha about SOLIMAN; and that they had often practised to kill CASTALDO, he commaunded him that notwithstanding MAHOMETs retreat, despairing to take *Agria*, long attempted by his people, he should retire. Which CASTALDO putting in execution, placed the Spanish and Dutch souldiers in *Zibinio*, and other places neere adiacent: and hauing fortified *Dena*, after much prouision made, he went to *Alba Inlia* to winter the rest of his armie. In the meane time, absolution came from *Rome* for those which kild Frier GEORGE. And the yeere 1553 being come, FRANCIS THENDI, fauouring the Queenes cause, brought it so to passe, that notwithstanding the many Councels, wherein CASTALDO was euer present, great part of the Lords of *Transilvania* in the behalfe of the Queene, tooke armes against FERDINAND, and expulsiung FERDINANDS forces, reestablished her, together with her sonne in her estate.

That yeere being ended, and the yeere 1554 begun, FERDINAND sent his Ambassadours to his nephew PHILIP in *England*, to congratulate his marriage with

with MARY Queene of that countrie, which succeeded her brother EDWARD. And in the yeere 1555 died IOANE mother of FERDINAND, and of the Emperor CHARLES the fifth, in *Spaine*; whose death FERDINAND took very grieuouly. And in the meane time, taking a truce with the Turke, he obtained vpon an acknowledgement of a tribute, peaceably to enioy what he held in *Hungary*. In which time CHARLES the Emperour hauing giuen vp the states of the Low Countries, the kingdomes of *Spaine*, and all his other kingdomes to his sonne PHILIP King of *England*; FERDINAND sought to suppress and extinguish the preaching of the Gospell in *Germany*; and receiuing letters of his brothers renunciation made to his sonne, he infinitely commended his resolution. That yeere being ended, and the yeere 1556 being come, he was aduertised that his brother the Emperour hauing renounced the Empire vnto him, was retired into *Spaine*, to leade a solitarie life; for which yeelding him thanks by his letters and Ambassadours, he went to *Viena* to make prouision for the warres, which (as it was said) SOLIMAN would make in *Hungary*: where spending the rest of that yere, he remained vntill the yeere 1557. In the beginning of which yeere, he interposed himselfe betweene King PHILIP and the Pope, perswading them to peace: for the Pope induced by his nephew the Cardinall *Carassa*, made warre against the King. And that yeere being ended, in the beginning of the yeere 1558, he was by the Electors according to the will of his brother CHARLES, chosen and proclaimed Emperour: no man but the Pope contradicting his election, who affirmed that the resignation made by the Emperour CHARLES could not be done without the Popes consent: but his reproofe being reiected, FERDINAND was chosen and proclaimed lawfull Emperour. Not long after he had newes that his brother CHARLES was departed out of this world, for whose death he together with his whole Court was very sorie: neuerthelesse supporting his griefe, hee celebrated the exequies with great pompe, and presently sent his Ambassadours to King PHILIP, to condole the common losse. And that present yeere ending, within a while after the decease of the Emperour CHARLES, and in the beginning of the yere 1559, FERDINAND vsed all endeour to make peace betweene King PHILIP, and HENRY the French King; which after many treaties being obtained, and alliance made them, he was exceedingly glad, sith that after the space of seuentie yeeres continuall dissention, peace was now made betweene those two most mightie Kings, which was proclaimed through all Christendome. A little while after, in the beginning of the yeere 1560, FERDINAND obtained to be confirmed in the Empire by the new Pope, who willingly approving his election, deemed it to be ill done, after a peace so long desired, againe to bring *Italy* into new troubles: and so following the will of that Prince, he consented to the calling of a Councell. And in the yeere 1561 he made proclamation to all Prelates and Nations, of a Councell to be held the yeere following, wherein the Articles proponed by the Lutherans should be determined. And in the yeere 1562 a Councell was againe called, to be held in the citie of *Trent*, whither FERDINAND sending the Prelates of his dominion, perswaded all the Princes of *Germany* to doe the like: and writing to his nephew King PHILIP, and to the King of *Portugall*, and to all the other Princes of Christendome, he vsed such meanes that al the Princes according to his desire, sent the Bishops of their countries with their particular Ambassadours to that Councell, wherein the matters of greatest importance were handled concerning religion. In which time FERDINAND desiring that some one of his sonnes after his decease might succede him

Peace betweene  
King Philip of  
*Spaine* and  
Henry of France

Ferdinand con-  
firmed in the  
Empire by Pope  
Pius the 4.

him in the Imperiall dignitie, he called the Princes Electors to a Councell held at *Frankford*, where proponing to them his desire, he alleaged that in respect of the Turke it was requisite it should be so; and after the matter had been long debated, he obtained his purpose to his content: which being concluded, he made his sonne MAXIMILIAN within few daies after to be crowned King of the Romanes. After which ceremonies, going to *Ispruch* to see his daughters, he understood that the truce lately treated of with SOLIMAN not onely tooke effect for tenne yeeres, but that at his suite DON ALVARO DE SANDE was released out of prison, together with three other principall Knights taken in the yeere 1560 in the enterprise of *Tripoli*, by DRAGVT RAIS. At that time were great warres in *France* betweene the Papists and the Huguenots, which the Emperour sought to haue pacified, but that nation was so extremely incensed, that the Emperours perswasions could nothing preuaile amongst them.

Ann 1560.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Ferdinand.

In the yeere 1564, the Councell of *Trent* being dissolued, FERDINAND came to *Viena*, where falling sicke of an Ague, and knowing by the vehemencie of his disease that his life drew neere to an end, he sent for all his children, which then were disperfed into sundrie places, to whom after he had giuen his blessing, together with many good exhortations, he rendred his soule to God, vpon the fifth day of Iuly in the same yeere. He was a Prince by all men reputed to be of singular bountie and pietie, and of a most gentle and pleasing disposition, not very strong of bodie, but replenished with so much maiestie, that whosoever saw him could not but respect him: for being of a pleasing and affable condition, he would most curteously encline himselfe to euery one that came salute him. He was naturally merrie, free from surfeiting, and ware his beard rather short then long, and his haire so long that it couered his eies with some bauldnes. He was in all his actions (prosperous or aduerse) alwaies constant, holding all things to happen to him by the will of God. He confessed himselfe three or foure times in the yeere, and with great deuotion receiued the Communion, willing that euery one in his Court should doe the like; so that his house seemed to be rather a regular Monasterie, then a Court of Secular men. He left behinde him many children, and had in all fiftene; foure sonnes, and the rest daughters, which were married to sundrie Princes in Christendome. ISABEL which was his first, was giuen in marriage to SIGISMVND King of *Poland*. ANNE was wife to the Duke of *Bauiere*. MARY to the Duke of *Cleue*. MAGDALENA chaste Virgin. KATHERINE to FRANCIS Duke of *Mantua*. ELENOR to WILLIAM Duke of *Mantua*. MARGARET was a Nunne. BARBARA was married to ALFONSE the second Duke of *Ferrara*. VRSULA a Virgin and a Nunne. HELEN liued but a little while. And IOANE was wife to FRANCIS the great Duke of *Tuscane*. Of sonnes besides the Emperour MAXIMILIAN, he had FERDINAND and CHARLES Archdukes of *Austrich*, and JOHN which died very young. He had but one onely wife, and (as it was said) neuer before nor after knew any other woman but her: which he loued so intierly, that he would not marrie the second time. He much loued learned men, & gaue them great pensions for their maintenance. He neuer vndertooke any warres but for religion: either against the Turke or the Lutheranes, which he vehemently persecuted. FERDINAND hauing bin King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* foure and thirtie yeeres, and Emperour seuen, to the great grieve of his people and of all the Princes in Christendome ended his daies. After whose decease, his obsequies being celebrated with great pompe, sundrie funerall Orations were made by diuers learned men: and his body being carried

carried through *Moravia* into *Bohemia*, was by his wiues side buried in *Prage*.

## THE LIFE OF MAXIMILIAN THE SECOND, AND CXVII. ROMANE EMPEROVR.



### THE ARGVMENT.

**H**is life containeth not ought else, but the countrie, parentage and noble descent of Maximilian, With his actes in the warres in Germany against the Lantzgrau, his going into Spaine to gouerne the same for King Philip, his assumption to the Imperiall dignitie, With his warres with the Turkes at Ziget, and the Election of his sonne Rodolph for King of the Romanes.

**H**is house and family of *Austrich* amongst the most principall houses of Germany, is truly euery way very noble, and hath cuer been so of long time (as it evidently appeareth) not onely through the (in a manner) hereditarie succession of the Empire from the father to the sonne in tenne Emperours, from the yeere 1273, at that time RODVLPH the first was chosen Emperour of the Germanes: but also in that it hath since that time in short space, with admirable felicitie, not onely in Germany enlarged the small confines of *Habsburge* and *Hafia* (the auncient territory thereof) but through the singular protection of the heauens, it hath by enheritance attained to the kingdomes of *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, the Duchie of *Austrich*, the countie of *Flanders*, with the estates of the lower Germany, the kingdomes of *Spaine*, with all those countries of the East and West Indies, (to the wonder of the world, by CHRISTOPHER COLVMEVS a Genowaies, and AMERICVS SEPVSIVS, a Florentine, newly found and discovered, which for their greatnes, and the noueltie of the action, are called the new world) together with the kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*; and

The dominions  
of the house of  
*Austrich*.

The lineage of  
the Emperor  
Maximilian.

and lastly the Duchie of *Milan*, farre excellling all other Dukedomes in Christendome. Of which family in the yeere of our Lord 1527, the Emperor MAXIMILIAN the second of that name borne in the citie of *Viena* in *Austrich*, had to his father FERDINAND, brother to the Emperor CHARLES the fifth, sonne of PHILIP the first King of *Spaine*, Nephew of MAXIMILIAN the first, sonne of FREDERICK the third Emperours of the *Almaines*: his mother was ANNE daughter of LADISLAUS King of *Hungary* and of *Bohemia*, Nephew of the great SIGISMUND, sonne of CASIMIER King of *Poland*, and sister to that LEVVS which through the vnaduised counsell of PAVLAS TOMORVS Archbishop of *Colossa*, in the yeere of our Lord 1526, comming to a field battaile with SOLIMAN King of the *Turkes*, was not onely through the innumerable multitude of the *Ottomans* lamentably ouerthrowne; but also when he fought to haue saued himselfe from his enemies, was through the waight of his armour wherewith he was oppressed, and the stumbling of his horse which fell vpon him in a passage ouer a marish or fenne, miserably drowned.

This Emperor shewing euen from his infancie the excellencie of his wit, was by his father the Emperor FERDINAND committed to very learned men, by them to be instructed in good Litterature, but chiefly in varietie of tongues; wherein in short space he so much profited, that he not onely spake Latin very elegantly; Spanish, French, Italian, Dutch, Hungarian, and Bohemish; but also very perfectly attained to the knowledge of the Sciences, particularly the Mathematickes. So that all men did stedfastly hope that he would proue no way inferior to his auncient progenitors. And he no sooner came to yeeres fit to beare armes, but that he sundrie times gaue no lesse indice and cleere shew of his noble valour therein; earnestly seeking to imitate his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN whose name he bare, which he expressly manifested when in the yeere 1556, in the warres which his Vncle the Emperor CHARLES the fifth made against JOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony*, and PHILIP Lantzgrau of *Hessin*, he went to that warre, sent thither by his father with the commaund of 1200 horse; hauing before that time, been euer present in the warres which his father waged with the *Turkes*. In that seruice of his Vncle the Emperor CHARLES, he so nobly behaued himselfe, that he therein sundrie times deserued to be compared with his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN; for he constantly enduring with the greatnes of his minde, all those wants and fortunes which the troubles of the warres bring with them, was euer the first man in all seruices, wherein he made no lesse shew of a valiant man at armes, then of a prudent Chieftaine, which made him so deere beloued by his Vncle the Emperor, that that ciuill waire being ended (which continued little lesse then two yeeres) he considering that his sonne PHILIP Prince of *Spaine* was to be inuested in the Countie of *Flanders*, together with the prouinces of the lower *Germany*, and being vnwilling that *Spaine* should remaine without some man of authoritie to gouerne the same, fearing the fiercenes of that nation ordinarily euer desirous of nouelties: notwithstanding that he was his Nephew, yet by the dispensation of Pope PAUL the third he made him his sonne in law, giuing him his daughter MARY to wife, and therewith made him gouernor of those kingdomes. And those nuptiall rites being celebrated, MAXIMILIAN in the yeere 1548 went into *Spaine*, being first by his father FERDINAND King of the *Romanes*, made King of *Bohemia*, to whom the Lords of that kingdome sware obedience as to their King and naturall Lord. Before his comming into *Spaine*, passing through *Italy*, he was by all the Italian Princes

Princes visited and highly honoured; and being arriued at the citie of *Genoa*, and there shortly after embarked in the Galleyes of Prince DORIA, he passed to *Barcelona*, whence taking his way towards *Valadolid*, where the Spanish court then lay, he was in the name of his espouse and of his cosin germane oftentimes visited by the principall Lords of *Spaine*. Finally, within few daies after his comming to the court, hauing with applause of the Spanish nation celebrated his nuptials, he was established in the gouernment of those kingdomes, in the absence of Prince PHILIP: which he with great quietnes, to the contentment of that people gouerned, vntill that in the beginning of the yeere 1551 the Emperor CHARLES summoned a Councell to be held in *Augsburgh*, whither being by his father sent for, he came from *Spaine* into *Germany*, hauing first left the gouernment of those kingdomes to his wife Queene MARY, and to the Councell royall: and staying there till the end of the Councell, he went with his father the King of the *Romanes* to *Viena*, where making his abode till the beginning of the yeere 1552, and then passing from *Germany* againe into *Spaine*, to bring his wife into his countries, he came from *Barcelona* (after that he had been molested by the French fleet) to *Genoa*; and from thence comming to *Trent*, he went to *Augsburgh*, where by the Emperor CHARLES the fifth, he was much welcomed, and together with his wife was by the Germane Princes highly honored, but particularly by his father, who then absolutely resigned vnto him the gouernment of the kingdome of *Bohemia*: which to the great contentment of the Bohemians he euer after gouerned so long as he liued. From whence in the same yeere he sent great troupes of men to the Emperor, for his warres against MAVRICE Duke of *Saxony*, who by reason of the imprisonment of the Lantzgrau PHILIP warring against the Emperor, was proclaimed traitor: but it was not long before the Emperor was freed from that trouble. And MAXIMILIAN recalling his forces, peaceably applied himselfe to the gouernment of *Bohemia*, without that any matter of moment happened, vntill that in the yeere 1554, he together with his father sent his Ambassadors to congratulate the marriage of his cosin King PHILIP to Marie the daughter of King HENRY the eight, then by the death of her brother EDWARD, Queene of *England*. In the yeere 1558 he was present at the Coronation of his father, who by the Emperour CHARLES the fifth was adopted Emperour; and for such accepted by the Princes of *Germany*. Afterwards taking his way with his father towards *Viena*, he returned into *Bohemia*; where within a while after, vnderstanding of the death of his Vncle and father in law the Emperor CHARLES, he with great pompe celebrating his Obsequies; sent Ambassadors to his cosin PHILIP to condole the death of the deceased Emperour. In which actions ending the yeere present and next following; in the yeere 1560, after foure moneths vacancie, JOHN ANGELO DE MEDICIS being chosen Pope, and called PIVS the fourth; he sent his Ambassadors to yeeld his obedience to the Church of *Rome*. And in the yeere 1562, FERDINAND desiring that his sonne MAXIMILIAN should succede him in the Empire, assembled a Councell in *Franckford*; wherein proposing to the Electors his determination, he so handled the matter, that by the common consent and goodwill of all men, MAXIMILIAN was chosen and crowned King of the *Romanes*; with great applause of the Germanes, and of the Italians, which for his rare qualities deereley loued him. Then beeing according to his fathers desire created his successor, he departed towards *Viena*, first visiting his sisters which were in *Ispruch*, where he remained vntill the yeere 1564, in

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which

Maximilian  
chosen and  
crowned King  
of the Romanes.

Maximilian  
denied to pay  
the accustomed  
tribute to the  
Turke for the  
kingdome of  
Hungary.

which yeere his father died; whose obsequies he together with his brothers sumptuously celebrated. After which, he receiued Ambassadours from the Princes, which as to the successiue Emperour and King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* came to doe him honour, amongst many which thither came, were the Ambassadours of *Spain* and of *Portingall*. MAXIMILIAN being then receiued and accepted by the Christians for lawfull Emperour; in the beginning of his raigne denied to pay to SOLIMAN the Emperour of the Turkes, that acknowledgement which his father FERDINAND yeelded to pay for the kingdome of *Hungary*: and so the yeere 1565 being come, inuading the state of *Transilvania*, he tooke certaine places. Whereupon SOLIMAN sending a great armie against him, in the behalfe of the Vaiuode IOHN, tooke many townes of importance. But CÆSAR sending LAZARVS SCHVENDY for Generall of his armie, not onely recouered what was taken, but also tooke *Tocay* with some other places, greatly endamaging the *Transilvanian*; who being aided by the Turkes infinitely troubled CÆSAR, and notwithstanding that by reason of winter, it had been fit to haue retired to haue wintred his armie, yet he desisted not from molesting him. But being vnable of himself to make head against CÆSARS forces, he procured by the Turkes meanes to cause MAXIMILIAN to retire from that enterprise: for which, being an earnest sutor, he obtained such fauour, that SOLIMAN in the yeere 1566, with 120000. men inuaded *Hungary*: the forewarning of whose comming, reuealed by a Turke taken prisoner by certaine souldiers seruing his brother CHARLES, was a great furtherance to the Emperours proceedings: for he making prouision accordingly, so ordred the matter that he was relieved by all the Princes of Christendome: particularly by Pope PIVS QVINTVS (who this yeere succeeded PIVS the fourth in the Papacie) and by the Dukes of *Florence*, of *Mantua*, of *Ferrara*, and by many other Princes as well of *Italy* and *France* as of *Germany*: so that he hauing leuiued an armie of threescore and tenne thousand men, made his brother FERDINAND, Archduke of *Austrich*, Generall thereof, who with those forces comming to *Laurin*, purposed to haue attempted *Strigonium*; but vnderstanding that SOLIMAN departing from *Belgrado* came to *Buda*, and from *Buda* was gone to *Zigbet*; he retiring, perswaded NICHOLAS SIDRIN, a Nobleman of singular valour in *Hungary*, to continue in the government of that fortresse, whereof he was Capitaine, promising that he would not faile to relieue him. SOLIMAN after many difficulties, being come to *Zigbet* (which is situate in a fennie countrie betweene *Croatia* and *Hungary*) within few daies with continuall assaults both by day and night so oppress it, that notwithstanding the great valour of SIDRIN, who failed in nothing that might concerne himselfe or GÆSAR, neither left anything vnattempted that might hinder the purposes of the Barbarian, vsing all meanes to defend that fortresse: in the end with great slaughter of his people it was by the Turke taken. But that Barbarian had not time to enioy the fruites of his victorie, for being loden with yeeres, and overcome by his disease, which was the bloudie fluxe, he ended his daies before that he was master thereof; MAHOMET Bascha with great policie and cunning concealing his death vntill the creation of a new Emperour, and vntill that place being of such importance was taken.

*Zigbet* being taken, NICHOLAS SIDRIN the Gouvernour thereof, a man for his worth, his valour, and for his faith and trust incomparable, was slaine. There likewise came into the Turkes power, *Iulia*, besides other places which were taken the yeere before, with incredible losse and damage to the Christians, which without effecting any notable matter in that enterprise (the Turkes armie being retired)

*Zigbet* taken  
by the Turke.

retired) were by the Emperour discharged. And in the yeere 1567, the Emperour through the mediation of MAHOMET Bascha, treating with SELIM (who succeeded his father SOLIMAN in his estate) of a truce, hauing first garrisoned *Ianarin*, retired with his Court into *Viena*, and sought to extinguish the new ciuill warre kindled in *Germany*. For IOHN FREDERICK, sonne of the Elector AVGVSTVS Duke of *Saxony* fauouring GROMPACH, a Rebelle of the Empire, it seemed that the ciuill warre would haue begun againe: but GROMPACH hauing surprised the Fortresse of *Gotta* from the Elector AVGVSTVS, who would doe nothing contrarie to the decree of the Councell at *Augsburgh*, where GROMPACH being againe proclaimed a rebelle: and hauing amassed together a good number of men of warre, which being drawne to an head, after much resistance, GROMPACH together with IOHN FREDERICK the sonne of Duke AVGVSTVS, were taken prisoners, with whose apprehension the ciuill warres of *Germany* being ended, GROMPACH was quartered aliue, and Duke IOHN FREDERICK detained in prison. The Emperour hauing in the meane time relieved *Schwendt*, who after the departure of the Turkes armie, was by the *Transilvanian* besieged in *Tocay*; and shortly after repelling the enemy, tooke many Holds in *Transilvania*, to the great preiudice of the Vaiuode. But vnderstanding that in the same yeere 1567 SELIM had graunted and confirmed the truce required by CÆSAR, with the same conditions that FERDINAND obtained the same, and that SELIM retired his armie: MAXIMILIAN accommodating the affaires of his estate, liued all the rest of his life time in peace, hauing in vaine attempted to recouer *Transilvania*, left through the death of IOHN Vaiuode to STEPHEN BATTOR. Who in the yeere 1574, CHARLES the ninth King of *France* being dead, and HENRY Duke of *Anion* and King of *Polania*, through his brothers death being called to the Crowne of *Erance*; after much contention was chosen King of *Polania*; notwithstanding that MAXIMILIAN vsed all meanes possible to haue been King thereof, for many of the Electors fauoured him; which failing, he became so melancholike, that he was neuer after that time seene to be merrie, imagining that the wauering instabilitie of the Polacres had bereaued the house of *Austrich* of that kingdome, but yet he left nothing vndone that might disturbe BATTOR. With which actions comming to the end of the yeere 1577, he assembled the Diet of *Ratisbone*, where vsing all meanes that in him lay, that his eldest sonne RODVLPH might remaine his heire in the Empire, in the end by the consent of the Electors, he obtained his suite. And in the same Diet he confirmed FRANCIS DE MEDICIS with the fauour and consent of those Princes, in the title of great Duke of *Tuscane*, graunted by Pope PIVS the fifth to COSMO the great, in the yeere 1566.

MAXIMILIAN liuing but a few moneths after the election of his sonne, being betweene fiftie one and fiftie two yeeres old, and oppressed with the retention of his vrine, to the great griefe and sorrow of his people, ended his terrestriall life. He was a Prince for pietie and the bountie of his minde, truly so singular, that if the troubles and ciuill warres in *Germany* had not weakened and diminished the forces and power of the Empire, would not haue left any meanes vnattempted to haue repressed the greatnes of the Turkish Empire. His bodie and minde being accompanied with memorabell maiestie and iudgement. He was a personage of common stature, had a full face replenished with grauitie, his head was somewhat bauld, he spake readily all the tongues which at this day are spoken in the most pricipall prouinces of *Europe*, so naturally, as if he had bin

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*Grompach* taken and executed.

The death of the Emperour Maximilian.

nursed and bred vp in them. He was most diligent and prompt in giuing iudgement, and a great fauourer of men of vnderstanding, to which he gaue great pensions: and particularly loued Mathematicians, and Antiquaries, as a man which was greatly delighted in both those faculties. He was very adiuue of his bodie, and therewith very pitifull. He left behinde him tenne children, fixe sonnes and foure daughters. His daughters were ISABEL married to her Vncle PHILIP King of *Spaine*. MARY was wife to CHARLES the ninth King of *France*. ANNE and ELEANOR were then but children. His sonnes were RODVLPH, the now Emperour, and MATTHIAS, in the time of the late Prince of *Orange* was chosen by the Estates Gouvernour of the *Low Countries*. ALBERTVS afterwards made a Cardinall and Archbishop of *Toledo*, and since then renouncing his Ecclesiasticall dignities, is married to ISABEL the Infant of *Spaine*, and by her is Duke of *Burgundy*. MAXIMILIAN, and VENCESLAVS. He had but one onely wife, after whose decease he neuer would marrie any other. He was blindly very religious, and with great honour and reuerence obseruing the greatnes of the Popes, he endeououred to haue caused the rest of the Princes of *Germany* to haue done the like.

## THE LIFE OF RODVLPH THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND CXVIII. ROMANE EMPEROR NOW RAIGNING.



**T**He Imperiall Maiestie, being become in a manner hereditarie in the house of *Austrich*, was after the death of MAXIMILIAN the second of that name, with the generall assent of the Princes of *Germany*, confirmed to his sonne RODVLPH King of *Bohemia* and of *Hungary*; chosen a little before at his fathers entreatie King of the Romanes; who assuming (together with his high dignitie) a minde and thoughts worthie an Emperour, hath euer hitherto in his gouernment shewed himselfe in all his actions so rightly honourable, that it is to be hoped (sparing him life) he will not onely in some sort restore to the Empire the

the ancient dignitie and reputation thereof, but also recouer such countries belonging thereto, as are vsurped by such as are enemies to the same. Presently after his coronation, for his better establishment in his new dignitie, he sent to the Pope, to be by him therein confirmed, and therewith to request him to declare him for the eldest sonne of the Church: and then calling a Councell at *Ratisbone*, where vsing all his power, to the end that matters concerning the Romane religion might be reformed, he earnestly pressed all the Princes of *Germany* to consent to his new reformation. And then dispatching Ambassadors to the Emperour of the Turkes, to procure a reconfirmation of the truce taken made betweene him and his father MAXIMILIAN, he in the meane time perswaded his brother MATTHIAS, who was gone into *Flanders* with a resolution to make himselfe Lord of those prouinces; that abandoning what he had vndertaken, he should returne into *Germany*, shewing him how dangerous a matter it would be, if through his fault the troubles of those countries should be increased: but his perswasions as then little auailed against his resolution: but yet shortly after through discontent betweene the Duke and the States of those countries, he leauing them returned (with little honour) into *Germany*. After this, forasmuch as the Archbishop of *Colen*, one of the Princes Electors, forsaking the Pope, was become a Caluinist, and had married a wife, the Emperour and sundrie Potentates in *Germany* tooke armes against him; but especially the Chanons of that Church of *Colen*, which expelling him, chose another Bishop, so that he was afterwards constrained to come to the States of the *Low Countries* for reliefe. And so for a space in the beginning the Emperour continued very solicitous, to haue aduanced and established the Popes lawes and authoritie; not onely in his hereditarie estates and dominions, but generally through the whole Empire, vntill that AMYRATH the third, Emperour of Turkes, after long consultation hauing resolved to make a generall conquest of *Hungary*, together with sundrie countries bordering vpon the same, by the ordinarie incursions of the Turkes, contrarie to the truce, spoyleing and robbing his countries, so awakened the Emperour, that leauing to hinder the preaching of the Gospell, he was constrained to employ his wits together with his whole power for the defence of his estate, against so mightie a common enemy: who enuying the greatnes of the house of *Austrich*, for that it in sundrie parts of the world made head against him: about a people called *Vscovichs* preuilly picking a quarrell, he first began his warres in *Croatia*; wherein after the spoyle of the countrie, the Basha of *Bosna* tooke the citie of *Wibitz*. Whereupon the Emperour solicited the Princes of *Germany* for aide, who considering the greatnes of the daunger, promised their assistance. But before that their forces tooke the field, fixe thousand foote, and siue hundred horse of the Christians, hauing in *Croatia* for their refuge taken the woods, mountaines, and places of hard access, were by the Turkes so oppressed, that few of them escaped with their liues. For refelling of which outrage, the Emperour assembling the States of *Slesia* and *Moravia*, perswaded them to vnite their forces with the rest. But the aides from out of *Germany* came so slowly, that after the overthrow and slaughter of seuen thousand men in *Croatia*, the Turkes surprised the strong Castle of *S. George*; wherein after that they cruelly without respect of age or sexe had put to the sword all that were therein: firing the Castle, they departed: and in their retreat cut off a conuoy of three hundred wagons, laden with prouision for the reliefe of the soldiers garrisoned in that prouince.

After these and many other roades and incursions made in *Croatia*, and in *Hun-*

The Emperour  
Rodolph the  
second sent to  
the Pope to be  
by him confir-  
med in the Im-  
pire, and to be  
declared eldest  
sonne of the  
Church.

Duke Matthias  
Gouernour of  
the prouinces  
of the Low  
Countries.

gary, the Turkes aduertised of the preparation made by the Christian Princes; but chiefly for that the plague was false amongst them, leauing strong garrisons in their Holds, they retired; and so the warres for that winter ended. But the next spring being come, the Emperour writing to the Turke to know the reason of these so hostile inuasions contrarie to the truce, was by the great Turkes owne letter for answer put out of doubt whereto he should trust; who most proudly denouncing warre against him and all his abbettors, sent the Pegleibey of *Gracia* into *Croatia*, who with a huge armie besieging the strong Castle of *Siseg*, in short space tooke it, cutting in pieces, and drowning all that they found therein. This happened vpon the third of September 1593. These inuasions caused the Emperour not onely to craue aide of the Princes and free cities of *Germany*, but also of other Princes further remote: which being soone graunted, came so slowly forwards, that *SINAN* Bascha besieging the citie of *Vesprim*, and the defendants seeing no possibilitie long to hold the place, abandoning the citie, were by the Turkes cut in pieces. From thence the Bascha went to *Palotta*, which within few daies siege yeelded to the Turkes also.

*Siseg taken by the Turkes, anno 1593.*

*The Bascha of Buda ouerthrowne and put to flight by the Imperialists.*

But yet a length an armie of the Christians passing the riuer *Danubius*, so met with the Turkes, that making slaughter of a great number of them, they released many Christian Captiues: wherewith encouraged, the Christians presently besieged the citie of *Alba Regalis*: but within few daies after, they were aduertised of the comming of the Bascha of *Buda*, with an armie of 2000 strong, and thirtie peeces of Ordenance, to relieue the citie and to raise the siege; whom the Christians (rising from before the citie) encountring, ouerthrew and put to flight, and in the chace had the execution of the greatest part of their enemies.

*The Castle of Sabatzka taken by the Christians.*

Shortly after the Emperours Lieutenant besieging the Castle of *Sabatzka*, garisoned by the Turkes, did with the Cannon so soundly beate the same, that the breach being made assaultable was entred; and all that there lay in garison, were put to the sword; and a strong garison left to guard the place: whereby the countrie was freed from their wonted oppressions.

*An overthrow giuen to the Turkes by the Christians, the 20. of Nouember, 1593.*

Presently vpon the taking of *Sabatzka*, the Christians besieged the citie of *Filek*, a strong place of great importance in the vpper *Hungary*; for the vssetting whereof the Turkes drawing their garrisons in that quarter, leuied an armie of 18000 men, and therewith marched by night vntill they came neere to the citie: whereof the Generall of the Emperours armie being aduertised, out of the whole armie made choise of 7000 men: with which suddenly setting vpon the Turkes in their tents, he gaue them such a camizado, that they trusting more to their heeles then their hands were so put to rout, that 6000 of them remained in the fields, foode for the foules of the aire: and amongst them the Bascha of *Themesuarre*, the Gouvernor of *Filek*, and many of great account. At this overthrow the Christians besides 29 peeces of Artillerie tooke 200 Wagons laden with victuals; with which they returned to the siege of the citie, which they so battered, that the breaches being made assaultable, the citie was entred and taken, and the defendants put to the sword: those in the Castle notwithstanding resolute in their defence, within two daies after being by the Christians assaulted, and the Castle entred, had their throates cut also. Yet there remained some 800, which being retired to another Castle, and seeing how the rest of their company sped, yeelded vpon composition of their liues saued, and to depart with what they could carrie vpon their backs. The taking of this citie strake such a feare

*Filek taken by the Christians.*

feare into the Turkes in *Setschine*, *Blauensteene*, *Sallek*, *Dregel*, and *Palanke*, strong townes in *Hungary*, that they abandoning them, retired some to *Hatwan*, and some to *Buda* for their refuge. In the same moneth were also recouered from the Turkes the townes of *Ainacke*, *Sollocke*, and *Westke*, by meanes whereof, the countrie was freed round about.

After this, the Turkes in *Siseg*, *Castrowitz*, and *Petrinia* to the number of three thousand, thinking for reuenge to haue done some great exploit passed the riuer *Saua*, with a determination to haue spoiled the countrie: but they were so welcomed by the borderers, that 500 of them remaining vpon the earth for hostages, the most of the rest for haste were drowned; so as few returned to beare the newes of their expedition. The ioy for the good successe of the Christians was this yeere, so stirred vp the harts of the Germane Princes, that souldiers were leuied, Artillerie provided, and euery where new prouision was made for the next yeeres warres.

*19. December, 1593.*

*An expedition.*

In the beginning of March following, the Emperours brother *MATTHIAS* being Generall of the Christian armie: the citie of *Nonigrade* lying neere to *Buda*, was by the Christians besieged; wherein the garison fearing their owne weakenes, and doubting rescue: after a battery made, and some assaults giuen thereto, yeelded the citie to the Archduke, vpon condition of their liues saued, and to depart with their clothes on their backs, and their Cemitar by their sides. This towne gotten (being a place of great importance) was by the Archduke furnished with a very strong garison, vnder the command of *REBER* a noble gentleman of *Hungary*. But the Turkish Gouvernor of *Nonigrade* being retired to *Buda*, was there in reward of his good seruice, by the command of the Bascha thereof, in the night hanged vpon a tree neere to the gate of the citie.

*Nonigrade taken by the Christians.*

About this time the Emperor sending his Ambassadors to the Muscouite, implored his aide in his warre against the Turkes: to whom the Muscouite promised 500000 Ducats in hand, and 400000 yeerely so long as the warres should continew, but yet with a request that the Emperor should not conclude any peace with the Turke without his consent.

*1594. The Emperor besought the Muscouite for aide against the Turke.*

The Christians hauing long in vaine besieged *Strigonium* and *Hatwan*, and brought the same to such extremitie that they could hardly haue held out any longer: vpon the report of the comming of *SINAN* Bascha with an armie, they raising the siege from before those cities departed: by reason whereof the poore Christians inhabiting the countrie thereabouts, which had long hoped of libertie, became againe seruill to their insulting enemies; which the Emperour knowing, and therewith considering how hardly of himselfe he should be able to maintaine so chargeable a warre against so mightie an enemy, he by his Ambassadors sued to the Princes of Christendome, but chiefly to those of *Germany*, for aide; and for preuention of the imminent daunger likely to ensue, he summoned a Councell to be held in the citie of *Ratisbone*; whither he together with the Princes of the Empire being come; after wonted ceremonies, the Emperour manifested vnto them the perfidie of the Turkish Emperor, who contrarie to his oath solemnly sworne, had as an enemy to all Christians, with his armies not onely spoiled all *Hungary*, but sundrie other prouinces of the Empire: for redresse whereof, and the repressing of his insolent pride, he entreated their extraordinary assistance: whereto (although not in so ample manner as he required) they condescended. But through the present want thereof, *SINAN* Bascha, after the taking of *Dois* (a strong towne betwene *Strigonium* and *Raab*) with an

*1594.*

Raab taken by  
the Turkes.

armie of 150000 Turkes and Tartars besieged the strong towne of *Raab*, which after a most furious batterie with 60 peeces of Cannon, and many terrible assaults, with the losse of many thousands of men giuen, he became Master thereof; not without suspicion of treason in the Countie *HARDECK*, who had the commaund of the place: for which his perfidie, he was not long after by the Emperors commaundement committed in *Viena* to prison; and within short space after, his treason being further discovered, he was in the said citie vpon a new scaffold built of purpose for him, iustly executed.

1594.

The Prince of  
Transiluania  
reuelteeth from  
the Turke.

In this yeere the Tartars by the Turkes direction, and not without the consent of sundrie great men in *Transiluania*; lying in the borders thereof to enrap *SIGISMUND BATTOR* Prince of that countrie: failing of their purpose (the treason being discovered and some of the conspirators iustly executed) brake through the countrie. Wherein they vsing all manner hostilitie did irreparable harme, and there went into *Hungary*, where they ioyned with the Turkish armie: hereupon the Prince ioyning in league with his poore oppressed neighbours, the *Rascians*, reuolting from the Turkes, gaue his subiects leaue to take armes against them, and to make boote of them and their goods, wherefoeuer they should finde them. The *Transiluanians* herewith encouraged, and in hope of some rich prey, taking armes, first went to the great riuier *Danuby*, where they tooke certaine Turkes ships very richly fraught, and therewith much treasure, which was bound to the Turkes armie in *Hungary*. The *Moldauians* and *Walachians*, vpon the newes of the *Transiluanians* reuolt, and of the great bootie by them taken from the Turkes; and moued by their example, shortly after resolved to doe the like; and therewith ioyned in league with the *Transiluanian* Prince; who alreadie had sent his Ambassadors to the Emperor *RODVLPH* to *Prage* in *Bohemia*; where betweene the Emperor and the said Prince it was concluded; that in both defensue and offensue warre to be made against their common enemy, the one should assist the other; and that no truce, peace, defensue and offensue be made against their common enemy: and that neither of or other composition should be made with the Turke, without their mutuall consent and good liking, with seuerall other articles too long to be recited. The reuolt of these Prouinces was so beneficiall to the Christians, and so preiudiciall to their enemies, that (as it was surmised) *AMVRATH* the great Turke, for anger for the losse of them, and of a seditious tumult of the *Ianifaries*, happened at *Constantinople* in December 1594, fell so sicke that he died thereof. After the taking of *Raab*, *SINAN* Basha thinking to haue made all smooth before him, besieged the citie of *Romara*, from whence after three weekes hard siege, and many terrible assaults giuen, hearing of the coming of the Archduke *MATTHIAS*, he retired to the late gotten city *Dotis*, where he discharged his army. The spring next following at the Emperors especiall request the King of *Spain* sent to the Emperors warres in *Hungary*, 2000 horse and 6000 foote, vnder the conduct of Countie *CHARLES MANSFIELT*, a man famous in the low countries for his seruice against the States, vnder the commaund of the Duke of *Parma*: who departing from *Brussels* in *Brabant*, in Februarie came to *Prage* in *Bohemia* in March following.

The Moldauians and Walachians rebell against the Turke.

A league betweene the Emperor and the Prince of Transiluania.

The death of Amurath the great Turke the 18 of Iannary 1595.

Sundrie supplies sent to aide the Emperor in his warres against the Turke in Hungary.

The same spring also came sundrie good supplies not onely from the Princes of *Germany* but out of *Italy* also, as from the Pope, the great Duke of *Tuscane*, the Dukes of *Ferrara*, and of *Mantua* with others, which together with the aides of *Germany*, amounted to the number of 50000 foote, and about 15000 horse, wherewith

wherewith the Countie *MANSFELT* being made Lieutenant Generall vnder Duke *MATTHIAS*, tooke the field, and besieged the citie of *Strigonium*; which (after a long tedious siege and sundrie bold attempts giuen by the Turkes for the vnsitting thereof) was by the Christians taken, in Nouember 1595. Presently after the taking of *Strigonium*, the Archduke sent certaine troupes to attempt the castle of *Plindenburg*, situate vpon the riuier *Danubie*, betweene *Buda* and *Strigonium*, which without any great resistance they tooke also. The newes of the taking of these places, especially *Strigonium*, caused great ioy in most parts of Christendome; but into the Turkes in *Buda* it strake so great a feare, that the most part of the better sort of the inhabitants were at the point to haue abandoned the citie, and had done so had not the Basha, by commaunding the gates thereof to be shut, staied their flight.

*Strigonium* taken by the Christians, an. 1595

About the same time that *Strigonium* was taken, *SINAN* Basha with a great armie of Turkes hauing made a bridge ouer the *Danubie*, came into *Walachie*, purposing to haue reduced the same, together with *Transiluania* and *Moldauia* into the Turkes obeisance: but the inhabitants of those countries hauing intelligence of his coming, made such prouision for his entertainment, that after a most doubtfull battaile (continuing from the morning till night) wherein many thousand Turkes being slaine, the rest to saue their liues were driuen to flie, and amongst them the old Basha; who making more haste then good speede, was like to haue been drowned in a ditch, leauing all his Ordenances, baggage and prouision in prey to the Christians.

*Sinan Basha* ouerthrowne by the *Transiluanians*.

About the same time, the Turkes to the number of about 20000 men, with fire and sword entring *Croatia*, were by the Christians in such manner encountered and ouerthrowne, that few of them escaped with their liues: with which good successe encouraged, the Christians besieging the citie of *Petrovina*, tooke the same; the taking whereof caused infinite ioy in all that part of the countrie. The old enemy to the Christians, *SINAN* Basha, in hope to haue been reuenged for his late ouerthrow, hauing made a new bridge ouer the *Danubie*, againe with an armie of 70000 men entred *Walachie*: against whom came the Prince of *Transiluania* with as great an armie: but before they two could meete, the Turkes and *Ianifaries* were possessed with such feare, that without fight of the Prince or his armie they retired, together with their Generall *SINAN*, who for haste left his Tent behinde him, with good store of Ordnance, munition and prouision for the warres. Vpon whose hastie reitret, the Prince comming to *Tergouista* (wherein lay foure thousand Turkes in garrison) summoned the Castle to yeeld: but the *Ianifaries* therein standing vpon their defence, refused all composition: whereupon the Prince by batterie hauing made an assaultable breach, the place was entered; wherein the Turkes hauing their throates cut, in the Castle were found 42. pieces of Artillerie. Before the Prince his departure from this place, 4000 Turkes, which by *SINAN* Basha had been sent a boote haling, being with 60000 head of cattle returned, and thinking to haue found him where they left him, were for their paines taking all put to the sword. Besides these, many other great exploits were perfourmed by this worthy Prince, and more would haue been, had not the Chauncellor of *Poland* (enuying his good successe) sought and practised his ouerthrow; to the great hindrance of the Christians, and aduancement of the Turkes proceedings.

An armie of the Turkes ouerthrowne by the Christians in *Croatia*.

The cowardly flight of the Turkes in *Walachie*.

*Tergouista* taken by the Prince of *Transiluania*.

The Spring following, the Emperours armie vnder the conduct of the Baron of *Swarzenburgh*, taken the field, marched towards *Vaccia* garrisoned by the Turkes;

*Vaccia abandoned and fired by the Turks.*

Turkes; which hearing of the approach of the Christian armie, abandoning the citie and setting the same on fire, fled to *Pesth*. After their departure, the Christians besieged *Hatwan*, which being taken by assault, all that therein were, without respect of age, sexe, or dignitie, past by the edge of the sword.

In the meane time while these things were a doing, *MAHOMET* the Turkish Emperour with an armie of two hundred thousand Turkes and Tartars, and three hundred pieces of Artillerie came into *Hungary*, wherein, within few daies after his thither comming, he besieged the citie of *Agria*, (a place of great importance in the vpper *Hungary*) part whereof after a long terrible siege and many desperate assaults giuen, he tooke by force of armes, putting to the sword all that were therein: the rest fearing the like issue, yeelded vpon composition of their liues saued, and to depart with their baggage, and their swords by their sides.

After the taking of *Agria*, *MAXIMILIAN* the Emperours brother, and then Generall of his armie, ioyning with the Prince of *Transilvania* (who with 18000 men, horse and foote, and fortie pieces of Artillerie came to his aide) taking the field with an armie of 60000 men, whereof 32000 were horsemen, resolving to giue the Turke battaile, came to the other side of a riuer which parted his and the Turkes armies; where after many bloudie skirmishes and euents of warre, the two armies ioynd in battaile; wherein the Christians fought so valiantly, that hauing put almost all the Turkes whole armie to route; and *MAHOMET* the great Turke himselfe with the chiefeest of his Bashas being fled: the Christians euen then when they should haue consummate their victorie, by base greedie seeking for pillage, gaue their vanquished enemies time and oportunitie againe to gather head; and by charging them in this their disorder, to ouerthrow them and put them to flight. In this battaile, of the Christians were slaine 20000 men, and of the Turkes 60000. After this battaile, wherein either partie ranne from the other. *MAHOMET* thinking it honour enough for him to haue taken *Agria*, retired to *Belgrade*, and thence with much adoe to *Constantinople*; wherein he hath euer since kept himself safe enough from any more hazarding his person in any place of such perill. The rest of this yeere and the next were spent of either side for the most part in skirmishes, and sudden inuasions, without ought done of any great importance.

In the yeere following, which was 1598, *SIGISMUND* the valiant Prince of *Transilvania*, seeing the countrie of *Moldania* by the Polonian separated from him and made tributarie to the Turke, and himselfe (as it were) left alone to beare the burthen of the warre against both Turke and Polonian, resolved with himself to resigne the possession of *Transilvania* to the Emperour *RODVLPH*, as to a Prince then himselfe better able to defend the same: and so retired to liue priuate in peace in *Slesia*, with certaine exhibition sufficient to maintaine him in honorable estate.

In March following, the citie of *Raab* one of the most strong cities in *Europe*, situate in the hither part of *Hungary* towards *Austrich*, was by the wise conduct of the Baron of *Swarzenburgh* lying then in *Komara*, in a night surprized, and after a long desperate fight possessed; wherein besides two Bashas and 6000 souldiers slaine, fourescore and tenne pieces of Artillerie were taken, to the great ioy of all *Hungary* and *Germany*; and the extreme raging griefe of the Turkes, who for foure yeeres space had been Lords thereof: it being first besieged by *SINAN* Bascha, with an armie of 150. thousand men the space of three moneths; and then betrayed by the Countie *HABECK*, who had the commaund of the place.

After

*Raab surprized by the Christians.*

After this so fortunate recouerie of *Raab*, the Christians besieging *Buda*, put the Turkes to such distresse, that they abandoning the citie retired to the Castle, wherein they were so thoroughly assailed by Mines, batteries and assaults, that they could not long haue held out, if the Christians had been able to haue continued the siege: which oppressed by the extremitie of the weather, tired with intolerable toyle, and what was worse, hearing of the comming of a great armie of Turkes to vaset the besieged, they firing the suburbs, with great prey retired to *Strigonium*: from whence they were dispersed to sundrie places there to lie in garrison, to be in the better readines for the next yeeres seruice. About the same time, the Turkes hauing besieged and battered the citie of *Varadin* in the vpper *Hungary*, were (like as the Christians before *Buda* in the lower *Hungary*) driuen to raise their siege, and to returne to *Buda*. Which citie the Baron of *Swarzenburgh* the yeere next following attempted to haue surprized, and to haue made an entrie thereinto by meanes of a Pettar, as he not long before had done by *Raab*: but failing of his purpose, and being discovered he was driuen to depart: but shortly after, the Bascha of *Buda* with a troupe of fixe hundred horse going to bring in a conuoy of victuals for the reliefe of the citie; fell by chaunce into an ambush of certaine hazarders which lay for boote: by the which (after a long fight) being ouerthrowne and taken prisoner, he was brought to the Emperours campe. But the aduenturers returning to trie their further fortune, were giuen to vnderstand, that the Bascha of *Bosna*, with the Saniacques of *Zigbet*, of the fixe Churches, and of *Coppan*, with 10000 Turkes were comming (by cutting their throates) to free the countrie from their incurfions: wherewith nothing dismayed, these aduenturers went to chuse a fit ground to fight with them, whom at the first meeting they charged, and after a long doubtfull fight ouerthrew: in which encounter the Bascha himselfe with the greatest part of the Turks, ended their daies.

At the same time, in the vpper *Hungary*, *IERAIM* Bascha with an armie of 50000 Turkes came to *Solnecz*; where vnderstanding of a small armie of the Christians lying at *Cassonia*, he without daring to attempt ought, retired to *Belgrade*, where he expected the comming of a flete of ships, fraught with victuals and munition for his armie, and for the reliefe of *Buda*, *Alba Regalis*, and other distressed places, conuoyed vp the riuer by 5000 Turkes: whereof the Christians hauing some aduertisement, lay in waite for them; and at their comming, by giuing a sudden v unexpected charge, ouerthrowing them, had the spoile of the ships; wherein the goods were valued to be worth a Millian of gold, among which was to the value of about 20000 pound sterling in readie money; which was shared amongst the souldiers.

In the beginning of the yeere 1600, the Emperour calling a Diet, solicited the Princes of the Empire for supplies for the warres to be made the next spring: which they promising, he made the Duke of *Mercueur*, late Gouvernor of *Bretaine* in *France* (who assisted by the King of *Spaine* with about 4000 Spaniards vnder the conduct of *DON IVAN DE LAGUNA*; and by the rest of the league, warred against the French King: and now with a great number of French foote and horse, was come to the Emperours seruice) Generall of all his forces.

Not long after, certaine troupes of Wallons and French men lying in garrison in *Pappa*, a strong towne in the lower *Hungary*, mutinying and offering to sell the towne to the Turkes, committed many horrible villanies too long to be related: whereupon the Baron of *Warzenburgh* vpon intelligence, with an army of 9000 horse and foote made thitherwards with certaine Pettars, thinking therewith to haue

*Buda besieged and againe left by the Christians.*

1598.

1599.

*A rich reprisall taken by the Christians vpon the Danuby.*

*The Duke of Mercueur Generall of the Emperours forces in Hungary.*

*Wallons and French men mutinying in Pappa, were instantly rewarded.*

The death of  
the Baron of  
Swazzenburgh  
sometime Go-  
vernour of Ow-  
denburgh in  
Flanders for the  
King of Spaine.

haue surprised the citie: but failing, he was in a fallie unfortunately with a Musket shot slaine. But the citie being neuerthelesse beset, the mutiners were so much distressed that they resolved to abandon it, and to flie to the Turkes, which being perceiued, such order was taken, that they fallying and being dispersed, many of them were intercepted, and according to their deserts iustly after sundrie manners so tortured, that happie was he that had but his throte cut. And thus ended that mutinie.

Babotfca taken  
by the Turkes.

Towards the latter end of summer in the yeere 1609, I BRAIM Bascha, with a very huge armie of Turkes and Tartars (decmed 200000 strong) came before *Babotfca*, a strong hold in the lower *Hungary*; which after one daies batterie and a breach made, was deliuered into his power. Thence marching with his armie to *Caniffa*, a towne in the borders of *Stiria*, for the situation thereof in a deepe fenne, and the strength of the garrison, held impregnable; where whilest with faggots and earth the Turkes were busied to make passage for their armie ouer the bogges, they might perceiue the Duke of *Mercueur*, Generall for the Emperour, with an armie of little more then 40000 horse and foote come thither for the reliefe of the place, at their backs readie to charge them: with which the Bascha (after knowledge had of their strength) ioyned in battaile; wherein many of either partie being slaine, the night parted the fray. But the next day, the Captaines of the Christians were so much daunted, that they could not be drawne from their strength: which theemie perceiuing, the Tartars were sent abroad to forrage, which roaming vp and downe the countrie for prey, met with a conuoy of 200 wagons laden with victuals, comming to the reliefe of the Christians, which they tooke, and carried to their campe: the losse whereof added to their former feare, did so much discourage the Christians, that they by night retiring, and being by the Turkes perceiued and followed, lost (besides certaine pieces of Cannon and the greatest part of their luggage) 3000 men of their arrierguard. Presently after this their hastie retreat, the Turkes returned to the siege of the citie, wherein the garrison in despaire to be vnset mutinying (and not without suspition of treason in the Gouvernour, which afterwards cost him his head) came to a composition to giue vp the place, vpon condition freely to depart with bag and baggage. Which being accordingly performed, the Bascha made the towne to be more strongly fortified then euer theretofore.

Caniffa yielded  
to the Turkes.

Yet notwithstanding these disasters, the Emperour hauing obtained both out of *Italy* and *Germany* new supplies, the Duke *Mercueur*, Generall of the Emperours forces at the time of the yeere fit for seruice with an armie taking the field, besieged the strong towne of *Alba Regalis*, which for certaine daies he beating with the Cannon, thought to haue entred and taken the same by assault; but being by an ouerloper, aduertised, that through a lake on the other side of the city the suburbs might be surprised (which being takē the towne could not hold out) he sent 1000 chosen men to attempt the same; who notwithstanding that they found greater difficultie in the action then was expected, yet at the length a little before the breake of the day they got ouer; at which time vpon a signe giuen, the Duke on the other side made shew of so furious an assault, as though he would presently haue entred the citie with his whole forces: whilest the Turkes ranne to answere the alarme made by the Duke, those which on the other side had past the lake, entring the suburbs vndiscovered, with such terrible cry charged the Turkes at their backs, that they in a tumult amazed, fled into the citie, of which, the Christians (pursuing them) made a great slaughter. The suburbs wherein consisted the

the chiefe strength of the citie being taken; the Duke the next day with the Cannon hauing made two places assailable, the citie was entred, and the garrison put to the sword: onely the Bascha, Commaunder of the place was taken, and sent prisoner to the campe. Presently vpon the taking of this citie, the Generall of Turkes forces hearing that *Alba Regalis* was distressed, leuied an army the 60 thousand strong to come to the reliefe thereof, who notwithstanding that he was aduertised that the citie was already taken, yet he neuerthelesse, in hope to ouerthrow the Christians, or by finding the citie vnrepaired, held on his way thitherwards: whereof the Duke aduertised, with an armie of a farre lesse number, but much better men (for the most of the Turkes were but *Visionos* lately taken vp) made towards him: and the two armies drawing neere the one to the other, a hot skirmish was entertained betwixt them; and the Duke being ascertained of the basenes of the Turkish souldiers, resolutely giuing the onset, at the first charge had the execution of 6000 of them, and had ouerthrowne the whole armie, had not certaine great troupes of Tartars appeared at their backs: by which meanes the Christians forbearing to prosecute their good fortune, the Bascha had oportunitie to reforme his scattered forces, and so within few daies after to retire to *Buda*, but in his retreat they following him in the arrierguard, and tooke many prisoners, and amongst them sundrie French men of those which had mutinied in *Pappa*, which Duke of *Mercueur* (for that they had for his sake come to those warres) procured to be pardoned.

*Alba Regalis*  
taken by the  
Christians.

An armie of the  
Turkes foyle  
by Duke *Mercueur*.

Shortly after the Archduke *Ferdinand* with an armie attempting by siege, battery, and all warlike stratagems to haue recovered *Caniffa*, lay before it vntill that through the desperate valour of the defendants (the most of which were Burgundians and French men) together with the Frost, Snow, and extreme tempestuous windes which then happened, he was driuen to raise his siege; from which his people made so hastie a retreat, that they could not be induced to take their Ordinance with them.

*Caniffa* besieged  
and giuen ouer  
by the Christi-  
ans.

The taking of *Alba Regalis* the last yeere by the Christians, being a place of such importance, did so much anger *MAHOMET* the great Turke, that he resolving either againe to recouer the same, or else in the action to hazard the greatest part of his forces, caused to that effect an armie of about 100000 vnder the command of *MAHOMET* Bascha to be leuied; who therewith comming from *Adrianople* to *Belgrado*, and thence to *Buda*, about the middest of August sat downe before *Alba Regalis*; where he hauing planted his Cannon, made so terrible a batterie, as the like hath been seldome seene, but by reason of the marishes and fenny groundes, wherewith the citie was enuironed, he could not conueniently bring his people to giue the assault; whereupon he causing with great difficultie thoe bogges to be made firme ground, brought his men to assault the counterscarph, made without the walles for the defence of the foote of the rampart: in which attempt he hauing lost many men, in the end he constrained the Christians to withdraw themselves within their ramparts; to be briefe, after many sallies and retreats, and many assaultes giuen, with the losse of an infinit number of men, and effusion of much blood, the Christians were driuen to giue eare to a parley; during the time whereof, a damned villaine (who hauing renounced his faith was become a Turke) brought a battalion of the Turkes to a place which he knew to be but meanely guarded; where they being entred, made such a noyse that the rest of the army thereby perceiuing their entry were therewith so much encouraged, that they againe ranne to the walles, where the poore Christians being on either

*Alba Regalis*  
besieged by *Ma-*  
*homet* Bascha,  
1602.

side

*Alba Regalis  
taken by the  
Turkes.*

side by the multitude of their enemies oppressed, were for the most part valiantly fighting miserably slaine: onely the Gouverneur and some few other, which after the furie were in their lodging found sore wounded, had their liues saued. Thus was the strong citie of *Alba Regalis*, which eleuen moneths before was by surprise taken by the Christians, now againe recovered by the Turkes.

*Pesth taken by  
the Christians.*

1560.

Shortly after the losse of *Alba Regalis*, the Emperours forces to the number of some thirtie thousand men were drawne to an head in *Komara*, from whence in hope by doing some notable exploit to haue recovered their lost honour, in not relieuing *Alba Regalis*, they went to *Buda*; where after the breaking of a bridge made ouer the *Danubie* betweene *Pesth* and *Buda*, they by a stratagem tooke the citie of *Pesth*, together with the suburbs of *Buda*; from whence (after that they had battered and sundrie waies attempted the castle, and brought the same to the point to haue yeelded for want of victuals) they retired, for feare of an infinite multitude of Tartars, which making passage through *Walachie*, were comming to vnset the citie.

*The Chancel-  
lor and other  
great men in  
Poland, the Po-  
lish King wink-  
ing thereto.*

After this, many seruices were worthely perfourmed by the Christians, which the breuitie of this historie permitteth not at large to be related. And whereas I said in the beginning of this discourse, that when this Emperour was aduanced to the Imperiall dignitie, it was hoped of him that he would not onely haue restored the auncient Maiestie of the Empire, but also haue enlarged the shortened bounds thereof: so without all doubt (as it appeareth by the histories of his time) he would in farre more ample manner haue freed the same from the miserable seruitude wherein they yet languish, if the rest of the Christian Princes would haue aided him with any indifferent assistance: or what is lesse, if some professing Christ had not in the highest of his fortune, by crossing him aduanced the Turks proceedings, raising troubles, dissention and ciuill warres in the countries of *Moldauia*, *Walachia*, and *Transilvania*; which countries so long as they continued firmly vnited to the Empire, did not onely molest the Turkes, and oftentimes de- feate whole armies of them, but also gaue the Emperour oportunitie (by his Lieutenants) to recouer sundrie townes in *Hungary*; wherein being in power no way cōparable to the ancient Roimane Emperors) he hath admirably to his high honor, maintained against the most mightie Monarch of the earth, a long, charge- able and bloudie war; such as no Germane Emperour since the beginning of the Turkish Monarchie hath euer waged the like: and therein notwithstanding the inequality of their forces, hath (without diminution) held and yet still holdeth what he inherited, or as much in value. But forasmuch as it is in the mightie hand of God only to redeeme that neuer sufficiently pitied kingdom of *Hungarie*, with the confines thereof, from the miserable oppression of the Turkes: To conclude, I humbly beseech his diuine Maiestie to be pleased, so to vnite the hearts and hands of all professing the name of Christ, that they not onely expell the common enemy out of such places as he to the dishonour of all Christian Princes vsurpeth in *Europe*, but also release from ser- uitude so many thousands of distressed poore soules, which in extreme miserie in sundry parts of the world groane vnder the slauish yoke of their barbarous tyrannie.

FINIS.

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